

~~EX LIBRIS~~

Al 2.7.

Ex Libris

Bibliothecae Facultatis  
Juridicae Edinburgi





THE  
MODERN PART  
OF THE  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

*ORIGINAL WRITERS;*

BY THE

AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ὥστε ἕτεροι συνῆξαν  
ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR,  
J. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, P. DAVEY and B. LAW,  
T. LONGMAN, C. WARE, and S. BLADON.

M.DCC.LIX.





---

# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

## READER.

THE *Arabs* rendered themselves so famous, both by their extensive conquests and their cultivation of antient literature, after the introduction of *Islamism* amongst them, that their glory, for several centuries, eclipsed that of all other nations. Nay, the vast empire they erected seems to subsist, even at this day, in those of the *Ottomán Turks*, *Persians*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*; who derived from them both their religion and polity, both their sacred and civil institutions. No wonder then that a complete history of this wonderful people, from the birth of their false prophet and legislator *Mohammed*, to the reduction of *Baghdád* by the *Tartars*, extracted chiefly from the oriental authors, should have been so long desired in these western parts of the world. Nothing, therefore, of that kind having yet appeared in any of the *European* tongues; we flatter ourselves, that the laborious and difficult work now offered to the public, which comprehends a clear and succinct detail of the most remarkable events that happened in the *Arab* empire during the aforesaid period, and has been deduced principally from the eastern writers, will meet with a favourable reception from all our candid readers. For the more effectual attainment of which desirable end, it has been judged requisite to mention here the most celebrated authors who have supplied us with materials for this history, and the assistance we have received in the compilation of it.

For the life of *Mohammed*, which may not improperly be considered as the first part of the modern history of the *Arabs*, we have had recourse to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, as abridged by *Al Makín*, *Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, the *Korán*, *Al Shabrestáni*, and above all the famous *Ismael Abu'l feda*, both in his life of that impostor and his general history; the former of which has been published by Mr. Gagnier, with a *Latin* version, at *Oxford*, in 1723. We have likewise been furnished with innumerable extracts by *Al Kodai*, *Sharíf Al Edrisi*, *Al Beidaswi*, *Al Zamakhshari*, *Ebn Al Athír*, *Ebn Heshám*, *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, *Abunazar*, *Al Beibaki*, *Al Jarra*, *Al Háfedh*, *Makhzum*, *Ebn Khalecán*, *Rustem Al Maulavi*, *Al Bokhári*, *Jallalo'ddín*, *Abmed Ebn Yahya*, *Al Firaouzabádi*, *Ebn Shohnah*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Báki*, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbás*, *Ebn Al Júzi*, *Abu Horeira*, *Al Termedi*, *Ebn Al Kbassai*, *Ebn Ishak*, *Abu-Zeid Seid*, *Al Jawhari*, *Al Wákedi*, *Al Gbazáli*, and many more oriental writers, whose names it would be too tedious barely to enumerate here. Besides which, we have inserted in this part of our work every thing material to be met with, either in the later *Greek* historians or other *Christian* authors, particularly M. *D'Herbelot*, relative to the *Moslem* prophet. We doubt not, therefore, but our readers will find the life of *Mohammed*, contained in this volume, the most complete and perfect piece of its kind that in any *European* language has ever yet appeared.

With regard to our history of the *Khalífs*, or successors of *Mohammed*, from the death of that impostor to the abolition of the *Khalifat*, this has been likewise compiled almost intirely from the most celebrated eastern writers. Our readers will not only meet with here the substance of what has been handed down to us, relative to the *Moslem* history, by *Eutychius*, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Kemálo'ddín Al Armlávi*, *Al Makín*, *Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, *Ismael Abu'l feda*, *Ebn Shohnah*, *Mírkoud*, *Khon-*



demir, *Al Emîr Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatîf Al Kafwîni*, *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'al-jaasar Al Kazwîni*, *Abu Mohammed Abd'alazîz Ebn Shedâd Tamîm Al Sanbâji*, *Al Kâdi Shabâbo'ddîn Ebn Abi'dam Al Hamawi*, *Takîo'ddin Ahmed Al Makrîzi*, *Al Emîr Abu'l Mahassèn Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi*, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak*, and other oriental historians, more generally known, during the above-mentioned period, but also with extracts from some eastern authors scarce ever heard of in these parts of *Europe* before. As *Erpenius's Latin* version and printed copies of *Al Makîn* end with the 512th year of the *Moslem* æra, and *Abu'l Faraj's* historical epitome is too short and jejune, with respect to the *Arab* affairs, after that year; in order to supply both those defects, we have, by the assistance of the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Hunt*, Professor of *Hebrew* and *Arabic* in the University of *Oxford*, been enabled to insert, from a manuscript in his possession, a translation of *Ebn Shobnah's* annals, from the 512th to the 656th year of the *Hejra*, in this work. To render more valuable this addition, which has never yet been printed, Dr. *Hunt* has collated his manuscript with two others of the same author, preserved in the *Bodleian* library, *Oxon.* in those passages that seem to have been the most vitiated and depraved; for which, both we and the public are extremely obliged to him. For the illustration of *Ebn Shobnah*, who sometimes writes in too concise, obscure, and elliptical a manner, we have also improved our modern history of the *Arabs* with not a few extracts from the inedited part of the *Târîkh Al Moslemîn* of *Al Makîn*. As to the materials afforded us by the famous *Ismael Abu'lfeda*, one of the best of the *Arab* writers, tho' some of these are immediately deduced from a manuscript of his chronicle or general history itself, our grateful acknowledgements for them are principally due to F. *Assemani* and M. *Reiske* <sup>a</sup>, whose shining abilities and exalted merit are sufficiently known to the whole learned world. But it would be superfluous to expatiate largely at present on this head, as what is here remarked will be obvious to every one that shall peruse the sheets of which our *Arab* history is composed.

However, it may not be improper to observe, that we have inserted in the body of our history the *Cambridge Chronicon Siculum*; which contains no inconsiderable number of particulars, relative to the *Arab* affairs in *Sicily*, not elsewhere to be found. Who was the real compiler of this piece, or what degree of credit is due to it, we shall not now take upon us to determine; but that he was not *Abu Mohammed Abd'alazîz Ebn Shedâd Tamîm Al Sanbâji*, who composed the *Moslem* <sup>b</sup> annals of *Sicily* and *Kairwân*, as *Carusius* seems to suppose, we think there is the highest reason to believe. For the words of this annalist, which have been preserved both by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Kâdi Shabâbo'ddîn Ebn Abi'dam Al Hamawi*, as translated by *Marcus Dobelius* and M. *Reiske*, and those of the *Cambridge Chronicon Siculum*, describing the same event, by <sup>c</sup> no means correspond. From whence it may be very naturally inferred, that these two pieces were the productions of different pens. But this point is clearly evinced, in a place to which the discussion of it more properly belongs.

We must beg leave farther to inform our candid readers, that this modern history of the *Arabs* is interspersed with critical, philological, and explanatory notes, placed at the bottom of the page, tending to illustrate those parts of the text to which they refer. The extensive utility of which notes must appear to all that read them, as they are not only relative to the genius, government, religion, language, learning, customs, accomplishments, manners, &c. of the *Arabs* and neighbouring nations, but likewise to almost every other branch of oriental literature. We have also transfused into this part of our work the substance of some curious MS. notes upon *Abu'l Faraj*, which not seldom emend Dr. *Pocock's Latin* version of that author, now in the possession of the Reverend *John Swinton*, M. A. of *Christ-Church, Oxon.* F. R. S.

<sup>a</sup> JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. in *Italic. Hist. Scriptor. &c.* tom. III. cap. ii. p. 45—213. Romæ, 1752.  
JO. JAC. REISKE, in *Abulfed. Annal. Moslemic. &c.* pass. Lipsiæ, 1754.

<sup>b</sup> JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ad *Chron. Sicul. Cantabrigiense. Præfat.* p. 3.

<sup>c</sup> *Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigiense.* apud Joan. Bapt. Carus. in *Histor. Saracenico-Sicul.* var. Monument. &c. p. 14. Panormi, 1720. ut et ipse JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ibid. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABI'LDAM AL HAMAWI et ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALAZIZ EBN SHEDAD TAMIM AL SANHAJI, apud Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi sup. p. 19. ABU'LFED. in *chron. ad ann. Hej. 336.*



as well as several MS. extracts from *Mojiro'ddîn Al Hanbali*, the author of the *Persic* chronicle, denominated *Nokhbat Al Tawârîkh*, or *the marrow of chronicles*, and other oriental writers little known in these parts of the world. The ingenious explications of all those earlier *Arabic* coins found near *Stegen*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*, in 1722, published by M. *Kehr* <sup>d</sup> at *Leipsick*, in 1724, are likewise inserted in this history; to which we have added those of several others, and shewn that on some occasions these coins support the authority of the eastern historians, in much the same manner as the *Greek* and *Roman* medals do that of the *Greek* and *Roman* writers. Upon the whole, therefore, we think we may venture to assert, that the performance now submitted to the judgment of the public is vastly preferable to every thing of its kind that has in any of the *European* tongues yet appeared; and that it may even at least be deemed in all respects such a history of the *Khalîfs*, or successors of *Mohammed*, as Mr. *Ockley*'s is only a specimen of, the publication of which in his days that eminent orientalist <sup>e</sup> seems so greatly to have desired.

From the foregoing observations our readers will naturally infer, that the modern history of the *Arabs* we present them with is no translation from the *French*, no collection from collections; but extracted from almost an infinity of original oriental authors, of the best repute, who are constantly quoted at the bottom of the page. Nay, so far have we been from following any modern versions of those authors, when the originals themselves could be procured, that we have not depended upon either *Erpenius*'s *Latin* version of *Al Makîn*, which indeed must be owned faulty enough, or the celebrated Dr. *Pocock*'s of *Abu'l Faraj*; but have adhered to the *Arabic* text of those two historians with a religious exactness, and even emended it in several places. We have also now and then corrected the *Latin* translation of the *Cambridge Chronicon Siculum*, published by *Carusius*, though revised by the famous <sup>f</sup> F. *Assemani*, and even restored the true reading in several passages of the *Arabic* original itself. How widely different from M. l'Abbé *De Marigny*'s execution of his plan is such an immediate deduction of facts from the best oriental authors <sup>g</sup>? This ingenious, tho' too superficial and inaccurate, (A) compiler seems to have formed his history of the *Arabs*, under the government of the *Khalîfs*, chiefly of passages extracted from M. *D'Herbelot*, and a few other western moderns (B) of a still later date. This piece, therefore, cannot well be viewed in any other light than that of the performance of a secondary writer, whose productions scarce merit the attention of the most sensible part of the public. But as we shall hereafter touch upon this subject, and the variety of materials collected for the first part of our large and extensive work, we shall easily be permitted to supersede any farther account of them here <sup>\*</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Monarch. Asiatico-Saracen. Stat. &c. ex num. argent. prisc. Arab. script. Kufic. &c. illustrat. a M. Geor. Jacob. Kehr, Sleusinga-Franco orientali. Lipsiæ, 1724.

<sup>e</sup> See OCKLEY's preface to the first vol. of his hist. of the Saracens, p. 17.

<sup>f</sup> JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ad Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. Præfat. p. 3. Panormi, 1720.

<sup>g</sup> Histoire des ARABES, sous le Gouvernement des CALIFES, par M. l'Abbé DE MARIGNY. A Paris, 1751.

<sup>\*</sup> See Vol. II. p. 110.

(A) To omit many other instances of our author's inaccuracy, it may be sufficient to observe here, that he has copied several of M. *D'Herbelot*'s mistakes, and that his orthography of the *Arab* proper names is frequently wrong (1).

(B) We cannot forbear taking notice here of the mean and illiberal partiality of M. l'Abbé *De Marigny*, so common to the *French* writers; which can proceed from no other source, notwithstanding their pretended *politesse*, than an utter dislike, if not a

fixed and rivetted aversion, to the *English* nation. He makes honourable mention of both M. *D'Herbelot* and M. *Renaudot*, his countrymen, from whom, it must be owned, he has extracted a very considerable part of his work; but is not pleased to inform his readers, that he has been likewise obliged to the learned Mr. *Ockley*, who has supplied him with materials for perhaps the greatest part of the first and second volumes of the performance now before us (2).

(1) For a full proof of this, our readers may have recourse to the book itself.

(2) See M. l'Abbé *De Marigny*'s preface to his history of the *Arabs*, under the government of the *Khalîfs*.







---



---

# MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

## CONTINUATION

OF THE

### UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

---

#### BOOK I.

---

#### CHAP. I.

#### *The* LIFE of MOHAMMED.

- a* NO person celebrated in history has, perhaps, been considered in more different lights than *Mohammed*, the legislator of the *Arabs*, and the founder of the *Moslem* power. Some Christian writers have represented him as an odious impostor, contemptible for his defects both of body and mind, and a man of the most dissolute morals. Others, on the contrary, have not scrupled to pronounce him one of the most eminent legislators that ever appeared in the world, adorned with the finest intellectual endowments, rendered more amiable still by the practice of every social virtue, and equally famous for his vast capacity, and the excellency of his institutions. Nay, some of these, on whom the principles both of natural and revealed religion seem to have sat easy enough, more than insinuate, that, as he transfused into the *Korân* all the essentials, without any of the corruptions, of *Christianity*, his religious system seems at least as worthy of God as that of the Gospel, if he was not the last great prophet sent to perfect even the dispensation of *Jesus* himself <sup>a</sup>.

- b* BUT as, on the one hand, it ought not to be denied, that *Mohammed* had very considerable talents, and an intermixture of good and bad qualities, like many other men; so, on the other, it must be allowed, that, by pretending to revelations, and conferences with GOD HIMSELF, all which were absolutely false, he indubitably proved himself an impostor, and consequently a most wicked wretch. As for the tenets of the *Korân*, notwithstanding the fine picture given us of it by some late writers, who seem to have been most unreasonably prejudiced in its favour, a man must be lost to common sense, as well as piety and religion, before he can put them on a level with the sublime doctrines of the Gospel. In fine, whatever truths may be found in the *Korân*, that it contains many absurdities, will be acknowledged by every sober and intelligent person. Nor did either the excellency of its precepts, or the abilities of its author, contribute so much to the introduction of it into so large a part of the world, as the disposition of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* first laid claim to a divine mission, the general luxury and effeminacy of the *Greeks*, the declining condition of the *Persians*, the corrupt and distracted state of *Christianity* at that juncture, besides other concurring causes, an ample and circumstantial account of which will be given in the sequel of this history <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PRID. life of Mahom. pass. SALE's prelim. discours. pass. BOULAINVILLIERE's life of Mahom. pass.

<sup>b</sup> PRID. SALE, BOULAINVIL. ubi supra. See also D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 598—603. SALE's explanatory notes on the *Korân*, and the *Korân* itself.



Mohammed  
descended from  
Ishmael.

MOHAMMED, according to the eastern writers, descended in a direct line from *Ishmael*, the son of *Abraham*, and consequently from the patriarch *Abraham* himself. *Kedar*, or, as the *Arabs* call him, *Kidâr*, after his father *Ishmael*'s death, seems to have communicated his name to the greater part of *Arabia Petræa*, as may be inferred from Scripture. *Kidâr* was succeeded in his possessions and authority by his son *Hamal*, as *Hamal* was by *Nabet*, or *Nabt*, and *Nabet* by *Salâmân*. After *Salâmân* came *Al Homeisa*, and then *Al Yafâ*, whose son *Odad* begat *Odd*, the father of *Adnân*. This series of descents, which contains nine generations, we take to carry with it a greater air of probability than that suggested by *Mohammed*'s wife *Omm Salma*, who pretended, that her husband counted only three persons in a lineal succession between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*; viz. *Berâ* or *Nabet*, *Zeid* or *Al Homeisa*, and *Odad*. However, that it cannot be considered as strictly agreeable to truth, appears from the remote age of *Abraham*, compared with the small number of generations comprehended by the interval between *Adnân* and *Mohammed*. Nor do the *Arab* writers agree among themselves in this particular, as has been elsewhere observed. But they are so defective in point of chronology, and knew so little of any remarkable events coeval with the patriarch *Abraham*, that such a disagreement to persons even moderately versed in oriental literature will not be matter of great wonder or surprize.

Ten genera-  
tions between  
Adnân and  
Febr.

THE second series of descents in *Ishmael*'s family, or rather that of *Mohammed*, commenced at *Adnân*, and ended in the person of *Febr*, surnamed *Koreish*. It consisted of ten generations, as appears from *Mohammed*'s progenitors, in continual succession between *Adnân* and *Febr*. *Moad*, or *Maad*, the son of *Adnân*, has been represented by the *Arabs* as a celebrated warrior, and a declared enemy to the *Jews*. *Zohari* mentions a tradition received from *Ali Ebn Moghâira*, according to which, *Moses* was cotemporary with *Moad*, and had the birth of *Mohammed* revealed to him. 'Tis likewise pretended by the *Arabs*, that *Bokht-Nasr*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*, lived at the same time; which must be allowed a fresh proof of their great accuracy and skill in chronology. *Moad* begat *Nazâr*, another famous soldier, whose standard is said to be still preserved in the temple of *Mecca*; which, from those very times, has always been esteemed the principal sanctuary of *Arabia*. He surpassed most of his countrymen in beauty and vivacity, and had his face adorned with the prophetic light. *Nazâr* became father to *Modar* (A), or *Modr*, whose son (B) *Al Yâs* begot *Modrecab* (C), the

<sup>c</sup> ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. ii. p. 6—8. Oxon. 1723. AL. BEIHAK. apud Abulfed. ubi supra. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 45—51. SALE's general tab. of the naturalized Arabs. See also JER. c. xlix. v. 28. ISAI. c. lx. v. 7. EZEK. c. xxvii. v. 21. PSAL. cxv. v. 5. JER. c. ii. v. 10, &c. See likewise Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 374. not. (O).

(A) This prince is said to have been a very comely person, and to have excelled all the other *Arabs* in sweetness of voice. He had three brothers, *Ayyad*, *Rabîa*, and *Anmâr*; and, tho' younger than *Ayyad*, was made by his father *Nazâr* prefect or guardian of the *Caaba*. *Ayyad*, from whom a numerous posterity sprang, left *Hejaz*, and with his family, settled in *Irâk*. *Rabîa* became the father of several tribes, a minute and particular account of which we find in *Abulfeda*'s General History. The famous *Arabian* poet *Motalammes*, who descended from *Debiyah*, one of the sons of *Rabîa*, was sent by the king of *Hira*, upon whom he had been very satirical in some of his poems, long before the time of *Mohammed*, to one of his governors, with a letter, wherein that officer had orders to put the bearer to death. But the poet, suspecting the contents, broke open the letter, and thereby discovered the whole affair. Hence the proverb so current amongst the *Arabs*, THE LETTER OF MOTALAMMES — This clearly proves the *Arabs*, at least in the opinion of some of their best and most authentic writers, to have had letters in use among them many years before the birth of *Mohammed*. *Anmâr*, the youngest of *Nazâr*'s sons, seated himself in *Yaman*, where his family greatly increased; but the members of it soon incorporated themselves with the original inhabitants of that country (1).

(B) *Al Yâs*, whose name signifies *despair*, he being born when his father *Modar* was arrived at a very advanced age, and consequently *despaired* of ever having a son, was also called *Habîb*, that is to say, *well-beloved*. He adhered to the religion and pious traditions of his ancestors; and, on all occasions, expressed a singular concern for the honour and dignity of the temple at *Mecca*. For which reasons his countrymen highly esteemed him,

looking upon him to be as great a sage as *Lokmân*, an account of whom has been already given in the history of the *Arabs*. Being the prince of his people, and lord of his tribe, no affair of importance was ever decided without his concurrence and participation. His brother *Kais*, surnamed *Aylân*, was the father of many tribes; the principal of which were the following: 1. The *Harwâzenites*, to whom belonged the sons of *Saad Ebn Becr Ebn Harwâzen*, who brought up *Mohammed*. 2. The *Banu Kelâb*, from whom descended the lords of *Hâlib*, or *Aleppo*; the first of whom was *Saleh Ebn Merdas*. 3. The tribe of *Okail*, from whence sprung the royal family of *Mosul*. 4. The *Banu Amer*, the *Banu Sâsaab*, and the *Banu Khafâjab*, who have, for many ages, been masters of the province of *Irâk*. 5. To these may be added the *Banu Helâl*, the *Banu Thakîf*, whom some take to have been a part of the *Ayyadites*, and others the remains of the ancient *Thamudites*, inhabiting *Al Tâyes*, the *Banu Nomair*, the *Banu Bâbelab*, the *Banu Mâzen*, the *Banu Gatsân*, the *Banu Abas* (of which tribe the celebrated hero *Antara* was a member), and others enumerated by *Abulfeda*, in the valuable history above-mentioned.

The *Banu Dhobîyân*, who were a branch of the *Banu Gatsân*, maintained a forty years war against the *Banu Abas*. This went, among the *Arabs*, under the appellation of the war of *Dahes* and *Câbra*, which were the names of two horses that ran against two others, called *Al Khatar* and *Al Fana*. The difficulty of determining on which side the advantage lay occasioned that bloody contest, which lasted forty years, and afterwards passed into a proverb; it being said of every long and tedious process, *This is the war of Dahes and Cabra* (2).

(C) *Modrecab* had a brother, named *Tabekhab*, from

(1) *Abulfed Al Meidan*, &c.

(2) *Abulfed. hist. gen. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 47, 48.*



a the father of *Khozaimab* (D), from whom sprung *Kenánab* (E), the father of *Al Nadr* (F), whose son *Malec* was the immediate progenitor of *Febr*. From *Febr*, who went among the *Arabs* by the surname of *Koreish*, the whole tribe of *Koreish* deduced their name. In the time of *Adnán*, the *Arabs* fixed the rule to be observed for the conservation of their genealogies, in order to preserve the distinction of their tribes and families. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that they should seldom trace their genealogies higher than *Adnán*, whom they acknowledge as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted <sup>a</sup>.

FEHR seems to have distinguished himself by some glorious actions, since the *Arabs* suppose him to have been denominated *Koreish* from his undaunted bravery and resolution. Be that as it will, he may be considered as the root of the politest and most celebrated tribe of the *Arabs*. He had three sons, *Galeb*, *Mobáreb*, and *Al Háreth*. From *Mobáreb* the *Banu Mobáreb*, denominated likewise *Sheibán*, deduced their origin; from *Al Háreth*, the *Banu Al Kholoj*; and from *Galeb*, in a direct line, the impostor *Mohammed*. A modern author takes *Galeb* to have been a considerable proficient in the i pagiric art; but this does not by any means appear. *Galeb* was the father of (G) *Lowa*, and he (H) of *Caab*, whose (I) son *Morrah* had, for his immediate descendant, *Keláb*, the father of *Kosa*. From *Keláb*'s son *Zabrah* issued the *Banu Zabrah*, of which tribe *Saad*, the son of *Abu Wakkás*, was a member; as was also *Amene*, the mother of *Mohammed*. *Caab*, according to the *Arabs*, changed *Arubab*, the ancient name of the sixth day of the week, which we call *Friday*, into *Jama'a*. The former of those words signifies *the day of pleasure, jollity, or public diversions*; the latter, *the day of the assembly, or congregation*. From whence it appears, that, in the opinion of the *Arabs*, he first set *Friday* apart for divine service. *Keláb*'s true name was *Hakim*, and *Kosa*'s *Zeïd*. The latter of these rendered himself famous to all posterity by an exploit, of which we shall beg leave to give our readers here a short and succinct relation <sup>c</sup>.

Febr the root of the politest tribe of the Arabs.

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed, c. 11. p. 6—8. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 45—51. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 25—46. <sup>c</sup> ABULFED, ubi supra. Poc. & GAGN. ubi supra. BOULLAINVIL. la vie de Mahom. liv. sec.

whom descended the *Banu Tamim*, the *Banu Rabbáb*, the *Banu Dabbab*, and the *Banu Mozzinab*. *Modrecab* and *Tabekhab* had the surname of *Khendef*; which they assumed from that of their mother, whose name is said to have been *Lili*. She was the daughter of *Holván*, the son of *Amrán*, the son of *Al Háf*, the son of *Kodbaab*. All the aforesaid tribes were sometimes called *Banu Khendef* (3).

(D) *Khozaimab*'s brother *Hodhail* was the father of the *Hedhailites*; to which tribe belonged the poet *Abu Dhorwaib*, *Gulab*, *Saad*, *Kais*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ud*, *Mohammed*'s partner, or companion (4).

(E) *Kenánab* derived his name from the word *Ken*, which signifies a *cover, umbrage, protection, &c.* he having been the protector and asylum of his people. He had two brothers, *Al Harun* and *Asad*. From *Al Harun* sprung the tribes of *Adal* and *Al Daisb*, which were called *Al Kúrah*, because they were joined together, and considered as one people. From *Asad* issued the *Cábelites*, the *Dudánites*, and others, who all bore the name of *Asadites*. *Kenánab* had several sons besides *Al Nadr*, viz. *Malcán*, *Abd Manáh*, *Amru*, *Amer*, and *Malec*. From *Malcán* came the *Banu Malcán*; from *Abd Manáh* the *Banu Gbifár*, the *Banu Baer*, the *Al Doylites*, the *Banu Leith*, the *Banu'l Hareth*, the *Banu Madloj*, and the *Banu Damrah*; from *Amru* the *Amruites*; from *Amer* the *Amerites*; and from *Malec* the *Banu Ferús*. From *Kenánab* also came the *Ababishites*, whom some have confounded with the *Abassins*, or *Ethiopians* (5).

(F) *Al Nadr* received his name from his beauty, and the brightness of his face. We find him called *Koreish* by *Al Jannábi*; but, according to *Abulfeda*, that was the surname of *Febr*. Nor is *Al Jannábi* intirely consistent with himself in this particular. With regard to the origin of the word *Koreish*, it denotes a sea-monster, which devours the other monsters produced in the watry

element, and is remarkable for its strength and bravery. As therefore *Febr* resembled that animal in hardness and valour, he was honoured with the name of *Koreish*. Others deduce it from the verb *karásha*, which signifies *to assemble, collect, or draw together*; the descendents of *Febr* having been assembled by *Kosa*, when he formed the design of making himself master of the *Caaba*. But the former etymon seems to be the best approved of by the most celebrated *Arab* historians (6).

(G) *Lowa* had eight sons besides *Caab*, according to the author of the *Masalec*; viz. *Saad*, *Khozaimab*, *Al Háreth*, *Amer*, *Asámab*, *Jesham*, *Aruf*, and *Amru*. From four of these descended as many tribes; but *Al Háreth* died without issue. *Amru*, the son of *Abd Wadd*, who was slain by *Ali* in the war of the ditch, was of the tribe of *Amer*. From *Lowa* likewise, or rather his son *Caab*, sprung the *Banu Jemab*, and the *Banu Sabm*, whose progenitor was *Hofais*, the son of *Caab*, and the *Banu Ada*, so denominated from *Ada*, another of *Caab*'s sons. To the former tribe belonged *Omyya*, the son of *Kbalf*, an enemy to *Mohammed*; and to the latter *Omar*, one of *Mohammed*'s successors; as also *Said*, the son of *Zaid*, one of the ten martyrs (7).

(H) His brother's name was *Tayem*, surnamed *Al Adram*; that is to say, *without a beard*. The posterity of *Tayem*, amongst the *Arabs*, went under the denomination of *Adramites* (8).

(I) *Abu Becr*, father-in law to *Mohammed*, and his successor in the *Khalifat*, was a *Tayemite*, and consequently descended from *Tayem*, one of the sons of *Morrah*; as was also *Talba*, one of the ten martyrs. *Kháled*, the son of *Al Walid*, and *Abu Jahl*, the son of *Heshám*, whose proper name was *Amru Ebn Heshám*, were two of the *Banu Makhzum*, who deduced their origin from *Yokdbah*, another of the sons of *Morrah* (9).

(3) Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 48. Gagn. la vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. p. 42. hist. Arab. p. 49. Gagn. la vie de Mahom. p. 43.

(4) Poc. & Gagn. ubi supra. (5) Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50. ut et ipse Pocock, ibid. & Gagn. ubi supra. (6) Al Jannabi, Poc. & Gagn. ubi supra. (7) Aut. lib. Masalec, apud Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50. ut et ipse Pocock, ibid. (8) Gagn. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 47, Al Amsterdam, 1732. (9) Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50.



Kofa possesses  
himself of the  
guardianship  
of the Caaba.

THE guardianship of the *Caaba* was first possessed by the family of *Ishmael*, but afterwards translated to the house of *Jorham*. Here it continued for several ages; after the expiration of which, it was wrested out of the hands of the *Jorhamites* by the tribe of *Khozâa*. This post gave its possessors no small influence and authority, as the temple of *Mecca* was held in excessive veneration by all the *Arabs* in general, if we only except the tribes of *Tay* and *Khatbâam*, and some of the posterity of *Al Hâreth Ebn Caab*, who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto. *Kofa*, therefore, in order to aggrandize the *Koreish*, and gain reputation to his family, meditated the acquisition of this important charge; imagining that so honourable a station would make him to be revered through the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*. The execution of this design he facilitated, by marrying the daughter of *Halil*, who then governed *Mecca*, and kept the keys of the *Caaba*. Having had by her three sons, *Abd'al Dâr*, *Abd Menâf*, and *Abd'al Uzza*, and his affairs being in a flourishing situation, whilst those of *Halil* went greatly to decay, he found it no difficult matter to engage the *Koreish* to support him in the enterprize he had formed. Having, therefore, privately assembled a body of troops, he posted them about *Mozdalifa*, between mount *Arafat* and *Mina*, on the day when the ceremony of throwing the stones in the valley of *Mina* was performed. At the head of these he rushed out of his ambuscade, whilst the pilgrims were employed in that exercise, and fell upon the *Khozâites* with such fury, that he put a great number of them to the sword, and forced the rest to cry out for quarter. After this blow, *Halil* and *Kofa* referring their differences to arbitration, *Tâ'amer Ebn Awf*, who was chosen umpire by both parties, adjudged the sovereignty of *Mecca*, and the custody of the *Caaba*, to *Kofa*; who immediately assumed the title of king, and took an oath of allegiance from his new subjects. He then divided the town into four parts, and gave houses in the centre of it to those who had the most distinguished themselves in the late expedition<sup>a</sup>.

SOME authors relate this affair in a different manner. They pretend, that *Kofa* circumvented *Abu Gabshân*, then the guardian of the *Caaba*, whilst in a drunken fit, and bought of him the keys of that sacred place for a bottle of wine. But the tribe of *Khozâa*, according to the same writers, resenting the affront offered them in the person of *Abu Gabshân*, by *Kofa*, at that time prince of the *Koreish*, formed a design of repossessing themselves of the *Caaba*. *Kofa*, receiving advice of this, privately drew together a considerable party of the *Koreishites*, with which he surprised the *Khozâites*, made himself master of *Mecca*, and secured that important conquest in such a manner that it remained in his family till the time of *Mohammed*<sup>b</sup>.

WE must not omit observing here, that, according to some of the *Arab* historians, the *Ishmaelites* expelled the *Jorhamites* from the city of *Mecca*, and the *Caaba*, but were at last themselves chased from thence by the *Khozâites*, supported by the descendents of *Beor*, the son of *Abd Manah*, the son of *Kenânab*. It ought also to be remarked, that the *Khozâites* were of the house of *Joktan*, and settled originally in *Yaman*, but were forced to abandon their native country by the inundation of *Al Arem*. After the terrible destruction occasioned by that inundation, the people of this tribe retired to the valley of *Marri*, near *Mecca*, where they soon arrived at a very considerable degree of power. In fine, they possessed themselves of that city, and the temple there, from whence they were dislodged by the *Koreish*, under the conduct of *Kofa*, in the manner already related<sup>c</sup>.

**Abd Menâf.** *ABD MENAF*, the second son of *Kofa*, was declared prince of the *Koreish* in his father's life-time, and his subjects then took an oath of allegiance to him. The prophetic light, which, as the *Moslems* pretend, manifested itself in his face, gave him the right of primogeniture. His proper name was *Al Moghâira*, or *Moghirah*, and one of his surnames *Al Kamar*, or *the moon*, which he received on account of his transcendent beauty. He is said to have been a religious prince, and a great encourager of piety and devotion. *Abd Menâf* died at *Mecca*, and was buried on a little hill called *Al Hajun*; which, in after-ages, became a common place of interment. *Abd'al Dâr* was the father of the *Banu Shibah*, who were porters of the temple of *Mecca*. From *Abd'al Dâr* likewise descended *Al Nodar*, the son of *Al Hâreth*, one of *Mohammed*'s most implacable enemies, who was put to death by his order, after the battle of *Bedr*. From *Abd'al Uzza*, *Kofa*'s youngest son, sprung *Al Zobaïr*, the son of *Al Awâm*, one of the ten martyrs; as also *Khadîjah*, the first wife of *Mohammed*, and *Waraka Ebn Nawfal*. The name *Abd'al Uzza* signifies the servant or worshipper of *Al Uzza*, an idol of the *Meccans*, mentioned in the *Korân*; it having been a common practice among the pagan *Arabs* to assume such names as these, in order to shew how profound a veneration they entertained for their false deities<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL JANNAB. ABULFED. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 50. 342, & alibi. MOHAMMED. in Al Kor. sur. cvi. AER. ECHELLENS. hist. Arab. p. i. c. 3. Fortalit. fidei, lib. iv. confid. 1. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 4. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 51—54. <sup>b</sup> Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42. 342. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3. <sup>c</sup> AL BEIDAWI. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 4. <sup>d</sup> ABULFED. ubi supra. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50, 51. GAGN. ubi supra. p. 54.



a NOTHING, therefore, can be more palpably absurd, than the notion the *Mohammedans* entertain of the religious sentiments of *Kösa*, and his son *Abd Menâf*. They suppose them both to have been distinguished by the prophetic light, and consequently to have been of the true religion, or at least always to have maintained the unity of the divine nature. Whereas the very names *Abd Menâf*, *Abd'al Uzza*, amount to a clear and incontestable proof that they were immersed in a most gross and shocking idolatry<sup>\*</sup>.

'Tis true, the *Mohammedans* distinguish between the prophetic light and the gift of prophecy; making the latter a much more noble and sublime donation than the former. They considered the prophetic light as an internal impulse, disposing men to a compliance with the dictates of reason, and reclaiming them to a more perfect use of it; whereas they b take the gift of prophecy to consist in an extraordinary mission to declare to men some ancient, neglected, or forgotten, revealed truths. However, as they intimate, that the aforesaid light was communicated to *Adam* after his repentance, and has since been imparted to none but the prophets, or such wise and good men as have rendered themselves praiseworthy for their piety, they ought not to suppose that any gross idolaters were ever favoured with it. Besides, such a supposition seems to run directly counter to what has been advanced by *Mohammed* in the *Korân*. But this is not the only absurdity to be met with in the *Moslem* historians<sup>1</sup>.

HASHEM succeeded his father *Abd Menâf* in the principality of the *Koreish*, and consequently in the government of *Mecca*, and custody of the *Caaba*. His proper name was c *Amru*, with the surname of *Al Ola*, or the *Sublime*, on account of his high dignity, annexed to it. *Hâshem*, his other surname, denoted *one that broke bread*; and was given him on account of his great liberality during a famine at *Mecca*, when he supplied all the inhabitants of that city with bread. Having amassed large sums of money, he took a journey into *Syria*, according to some of the *Arab* writers, where he purchased a vast quantity of meal, and made cakes of it, which he broke with his own hands, and divided amongst the people of *Mecca*, upon his arrival there. He likewise killed a prodigious number of camels, with which he fed the *Meccans*, and thereby effectually relieved them in the time of their great distress. Nay, as the soil about *Mecca* was so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, and consequently no corn or grain, which the *Meccans* d were obliged to fetch from other places, *Hâshem* took care to remedy this defect. He appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter; by means of which he amply supplied them with all sorts of provisions. These caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the *Korân*. The provisions brought by them were distributed twice a year, viz. in the month of *Râjeb*, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. In fine, *Hâshem*, by his prudent conduct, raised the glory of his people to the highest pitch; insomuch that all the neighbouring heads of tribes, and great men, made their court to him. Nay, according to some *Mohammedan* writers, the emperor *Heraclius* sought for an alliance with him. However, this will not be admitted by the learned; since the first year of the *Hejra* coincides with the twelfth of that emperor's reign. But the e *Moslem* historians are such wretched chronologers, that we ought not to be surprised at meeting in their works with blunders of this kind; tho' they clearly demonstrate their great ignorance, falshood, and partiality. *Hâshem* died at *Gâza* in *Syria*, or *Shâm*, about twenty, or twenty-five, years before the war of the *elephant*<sup>m</sup>.

HASHEM had three brothers, whose descendents made a very considerable figure amongst the *Arabs*. *Abd Shems*, the first of them, begot *Ommiyah*, from whom descended the *Ommiyahan* khalifs. Amongst these may be ranked *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Moawiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, *Yezid Ebn Moawiyah*, *Moawiyah Ebn Yezid*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, &c. as will hereafter more fully appear. From *Al Motâllab* sprung the *Motâlebites*; amongst whom the *Imâm Mohammed Ebn Edris Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Othmân Ebn Shâfêi*, commonly called f *Al Shâfêi*, was of principal note. *Nawfal* has always been considered by the *Arabs* as the progenitor of the *Nawfalites*; to which tribe belonged *Waraka Ebn Nawfal*, who left idols, and acknowledged but one God, before the mission of *Mohammed*. The memory of *Hâshem* is held in such high veneration by the *Moslems*, that, from him, the kindred of *Mohammed*, amongst them, are called *Hâshemites*; and he who presides over *Mecca* and *Medina*, who must always be of the race of *Mohammed*, has the *Arabic* title of *Al Imâm Al Hâshem*, that is, *the prince*, or *chief*, of the *Hâshemites*, even to this day<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>\*</sup> ABULFED. POC. PRID. & GAGN. ubi sup. <sup>1</sup> AL SHAHRESTAN. lib. de generat. & nutritur. Mahomet. POC. ubi supra, p. 53, & p. 68. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 6. BOULAINVIL. ubi supra. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. iii.

<sup>m</sup> POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 51. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. 2. sub init. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. cvi. GAGN. ubi supra, p. 55—59. AL ZAMAKHSAR. JALLAL. AL BEIDAWI. ABR. ECHELLENS. hist. Arab. par. i. c. 3. AL SHAHRESTAN. lib. de generat. & nutritur. Mahomet. GABR. SIONIT. in append. ad SHARIF AL EDRISI, c. 7. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 3. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 4. <sup>n</sup> EBN AL ATHIR. AL BEIDAWI, ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed, p. 16. POC. ubi sup. p. 157. GAGN. & GABR. SIONIT. ubi supra. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 43.



Abd'al Motalleb.

ABD'AL MOTALLEB, the son of *Isham*, had the name of *Shaiba Al Hamd*, that is, a venerable old age; because he came grey-headed into the world. The *Meccans* surnamed him *Abd'al Motalleb*, or the servant of *Al Motalleb*; because, having lost his father in his infancy, he was brought up by his uncle *Al Motalleb*. In the beginning of the month of *Ramadan*, he entertained the poor upon the flat roof of his house, and afterwards supplied the very fowls of the air, and wild beasts of the field, with provisions of various kinds, which he ordered his servants to leave upon the summits of the neighbouring mountains. The *Arabs* represent him as extremely affable, and easy of access. From what has been just observed, he likewise appears to have been a person of a most generous and excellent disposition °.

WE are told by the *Mohammedans*, that God discovered to *Abd'al Motalleb*, in a supernatural manner, the well *Zemzem*, about five hundred years after it had been filled up by *Anru*, the son of *Al Hareth*, prince of the *Jorhamites*, a little before he abandoned the territory of *Mecca*, and fled with his people into *Yemen*. During the aforesaid interval, the spot this famous well had formerly occupied was intirely unknown. The *Koreish* at first gave *Abd'al Motalleb*, and his son *Al Hareth*, some obstruction in the execution of their design; but, at last, *Abd'al Motalleb*, having got twelve sons to support him, carried his point with a high hand, and, in obedience to the divine command, opened the well *Zemzem*. The *Mohammedans* are persuaded, that *Zemzem* is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of *Ishmael*, when *Hagar*, his mother, wandered with him in the desert; and some pretend, that it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the *Egyptian* tongue, *zem, zem*, that is, *stay, stay*; tho' it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. Others deduce it from the verb *zem*, which signifies *to issue out of the earth*. The water of this well, which is on the east side of the *Caaba*, and covered with a small building, and cupola, is reckoned holy, and highly revered; being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. *Abd'allah*, surnamed *Al Hafsedh*, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of *Mohammed*, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of *Zemzem* water. The citizens of *Mecca* had, for a long time, no other water than that with which they were supplied by this well; but the great concourse of pilgrims, and caravans, in after-ages, rendering a more copious supply of water necessary, an aqueduct, that had been begun from a spring at a considerable distance some time before, was, after several years labour, finished by the *Kbâlif Al Moktader* °.

Abd'allah.

ABD'ALLAH, *Mohammed's* father, was a younger son of *Abd'al Motalleb*, and the most beautiful person of the tribe of *Koreish*. However, he cannot be supposed to have been his father's youngest son, as *M. de Boulainvilliers* asserts; since *Hamza* and *Al Abbâs* were both younger than *Abd'allah*. *Abd'al Motalleb* is said to have had twelve sons besides *Abd'allah*, whose names have been given us in the following order by *Abulfeda*: *Hamza, Al Abbâs, Abu Tâleb, Abu Lâheb, Al Ghidâk, Al Hareth, Jebel, Al Mokawwam, Derâr, Al Zobeir, Kethâm, and Abd'al Caaba*. From *Al Abbâs* descended the *Abbâsides*; of which family were several *Kbâlifs*. *Abu Tâleb* was the father of the famous *Ali*, the fourth *Kbâlif*, and successor of *Mohammed*. As for *Abd'allah*, the ladies of his own tribe fell so desperately in love with him, that some of them are said to have made the same attempt upon him that *Potiphar's* wife did upon *Joseph*, according to the sacred historian. He married *Amena*, the daughter of *Wâheb*, the son of *Abd'al Menâf*, in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of his age, if we will believe *Abulfeda*; tho' *Abmed Ebn Yusef* makes him to have been near ten years younger, when this event happened. Be that as it will, the *Moslems* represent *Amena* as the most beautiful, prudent, and virtuous lady of her tribe, and consequently the most worthy of so extraordinary a person as *Abd'allah* °.

ABD'ALLAH dying young, and in his father's life-time, left his widow, and infant son, in very mean circumstances; his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one *Ethiopian* she-slave. *Abd'al Motalleb* was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild *Mohammed*; which he not only did during his life, but, at his death, enjoined his eldest son *Abu Tâleb*, who was brother to *Abd'allah* by the same mother, to provide for him for the future. Soon after which, *Abd'al Motalleb* expired; being, according to *Ebn Amid*, an hundred and ten years old at his death. That he was prince, or chief, of the *Koreish* during the war of the elephant, we learn from *Abulfeda*; and, from *Al Juzi*, that *Abd'allah*, being sent by his

° EBN AL ATHIR, ABULFED. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL JANNAB. ABR. ECHELLENS. POC. PRID. GAGN. ubi supra. ° Aut. lib. SAIRAT MOGHOLTAI, EBN HESHAM, GAB. SIONIT. & J. HESR. de nonnull. urb. orient. p. 19. D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 5. GAGN. ubi supra. p. 60, 61, 62. SHARIF AL EDRISI, apud Pocockium. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 124. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 3, 4. ° AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABI, ABULFED. in genealog. Koreishitar. GREG. ABU'LFARAJ. ubi sup. AL KODAI, POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 51. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. Moham. c. ix. p. 21. & la vie de Mahomet, p. 62--63.



a father to reconnoitre the enemy, brought the first advice of their supernatural defeat. Our readers will not expect a relation of *Abraham's* expedition against *Mecca* here, since we have already given a full and ample account of it in the history of the ancient *Arabs*, preceding the birth of *Mohammed* <sup>r</sup>.

FROM what has been said, it appears that *Mohammed* was not of such mean extraction as some Authors pretend; since his family had, for several descents, presided over the *Koreish*, the most noble tribe amongst all the *Arabians*. However, 'tis not to be wondered at, that *Mohammed*, in the beginning of his life, should have been in a very poor and despicable condition: for his father dying before he was two years old, and whilst his grandfather *Abd'ol Motâlleb* was still living, all the power and wealth of his family seem to have been distributed amongst his uncles. Of these, *Abu Tâleb*, who, after his father's death, bore the chief sway in *Mecca*, made by far the most considerable figure. He arrived at a good old age, and was extremely kind to his nephew *Mohammed*; instructing him in the business of a merchant, which he followed. To this end, he took the young prophet, to use the stile of the *Moslems*, with him into *Syria*, when he was but thirteen, and afterwards recommended him to *Khadijah*, a noble and rich widow, for her factor; in whose service he behaved himself so well, that, by making him her husband, she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in *Mecca* <sup>s</sup>.

FROM the preceding account it plainly appears, that the first series of descents in the genealogical line of *Mohammed* by no means corresponds with the course of nature. It contains only nine generations, a number apparently too small for the interval between *Abraham* and *Adnân*. For, unless we allow this, it must be maintained, that the whole space between *Abraham* and *Mohammed*, including near two thousand six hundred years, contained only thirty generations; which no rational person, moderately versed in history and chronology, will ever be disposed to admit. Those authors, therefore, who enumerate between *Ishmael* and *Adnân* forty generations, approach much nearer the truth than either *Al Beibaki*, *Al Jarra*, or the tradition derived from *Omm Salma*. But even that number is too small, as it will not make the whole genealogical series between *Abraham* and *Mohammed* to consist of above sixty descents; whereas that vast interval must at least have comprehended sixty-seven or sixty-eight generations, even tho' we should make the greatest allowance that can in reason be desired for the superior extent of human life during the ages preceding *David*. We cannot therefore but dissent from *Abulfeda*, tho' a writer in good repute amongst the learned, when he gives the preference to *Al Jarra's* sentiments in the point before us; since that author places only eight generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*; whereas other *Arab* chronologers enumerate about forty descents between them. Besides, *Abulfeda* makes the creation of the world to have preceded the *Hejra* 6216 years, and has placed the age of *Ishmael* at as great a distance from that of *Mohammed* as the patrons either of the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, or *Septuagint* chronology; and consequently ought to have assigned as large a number of generations to the interval between those ages as any Christian historian. However, as accuracy in chronological matters is not to be expected from the best of the *Moslem* historians, we are not surpris'd to find *Abulfeda* so deviating from the course of nature, and consequently from truth, in the particular here touched upon. But we cannot so easily excuse Mr. *Gagnier* and Mr. *Sale*, who have both implicitly followed *Abulfeda* on this occasion, and consequently decided in favour of *Al Jarra*; though, to all persons moderately versed in the first principles only of history and chronology, nothing can appear more absurd than such a decision <sup>t</sup>.

As for the Count of *Boulainvilliers*, we consider him only as a secondary writer in the eastern, or rather *Arabian*, world; and therefore do not greatly wonder that he should transcribe the errors of the *Arab* historians, without making proper remarks or observations upon them: nay, that he should not be able to distinguish such errors, when they occur, from facts which have the most obvious and indelible characters of truth impressed upon them. That nobleman was little acquainted with the spirit and genius of the eastern writers; nay, he was an utter stranger to the *Arabic* tongue, as appears not only from his own confession, but likewise from his numerous corruptions of *Arabic* proper names; which betrays a total ignorance of even the first rudiments of that noble language. His chronological knowledge scarce comes up to even that of the *Arabs*, as must be allowed apparent from his making *Maïec*, who preceded *Mohammed* but thirteen generations, coeval with *Jehoshaphat*,

<sup>r</sup> ABULFED. de vit. Moham. p. 2. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra. EBN AMID. AL JUZI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. p. 67, 68. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. 105. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 38. Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 424, 425, 426, 427.

<sup>s</sup> ABULFED. ABUNAZAR, ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. compendios. dynasty, p. 161, 162. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. HOTTINGER. hist. oriental. lib. ii. c. 1. GUADAGNOL. tract. ii. c. 10. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 4. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. liv. prem.

<sup>t</sup> AL BEIHAKI, AL JARRA, & OMM SALMA apud Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Moham. c. ii. ut & ipse ABULFED, ibid. & c. xxiii. p. 47—50. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. introduit. par. ii. SALE's genealogic. tab. in prelim. disc. p. 8. See also dissertat. on the chronology of the septuagint, Lond. 1741.



king of *Judah*. Nor is his sincerity, or veracity, at all superior to his abilities. He frequently runs counter to the whole stream of *Arab* antiquity, contradicting all the most celebrated *Arab* historians: nay, sometimes he does not scruple to advance points which are entirely unsupported by any noted *Arab* writer. Thus, to omit others that might be produced, he asserts, that *Malec* revived in his family the prophetic light; whereas, according to the *Arabs*, all *Malec*'s predecessors, even up to *Adnân*, were adorned with that light. He also affirms *Gâleb*, the son of *Febr*, to have been a most celebrated chemist; and that his chemical works have been translated into the *vulgar tongue*; by which he must mean either *Latin* or *French*; intimating hereby, that chemistry was understood by the *Arabs* near four hundred years before the birth of *Mohammed*; whereas *Jeber* (K), who lived above an hundred years after that event, was the first *Arab* famed for his knowledge in the spagiric art, and the earliest *Arab* chemist, whose works are now extant. As the word *Jeber*, in the *Arabic* language, signifies a great man, and a king, the author last mentioned is commonly supposed to have been a prince; and, as he wrote in *Arabic*, a prince of *Arabia*. This undoubtedly gave occasion to the count *de Boulainvilliers* to assert, that *Gâleb*, in his chemical works, was dignified with the title of king; which clearly proves him to have confounded *Gâleb*, the son of *Febr*, with *Jeber* the great reformer and improver of chemistry. Such an egregious blunder as this cannot fail of prejudicing all our learned readers against his performance, and convincing us that he was unequal to the task he undertook, when he ventured to write the life of *Mohammed*. But of this we shall hereafter meet with many flagrant proofs. In fine, the count *de Boulainvilliers*'s piece now before us ought not to be considered as a history of *Mohammed*, but as an impious romance, interspersed with arbitrary assertions, void of all foundation and authority; or, if we please, as a panegyric upon that impostor, abounding with blasphemous reflections, that strike at the very fundamental principles of the Christian religion<sup>u</sup>.

His translator  
a writer of the  
same principles  
and capacity.

In vain, therefore, does his translator endeavour to palliate the ignorance, chimerical notions, and irreligious sentiments, so conspicuous in this piece, by styling them *comprehensive learning, profound reading, dignity of thoughts, refined sentiments, and excellent documents*. With the same success does he attempt to vindicate the count's sincerity, by asserting, that this writer only levelled his reflections at the corruptions of the church of *Rome*. For that many of his observations are clearly subversive of some fundamental articles of our holy faith, and were therefore probably intended by him to overturn the foundations of Christianity, cannot, as we apprehend, be well denied. Besides, as he professed himself a member of the church of *Rome*, when he wrote his *LIFE OF MOHAMMED*, it did not so well become him, considered as a man of uprightness and sincerity, to expose the corruptions of that church. But it is a common and stale artifice, amongst the propagators of infidelity, to pretend to have only in view the errors of the church of *Rome*, which must be owned to be a corrupt and idolatrous communion, when they are either sapping the foundations of revealed religion, or making a direct and formal attack upon it. So that, in our opinion, the translator of the count *de Boulainvilliers*'s *LIFE OF MOHAMMED* discovers himself to have been a person of the same capacity, of the same extensive reading, of the same profound erudition, of the same sincerity and veracity, and, lastly, of the very same religion, with the original author. But it is time now to put an end to this digression, and return to the history of *Mohammed*<sup>w</sup>.

Mohammed  
born in the  
year of Christ  
578.

*MOHAMMED* the legislator of the *Arabs*, and founder of the *Moslem* power, honoured by his followers with the glorious title of *THE APOSTLE OF GOD*, was born at *Mecca*, in the year of *CHRIST* 578, soon after the commencement of the æra of *THE ELEPHANT*, as has been already observed. The principal epochs of the ancient world preceded this famous event, according to *Abulfeda*, the following number of years<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> M. le Comte de BOULAINVILLIERS vie de Moham. liv. sec. & alibi pass. ABULFED. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL JANNAB. alique scriptor. Arab. GAGN. ubi sup. in introduct. p. ii. H. BOERH. hist. of chem. p. 143. Lond. 1727. <sup>w</sup> BOULAINV. pass. See also his translator's ded. and pref. <sup>x</sup> ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxxiii. p. 46—50. Edit. Gagn. Oxon. 1723. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 162. Oxon, 1663.

(K) *Jeber*, or *Febr*, according to *Leo Africanus*, was originally a *Greek*, and a *Christian*; but afterwards embraced *Mohammedism*, went over into *Asia*, and there learned the *Arabic* tongue. He adds, that his book was wrote in *Greek*, and translated thence into *Arabic*; and that he was not known by the name *Jeber* till after this version.

*Golijs*, professor of the oriental languages in the University of *Leyden*, presented *Jeber*'s piece in MS. to the public library there. This he translated into *Latin*, and published first at *Leyden*, in *folio*, and afterwards in *quarto*, under the title of *Lapis Philosophorum*. It contains

many useful and curious things about the nature of metals, their purification, fusion, malleability, &c. with excellent accounts of salts, and *aque fortes*. Abundance of his experiments, according to the famous Dr. *Boerhaave*, are verified by present practice; and several of them have passed for modern discoveries. Except for what relates to the philosopher's stone, says the same learned author, the exactness of his operations is really surprising. He seems to have lived, continues this writer, in the eighth century. For a farther account of him, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Boerhaave*, in the piece here mentioned (10).

(10) *Boerhaave's history of chemistry*, p. 14, 15. Lond. 1727. See also *Leo Africanus*. lib. iii. c. 106.



a	THE creation of the world,	—	—	—	—	6163.
	THE universal deluge,	—	—	—	—	3921.
	THE confusion of languages,	—	—	—	—	3251.
	THE birth of <i>Abraham</i> ,	—	—	—	—	2840.
	THE building of the <i>Caaba</i> ,	—	—	—	—	2740.
	THE death of <i>Moses</i> ,	—	—	—	—	2295.
	THE building of the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> ,	—	—	—	—	1749.
	THE commencement of the æra of <i>Nabonassar</i> ,	—	—	—	—	1316.
	THE destruction of the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> ,	—	—	—	—	1297.
	THE conquest of the <i>Persian</i> empire by <i>Alexander the Great</i> ,	—	—	—	—	881.
b	THE victory at <i>Actium</i> ,	—	—	—	—	599.
	THE commencement of the <i>Christian</i> Æra,	—	—	—	—	578.
	THE destruction of the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> by <i>Titus</i> ,	—	—	—	—	505.
	THE first year of the emperor <i>Hadrian</i> ,	—	—	—	—	454.
	THE insurrection of <i>Ardesbir</i> , the son of <i>Bâbek</i> ,	—	—	—	—	369.
	THE beginning of the reign of <i>Diocletian</i> ,	—	—	—	—	286.

THE pretended prophet first saw the light on *Monday* the twelfth day of the month called by the *Arabs* the former *Rabî*, precisely at the sixth hour of the day ; or, according to our manner of computing, about noon. This answered to the same hour of the twenty-second day of the *Syriac* month *Nisan*, corresponding with our *April* ; the sun being then in the tenth degree of *Aries*, as has been particularly remarked by some of the *Moslem* historians <sup>y</sup>.

THE *Mohammedan* writers pretend, that the moment their prophet was taken out of his mother's womb, there rushed out with him a luminous appearance, that enlightened, in an extraordinary manner, all the cities, towns, villages, castles, and public places of *Syria*. They add, that, at the same instant, he fell upon his knees, and, lifting up his face towards heaven, in a devout manner, pronounced, with an audible and distinct voice, the words *Allah Acbar*, &c. that is to say, *God is great ; there is only one God, and I am his prophet*. They likewise affirm, that he was born circumcised (L), and with his umbilical vessels cut, to the great astonishment of all who were present at his birth <sup>z</sup>.

SOME of these writers have also handed down to us a long detail of the prodigies that attended his birth, as they were related by his mother *Amena*. Our curious readers will not be displeased to meet with a few of the most remarkable of them here ; as they will serve to give them a tolerable idea of the *Arab* genius, and clearly demonstrate how easily and grossly the *Mohammedans* may be imposed upon <sup>a</sup>.

FIRST, All the demons, or evil spirits, that had posted themselves in the constellations, and signs of the *Zodiac*, to pry into the actions, and overhear the discourses, of the inhabitants of heaven, as also to tempt them, were dislodged from thence : nor could they ever after animate idols, or deliver oracles upon earth ; their influence there, in that respect, being totally destroyed <sup>b</sup>.

SECONDLY, The sacred fire of the *Persians*, which had remained burning, without intermission, above a thousand years, ever since the time of *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, immediately after the delivery of *Amena*, was totally extinguished <sup>c</sup>.

THIRDLY, The waters of the lake of *Sawa*, belonging to the *Banu Hamdân*, were so entirely dried up, that a city was built on the bottom of it, which has preserved the name of *Sawia* even to this day <sup>d</sup>.

FOURTHLY, Part of the king of *Persia*'s palace was overthrown by an earthquake ; fourteen of its towers having been demolished by the violence of the shock. This so terrified *Khosrû*, that he immediately sent for the *Mubadân* (M), or *Magian* pontiff, to learn of him what

<sup>y</sup> ABULFED. ubi sup. c. 1. p. 2. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 5, 6. Vide etiam lib. Pers. MU'GJIZAT PHARSI apud Cl. Hyd. in præfat. ad hist. relig. vet. Pers. fol. penult. init. & GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 2.  
<sup>z</sup> AL HAFEDH apud Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 3. ut et ipse ABULFED. ibid. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 77, 78. <sup>a</sup> EEN HESHAM, AL HAFEDH, MAKHZUM, & ABULFED, ubi supra. <sup>b</sup> Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. xv. v. 16. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, &c. Vid. etiam GAGN. ubi supra. <sup>c</sup> AL HAFEDH, ABULFED. MAKHZUM, & al. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. prodr. par. i. p. 40. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. & GAGN. ubi supra.

(L) This prodigy seems to have been feigned by the *Mohammedans*, in imitation of the *Talmudists* ; according to whom, there were only the following fourteen persons born circumcised, from the creation of the world ; *Adam, Seth, Noah, Shem, Melchisedek, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Balaam, Samuel, David, Jeremiah*, and

*Zerubbabel*. Not the least mention is made of circumcision in the *Korân* ; but a long account of this rite, as used by the *Arabs*, may be met with in Dr. Pocock, and others (11).  
(M) The most ancient order of ecclesiastics amongst the *Persians* was called, in their language, *Mîgh*, or the

(11) *Telammidenu*, fol. iv. col. 4. R. Gedalia in *Shalshelet Hakabbala*, ex R. Nathan. *Perke Aboth*, &c. *Vajikra Rabba*, f. c. iv. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 319. Had. Reland, de relig. Mohammed. p. 75, & 268. Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 3.



what such a disaster might portend. The *Mûbadân*, or *Mûbadbân*, instead of satisfying the king directly, told his majesty, that he had lately seen in a dream a fierce and strong camel vanquished by a beautiful *Arabian* horse; and that, after this, the *Tigris* seemed to him to overflow its banks, and lay all the neighbouring country under water: which, said he, imports, that we shall receive some bad news from the side of *Arabia*. Upon this, *Khosrû* dispatched an express to *Al Nooman*, the son of *Al Mondar*, an *Arab* prince, who held his residence at *Hira*, a city seated on the frontiers of *Syria* and *Persia*, one of his vassals, commanding him to come to court, and bring an *Arabian* interpreter of dreams and prodigies with him. *Al Nooman*, in obedience to this order, soon after presented to the king *Abd'al Massib*, the *Ghassanite*, to whom *Khosrû* imparted a particular account of the preceding prodigies, and desired an interpretation of them. To which *Abd'al Massib* replied, that he should easily satisfy his majesty, if he might have leave to consult his uncle *Satib*, a celebrated diviner, who resided in the eastern part of *Syria*. Which having obtained, he received for answer from the sage, that the fall of the fourteen towers, with the drying up of the lake of *Sawa*, the *Mûbadbân's* dream, and the extinction of the sacred fire of the *Persians*, denoted the failure of the royal family of the *Sassanidæ*, and the subjugation of the *Persians*, after the reigns of fourteen kings and queens; which accordingly happened. We are farther told, that *Satib* (N), being extremely affected with *Abd'al Massib's* relation of the foregoing prodigies, ordered himself to be carried to *Mecca*, where *Mohammed* was lately born. Here he met with *Abu Tâleb*, *Mohammed's* uncle, and *Abd'allah*, his father, to whom he foretold the future advancement of the child; and, amongst other things, said, "His name is known both in the LAW and the GOSPEL; his name in heaven is *Ahmed*, on earth *Mohammed*, and, in paradise, *Abu'l Kâsem*" (O).

The Moslems imitate the Evangelists.

WE need not inform our intelligent readers here, that these extravagant fictions have been coined by the *Mohammedans*, in order to represent the birth of their pretended prophet as similar to that of our Saviour CHRIST; or, in other words, to draw a sort of parallel between those two events: for, as we are assured by the sacred writers, that our Lord *was* God manifested, to destroy the works of the devil; that he should save his people, or all mankind, from their sins; that the glory of the Lord shone round about some shepherds abiding in the neighbouring fields, at his birth, when an angel of the LORD came upon them; that *Simeon*, an holy devout person, and *Anna*, a prophetess, predicted most illustrious things of him; that, some time after his birth, wise men, or rather Magi, came from the East, to worship him, and, in acknowledgement of his greatness, to make presents to him; that they were directed to *Bethlehem*, the place of his residence, by a star, or luminous appearance, &c.; so the *Moslem* writers affirm, that, at *Mohammed's* birth, a supernatural light spread itself all over *Syria*; that all demons were then expelled the celestial orbs; that other unaccountable prodigies happened; that *Satib*, a celebrated wise man, or diviner, being struck with them, went to *Mecca*, to see so wonderful an infant, and there foretold his future greatness, &c. From whence it clearly appears, that the *Mohammedan* writers imitated, or rather aped, the sacred penmen, in the point before us; tho' the relations of the latter are as different from those of the former, as reality is from fiction, religion from superstition, sacred and divine truth from diabolical error and delusion.

*Abd'al Motaleb calls his grandson Mohammed.*

ABD'AL MOTALLEB, *Mohammed's* grandfather, the seventh day after his birth, made a great entertainment, to which he invited the principal of the *Koreish*; who, after the repast,

<sup>c</sup> AL HAFEDH, ABULFED: MAKHZUM, MARRACC, ubi supra. AL JANNABI, RUSTEM AL MAULAVI, AL BOKHARI. HYD. hist. rel. vet. Persar. p. 364. <sup>f</sup> 1 JOH. c. iii. v. 8. MAT. c. i. v. 21. LUK. c. ii. v. 8, 9, &c. MAT. c. ii. v. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL HAFEDH, ABULFED. EEN HESKAM, AL JANNAB. &c. ubi supra. Vide etiam LUDOVICUM MARRACCIIUM, ubi sup.

order of *Magi*. The next superior order was termed *Mûbad*, an abbreviation of *Mûghbad*, the prefect, or prelate, of the *Magi*. The arch-prelate, or supreme pontiff, of the *Magi*, was known by the name of *Mûbad Mûbadân*, and sometimes simply *Mûbadân*. For a farther account of this ecclesiastical officer, we must beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. Hyde, and the authors cited by him (12).

(N) This *Satib*, if *Al Jannabi* may be credited, reigned in the city of *Najrân*. According to *Al Bokhârî*, his true name was *Rabîa Ebn Mazem*. For a farther account of him, we must refer our readers to the aforesaid *Arab* authors, who have been pretty prolix on that head (13).

(O) *Mohammed* received the prænomen of *Abul Kâsem*, from *Kâsem*, the name of the eldest son he had by *Khandijab*, as was customary amongst the *Arabs*. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Mohammed* was the first who had the name of *Ahmed*, or *Mohammed*, imposed upon him; but this is contradicted by *Ebn Khalecân*, who, in his life of the celebrated poet *Farazdak*, relates, that three *Arabs*, before *Mohammed*, went by that name. However, if any regard be due to the *Korân*, as not many Christians perhaps will believe, the pretended prophet of the *Moslems* was the first *Arab* called *Mohammed*. The word *Ahmed* signifies *praised*, *glorious*, &c. and *Mohammed*, *most praised*, *most glorious*, &c. in the superlative degree (14).

(12) *Gimâl Al Kôrasbi*, *Rustem Al Mânlawi*, *Halimi Persicus*, aliique apud V. C. Tho. Hyde, in hist. relig. vet. Persar. p. 364—366, ut & ipse Hyde, ib. (13) *Al Jannab*, in vit. *Mohammed*. *Al Bokhârî*. Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 4, 5. (14) *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Ebn Khalecân*, & *Al Kor. Mohammed*, f. lxi. v. 6. Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. de vit. *Mohammed*. p. 7. & Pec. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 167—169.



- a desired him to give the infant, he had invited them to see, a name. *Abd'al Motallib* immediately replied, *I name this child Mohammed*. The *Koreish* grandees, astonished at this, asked him again, whether he would not choose to call his grandson by a name that had belonged to some one of his family. He answered, *May the Most High glorify in heaven him whom he has created on earth!* in which he seemed to allude to the name *Mohammed*, signifying *praised, glorified, &c.* 'Tis worthy of observation, that this account of the imposition of *Mohammed's* name is nothing more than an imitation of what *St. Luke* has related on a similar occasion; which is an additional proof that the history of *Mohammed*, as given us by the *Arabs*, abounds with fictitious circumstances; and that the veracity of the *Moslem* historians, in this point at least, is not much to be depended upon <sup>z</sup>.
- b MOHAMMED lost his father *Abd'allah*, when he was about two months old, according to *Abulfeda*; tho' others believe, that his father died before he was born. *Abd'allah* departed <sup>Mohammed lost his father very young.</sup> this life at *Yathreb*; being his father's favourite, both on account of the beauty of his person, and the excellency of his disposition. We must not omit observing here, that *Yathreb* was the ancient and proper name of *Medina*, or of the territory whereon it stands. Some suppose the town was so named from its founder, *Yathreb*, the son of *Kâbiya*, the son of *Mablayel*, the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*; tho' others tell us it was built by the *Amalekites*. Be that, however, as it will, *Yathreb* was never called *Medina*, or *Medinato'l-Nabi*, i. e. *the city of the prophet*, till either *Mohammed's* retreat thither, or his interment there, in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. *Abd'allah* was twenty-five years old, a little before the war of the *elephant* commenced, according to *Abulfeda*; but he is supposed to have been near ten years younger at that time by *Al Jannabi* <sup>h</sup>.
- c THE first nurse that suckled *Mohammed*, after his mother, was *Thawiba*, his uncle *Abu Mohammed's* *Lahab's* maid. She at the same time suckled her own son *Masruh*, *Hamza*, another of the <sup>nurses, &c.</sup> prophet's uncles, and *Abu Salama*, the son of *Abd'al Asad*, the *Makbuzumbite*. He was also nursed by *Halima*, at his mother *Amena's* request, the daughter of *Abu Dowaid*, the son of *Al Hâreth*, of the *Banu Saad*, who took him into the desert inhabited by her tribe, and, after some time, brought him again to *Mecca*. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that *Halima*, whilst *Mohammed* was under her care, and her husband *Al Hâreth*, the son of *Abd'al Uzza*, d one day found the young prophet strangely disordered; and were greatly surprised, when he informed them, that he had been thrown down upon the ground by two men, who had opened his belly. This induced *Halima* to think, that he had been either attacked by some hypochondriac disorder, or been frightened by some diabolical illusion; and therefore she immediately brought him home to his mother *Amena*. None of the *Moslem* writers have given us any clear and distinct account of the malady *Mohammed* was afflicted with; tho', from several hints to be met with in them, as well as in the *Korân*, it seems probable, that this was the epilepsy, or falling-sickness. Nor can this well be doubted, tho' it has been flatly denied by the learned *Mr. Ockley*, who was too much prejudiced in favour of the *Arabian* impostor. *Mr. Sale* takes the expression of *opening the belly*, or rather the *breast*, e to import no more, than that the mind of *Mohammed* was opened and enlarged, in order to receive the truth, and wisdom, as well as prophecy; or that it was freed from uneasiness and ignorance. The passage of the *Korân* he had in view is thought by some of the interpreters of that book to intimate the *opening of Mohammed's heart*, in his infancy, or when he took his journey to heaven, by the angel *Gabriel*; who, having wrung out the *black drop*, or *seed of original sin*, washed and cleansed the same, and filled it with wisdom and faith. *Halima* brought up with *Mohammed*, *Abd'allah*, *Anisa*, and *Hadbâma*, or *Al Sbîma*; and, being afterwards reduced to great poverty, had forty sheep given her, at *Mohammed's* request, by his wife *Khadijah*. *Halima* and her husband *Al Hâreth* were some of the first that embraced *Islamism*, or the *Mohammedan* religion. We are told, that the preceding disorder f happened to the young prophet immediately after his first return to *Mecca*, in the third year of his age, by *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* and *Al Jannabi* <sup>i</sup>.

MOHAMMED lived three years with his mother *Amena*, after he had been obliged to leave <sup>*Amena dies;*</sup> *Halima*, and her husband *Al Hâreth*, by the foregoing indisposition; at the end of which, she departed this life, her son being then about six years of age, at a town called *Al Abcen*, situated between *Mecca* and *Medina*. This town stood to the north of *Al Johfa*, from whence

<sup>z</sup> AL HAFEDH, ABU DEER AHMED AL BAIHEK. AL SHAF. apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. LUK. c. i. v. 60—64. <sup>h</sup> ISM. ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 1, 2. AHMED EBN YUSEF & SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 122—128. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. GOLI notæ ad Alfragan. p. 97. ABULFED. descript. Arab. p. 40. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 65, 66. <sup>i</sup> ABULFED. ubi supra, c. iii. & iv. p. 8—11. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xciv. v. 1. AL BE:DAWI, AHMED EBN YAHYA, SALE's translation of the Korân, p. 494. ZONAR. HOTTING. hist. Orient. lib. i. c. 11. p. 10. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, in refut. Alc. p. 762. col. 2. Pat. 1698. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 9. PLTAV. ration. temp. p. i. p. 507. & SIM. OCELEIUM, apud Gagn. ubi supra. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABI. &c.



it was distant about eight parasangs. *Amena* had been visiting her uncles of the *Banu Ada*,<sup>a</sup> and died on the road, in her return home. After this sad event, his grandfather *Abd'al Motalleb* took the young prophet under his protection; and, in many respects, preferred him to his own sons; to whom he frequently said, *We must take particular care of this young infant*<sup>k</sup>.

as does Abd'al Motalleb.

Two years after the death of *Amena*, *Abd'al Motalleb* likewise departed this life; but, before he expired, he enjoined his eldest son *Abu Táleb*, who was brother to *Abd'allah*, *Mohammed's* father, by the same mother, to provide for his grandchild *Mohammed*, for the future; which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant. This happened towards the beginning of the reign of *Khosrú Hormúz* (P), the son of *Khosrú Anushirwán*, king of *Persia*; in which year, according to some of the eastern writers, *Abu Becr*<sup>b</sup> was born<sup>l</sup>.

Mohammed's first journey into Syria.

*ABU TALEB*, in order to perfect his nephew in the employment he had chosen for him, took him with him into *Syria*, whither he found himself obliged to go on affairs of commerce, when he was but about twelve or thirteen years of age. He no sooner arrived at *Bosra* (Q), an ancient city of *Syria Damascena*, than he visited a monastery, where he found a *Nestorian* monk, named *Felix*, the son of *Jonas*, the son of *Abd'al Salibi*, and surnamed *Boheira*; who advanced towards them, treated them with great marks of distinction, and gave them a grand entertainment<sup>m</sup>. We are told by *Abu'l Hasan Ali Al Masudi*, that this monk was called by the Christians *Sergius*, and belonged to the monastery of *Abd'al Kais*. From whence we may justly infer, as hath been observed by Dr. *Prideaux*, that he was the *Sergius* of *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, so frequently mentioned by other *Latin* writers. The word *boheira* seems to be equivalent to the *Latin marinus*, of or belonging to the sea, marine, &c.; tho' Dr. *Prideaux* assigns it another interpretation. Of this extraordinary person we shall have occasion farther to speak in the sequel of this history<sup>n</sup>.

He is entertained by Boheira.

UPON *Mohammed's* first approach to *Boheira*, the monk observed a sort of luminous or transparent cloud round his head, that preserved him from the solar rays; as also that the dry trees, on which he sat, were every-where covered instantly with green leaves, that served him for a shade: certain signs these that the prophetic dignity resided in him. He likewise discovered the seal of prophecy impressed between his shoulders, whilst he kissed the hinder part of his garment. Turning then to *Abu Táleb*, *Depart*, said he, *with this child, and take great care, that he doth not fall into the hands of the Jews; for your nephew will one day become a very extraordinary person*. *Abu Táleb* hereupon immediately returned to *Mecca*, and gave an account to the *Koreish* of the discoveries that had been made. In the mean time, *Mohammed*, as he advanced towards the years of puberty, grew extremely popular. He was remarkable for his amiable qualities, and shining accomplishments, both of body and mind. He was the most handsome and the best made man of all the *Arabs* of his time; and not only so, but he likewise surpassed them all in sagacity and good sense. He was judicious in his answers, just in his expressions, sincere both in his words and actions, and studiously avoided every thing that had but the least appearance of indecency and dishonesty; insomuch that he went amongst his countrymen by the name of *Al-Amin*, or *the Faithful*. In fine, he was blessed with all the moral and intellectual endowments that can adorn a great and good man. This is the fine portrait given us of *Mohammed*, at the age of fourteen years, by some of the *Moslem* historians<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> ABULFED. ubi supra, p. 10. & in geogr. p. 13. AL JANNABI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 161. 162. <sup>l</sup> ABULFED. ubi supra. AL MONTEK. apud Al Jannab. AL TABAR. apud Elmacin, &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra. <sup>m</sup> ABULFED. ubi supra. AL JANNABI, AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. ABU'L-HASAN ALI AL MASUD. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 170. & GENTII. not. ad Mufladin. Sad. p. 536. <sup>n</sup> AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABU'L-HASAN ALI AL MASUD. ABU'L-HASAN AL BECR comment. in Al Kor. VINCENT. BELLOVACENS. in specul. historic. Georg. monach. in dialog. cum Abu Salama, principal. Arab. PETR. PASCHAS. in hist. Mahumetic. c. viii. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 41. <sup>o</sup> ABULFED. ubi supra. AL JANNABI, AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. ABU'L-HASAN ALI AL MASUD. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 170. & GENTII. not. ad Mufladin. Sad. p. 536.

(P) The *Arab* writers call this prince *Kesra*, but the *Persians* write and pronounce his name *Khosrú*. He was surnamed, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Al Malec Al-Adel*, or *the just king*. The same author relates, that *Abd'allah*, the father of *Mohammed*, was born in the twenty-fourth, and *Mohammed* himself in the forty-second year of his reign. It ought to be remarked here, that *Kesra*, or *Khosrú*, was the common name of the *Persian* kings, especially of the house of the *Sassanidae*, as *Cæsar* was that of the *Roman* emperors (15).

(Q) This city, which is supposed by *Reland* to have been denominated by the *Hebrews* בעשטרה, *beestera*, or *bostrai*, from עשטרה, *the house of Estera*, or *Altaro*, is made by *Abulfeda* the metropolis of *Hawran*. He assigns it, from *Al Biruni*, the longitude of 60° 8', and the latitude of 33° 35'. It stands about four stations to the S. of *Damascus*, and near it was the monastery of *Boheira*, the monk. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* informs us, that *Mohammed*, soon after his first arrival at *Bosra*, visited this monastery (16).

(15) *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, in hist. sect. 54. *Abulfed.* ubi supra. p. 2. & alibi. Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad *Abulfed.* ubi supra, p. 2, 3. (16) *Hadr. Reland. Palæst. illustrat. tom. ii. p. 261. Trajecti Batavorum, 1714. Al Birun.* apud *Abulfed.* in geogr. ut & ipse *Abulfed.* ibid. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, in descript. urbium, &c.



a. BUT the *Christian* writers, on the contrary, who are the most to be depended upon, have set both the character of this impostor, and his doctrines, in a very different light. They have represented him as an inventor and publisher of the most flagitious falsehoods, as a propagator of the most wicked imposture, and as the founder of a religion, that is utterly destructive of all true holiness and purity of mind. And whether this representation be just or not, let even the memoirs of *Mohammed's* life, transmitted down to us by the best *Moslem* historians, the tenets of the *Korân* itself, and the principles professed by the *Mohammedans*, in consequence of those tenets, from the time of their pretended prophet to this very day, decide <sup>p</sup>.

*The Christian writers give Mohammed a bad character.*

As therefore the truth or falsity of what has been advanced by the *Christian* writers; in relation to *Mohammed's* character, as well as that of his doctrines, may be so easily and certainly discovered, Mr. *Sale* seems to determine with too much precipitation, when he more than insinuates the preceding representation to have been owing to the partiality of the *Christians*, who, on account of the great successes of the *Mohammedans* against them, must necessarily have been inspired with a horror of their religion. For this looks more like an apology for *Mohammed* and the *Korân*, if not a palliation of the cruelties exercised by that impostor's followers upon the professors of *Christianity*, than a true and just account either of the disposition of the one, or the spirit of the other <sup>q</sup>.

*He is unjustly vindicated by Mr. Sale.*

BUT to return to our history—*Mohammed* made his first campaign, when he was fourteen, according to *Abulfeda*, or twenty, as the other eastern historians will have it (which is indeed the most probable opinion) years of age, under his uncle *Abu Tâleb*, who commanded the *Koreish* against the tribes of *Kenân* and *Hawazan*. What gave occasion to this war, we are no-where told; but as it was carried on with great violence and fury through the course of the four sacred months *Al Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhajja*, without any regard thereto, it was termed the *impious war*. It may not be improper to remind our readers here, tho' we have taken notice of it before, that, during these months, it was held unlawful, amongst the *Arabs*, to wage war; they then taking off the heads from their spears, and ceasing from incursions, and other hostilities. Whoever was in fear of his enemy, lived then in full security; so that if a man met the murderer of his father, or his brother, he durst not attack him, or even offer him any manner of violence. The tribes of *Tey* and *Khathâam*, and some of the descendants of *Al Hâreth Ebn Caab*, who distinguished no time or place as sacred, were the only *Arabs* that slighted this institution. We must not omit observing, that the *Koreish*, under the conduct of *Abu Tâleb* and young *Mohammed*, in this war, were victorious; which could not fail of rendering the people of their tribe still more devoted to them <sup>r</sup>.

*Mohammed's first campaign; &c.*

'Tis pretended by *Al Juzi*, that *Mohammed*, about this time, tho' so young, gave a signal proof of his profound sagacity, on a very particular occasion. The *Koreish*, according to this author, having found that the *Caaba*, or the square stone-building of the temple of *Mecca*, was too small, and too low, formed a design of demolishing it, and erecting a larger and higher edifice in its room. But when the new building was raised to its intended height, continues the same writer, where the *black-stone* was to be placed, the tribes could not agree amongst themselves about the person who was to have the honour of placing it. However, they came at last to a resolution to refer the decision of this dispute to the person who should next approach the holy place, called by the *Arabs* *Al Harâm*; which happened to be young *Mohammed*. At his direction, the stone was raised on a piece of tapestry, by one man of every tribe, to its intended height, and then taken from them, and fixed in its proper place by the prophet himself. The *Caaba* was then covered with tapestry of various colours, and rebuilt by the *Koreish* on the old foundation. It was afterwards repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, the *Khalif* of *Mecca*, and at length again rebuilt by *Yusef*, surnamed *Al Hejâj*, with some alterations, and covered with tapestry of silk, in the form wherein it now remains, in the seventy-fourth year of the *Hejra*. But of the *Caaba*, and every thing belonging to it, we shall give a full and ample description hereafter <sup>s</sup>.

*He discovers great sagacity.*

WE hear little farther of *Mohammed*, till he was twenty-five years of age, when he married *Khadijah*, a noble and rich widow, to whom his uncle *Abu Tâleb* first recommended him for her factor; after he had sufficiently instructed him in mercantile affairs. *Khadijah* was the daughter of *Khowsaied*, the son of *Asad*, the son of *Abd' al Uzza*, the son of *Kosa*, the son of *Kelîb*, of the tribe of *Koreish*. *Mohammed* undertook a second journey into *Syria*, after he had entered into her service, attended by her servant *Maîsara*; and acquitted

*Mohammed marries Khadijah.*

<sup>p</sup> ZONAR. HOTTING. hist. Orient. &c. Vide etiam LUDOVICUM MARRACCIVM, in prodr. & refut. Al-Koran. Patavii, 1698. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, pass. SALE's pref. and prelim. disc. p. 40.

<sup>q</sup> SALE, ubi sup. & alibi. <sup>r</sup> AEULFED. ubi supra, p. 11. AL FIRAUZABADI, AL KODAI, AL JAWHAR. AL SHAHRESTAN. AL KAZWIN. AL MOGHOLTAI. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, 5. & Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 174, &c.

<sup>s</sup> AL JUZI in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. Meccan. c. lxxviii. ABULFED. ubi sup. c. vi. p. 13, 14. & in hist. gen. AL JANNABI. Vid. etiam GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. & SALE's prelim. disc. p. 116, 117.



himself so much to her satisfaction, that, soon after his return to *Mecca*, she thought fit to a  
make him her husband. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* were therefore undoubtedly mistaken,  
when they asserted *Mohammed* to have served *Khadījah* in so mean and low a capacity as  
that of keeper of her camels, at the time that she thought proper to bestow both her person  
and fortune upon him. This event was owing, if *Abulfeda* may be credited, to the high  
opinion she entertained of *Mohammed*'s integrity, which was greatly heightened by *Maīfara*,  
who scrupled not to affirm, that he had seen two angels shade her factor with their wings  
from the scorching beams of the sun. If this be true, *Mohammed* began to act the part  
of an impostor pretty early; and discovered himself to be a person of some capacity, even  
at that time, by finding means to influence *Maīfara* in his favour. Be that however as it will,  
the prophet's first was *Khadījah* wife forty years old, when she married him. The *Moslems* b  
pretend, that she was the first convert to *Islamism*; and that *Mohammed* loved her so well,  
tho' she was so much older than himself, that he never had the least familiarity with any  
other woman, during her life. We learn from *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, that she had two husbands  
before *Mohammed*; the second of which was *Abu Halat*, a confederate of the *Banu Abd'al*  
*Dari*, and the other *Atik*, the *Makbzumite*. The commentators upon the *Korān* introduce  
a saying of their prophet, *that among men there had been many perfect, but no more than four of*  
*the other sex had attained perfection; to wit, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of*  
*Imrān, Khadījah the daughter of Khowailed, and Fatemā the daughter of Mohammed.*  
*Khadījah*, according to *Abulfeda*, lived with her husband *Mohammed* ten years after the com-  
mencement of his mission, and died (R) three years before the *Hejra* <sup>1</sup>.

Mohammed  
made two  
journies into  
Syria.

It may not be improper here to observe, that the generality of the *Arab* historians, both c  
*Christian* and *Mohammedan*, are clearly of opinion, that *Mohammed* made two journies into  
*Syria*, in conformity to what has been above advanced; tho' this seems not to be acknow-  
ledged, but rather denied by *Erpenius*. He was led into this error by the silence of *Elmacin*,  
who has not taken the least notice of either of those journies. Amongst others, who have  
asserted the reality of them, may be ranked *Abmed Ebn Edris*, *Abu Nazar*, and *Al Becr*;  
who have been followed herein both by *Hottinger* and *Marracci*. The first time *Mohammed*  
and *Abu Tāleb* entered *Syria*, they were attended by *Abu Becr* and *Belāl*, to whom, or *Abu*  
*Tāleb*, *Bokeira* delivered the above-mentioned predictions; advising all of them, at the same  
time, to retire as soon as possible, and, by all means, to avoid the *Jews*, whom he called  
*the people of the Book*. The second time he visited the merchants of *Bosra*, or *Bosra*, he  
had also an interview with *Bokeira*; and was according to an author of credit, then instructed  
by him in the principles of the CHRISTIAN FAITH: so that, upon his return to *Mecca*, he d  
could not forbear communicating to the *Koreish* the sentiments he had received; and, from  
this period, he seems to have meditated a reformation among the *Arabs*: which if we admit,  
it cannot seem so improbable, as Mr. *Sale* would insinuate, that this *Nestorian* monk, with  
whom *Mohammed* had some conference in his younger years, should assist him in the con-  
trivance and composition of his *Korān*. Nor is it necessary, as that learned author supposes,  
that *Bokeira* should quit his monastery, and go with the *Moslem* prophet into *Arabia*, in order  
to enable him the more effectually to accomplish such a design; as he might either have  
assisted him in the formation of his plan, as well as the execution of it, when they conferred  
together at *Bosra*, or have afterwards, at various times, supplied him with materials for  
that purpose. For it can scarce be doubted, but that there was an easy canal of intelligence  
between *Arabia*, and particularly *Mecca*, as well as *Medina*, and *Syria Damascena*, where e  
*Bokeira* resided, by means of the caravans of merchants, which were continually passing  
and repassing between those countries. Nor is there any weight in the objection offered by  
Mr. *Sale* to the opinion generally received amongst *Christians* concerning the true authors of  
the *Korān*; to wit, that *Bokeira*'s acquaintance with *Mohammed* at *Bosra*, was too early to  
favour the surmise of his assisting him in the *Korān*; which was composed long after. For  
the plan of the *Korān* might have been formed, and materials for the composition of it

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. v. p. 11—13. AHMED EBN YUSEF, in hist. sect. i. cap. 40. AL JAN-  
NABI, AL KODAI, &c. ABU'L-FARAI. ubi sup. Vid. etiam THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 277, 278. Parisiis, 1655.  
GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 421, 422. Par. 1647. LUDOVICUM MARRACCIIUM, in vit. Moham. c. i.  
p. 15. EBN HAMDUN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 171. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.

(R) The *Arab* writers differ in the accounts they have  
transmitted down to us of *Khadījah*'s age, when she de-  
parted this life at *Mecca*. Some of them, according to  
*Marracci*, believe that she died in the forty-ninth, or  
fiftieth, year of her age: which is repugnant to the faith  
of history; for it appears from *Abulfeda*, and all the  
other best *Moslem* historians, that when *Khadījah* was

married to *Mohammed*, she was forty years of age; and  
that she lived with him twenty-four years. From whence  
it will follow, that at her death, she was sixty-four years  
old. And this is expressly asserted by *Abu Horeira*;  
who, at the same time, informs us, that she was buried  
at a place called *Al Mo'alla* (17).

(17) *Abulfed. Abu Horeira, &c. Vide etiam Marrac. vit. Mohammed. c. i. p. 15. Gagn. ubi supra, p. 12, 13.* <sup>1</sup>



a sent *Mohammed*, long before it was actually composed, as they undoubtedly were; so that no inference, to the prejudice of what is here advanced, can be drawn from the contrary supposition. Besides, this is in effect owned by Mr. *Sale* himself, when he declares, that *Mohammed* might, from the discourse of the *Nestorian* monk, gain some knowledge of *Christianity*, and of the Scriptures, which might be of use to him in the composition of the *Korân*. But the truth is, that learned man entertained such favourable sentiments of the *Mohammedan* writers, and was so extremely prejudiced against those who professed the *Christian* religion, that he could scarce prevail upon himself to believe the latter ever in the right, or the former ever in the wrong <sup>u</sup>.

b KHADIJAH having raised her husband *Mohammed* to an equality with the richest in *Mecca*, Mohammed he was enabled, by so advantageous a match, to live at his ease for the next fifteen years; <sup>followed the</sup> tho' it is probable he still followed the occupation of a merchant. For his countrymen, the <sup>occupation of</sup> tribe of *Koreish*, were much addicted to commerce, as the descendants of *Ismael*, whom <sup>a merchant,</sup> they imitated herein, had been, in almost the earliest ages. They, like those ancient *Arabs*, <sup>after he married Khadijah.</sup> from whom, indeed, they were descended, carried on a trade with the *Syrians*, *Persians*, and *Egyptians*, furnishing those nations with such commodities, which they carried on the backs of camels, as came to them from *India*, *Ethiopia*, and other southern parts. To this employment they were chiefly prompted by the sterility of the soil about *Mecca*, which scarce produced any fruits but what were common in the deserts, and the commodious port of *Jodda*, on the *Red Sea*, which, for such a branch of trade, had a most convenient situation. Nor are we to be surprised, that the city of *Mecca* should be obliged to have recourse to traffick, for the subsistence of its inhabitants, since it is seated in a stony and barren valley, c surrounded on all sides with mountains. Having, therefore, no corn or grain of their own growth, the citizens were, from the remotest times, obliged to fetch it from other places, and particularly from *Syria* and *Egypt*. For tho' *Arabia*, especially that part called formerly *Arabia Felix*, and now *Yaman*, was once very celebrated amongst the ancients for the happiness of its climate, its fertility, and riches; yet the soil of *Hejâz*, in which province both *Mecca* and *Medina* stand, as well as that of *Najd*, *Tebâma*, and *Yemâma*, is much more barren. Their territories are almost intirely covered with dry sands, or rise into rocks, as we learn from the oriental geographers, and the relations of modern travellers. Hence 'tis no wonder that the *Koreish* should be forced to apply themselves to merchandize, for their support; and that even the wealthiest of them should scarce have any other estate than their stocks, which consisted chiefly in cattle, wherewith they carried on a most lucrative trade d with several of the neighbouring nations. Whatever figure, therefore, *Mohammed* might make at *Mecca*, this could by no means be diminished or eclipsed by his attention to such an employment <sup>w</sup>.

BUT however our pretended prophet might have been employed, during the aforesaid Mohammed interval, he probably never lost sight of his grand design; tho' no proper opportunity, till <sup>formed a de-</sup> after the expiration of this term, did offer itself, of carrying it into execution. The dispo- <sup>sign to intro-</sup> sition of the *Arabs* would not permit him sooner to effectuate the scheme he had formed of <sup>duce a new re-</sup> establishing a new religion; or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient <sup>ligion amongst</sup> one, professed by *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Jesus*, and all the prophets. This he pro- <sup>the Arabs;</sup> posed to do, by destroying the gross idolatry, into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter *Jews* and e *Christians* had, as he pretended, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly, according to him, in the worship of the one only God. From whence it appears, that *Mohammed*, like his more absurd followers, the modern deists, and *Socinians*, under the pretence of asserting the unity of the Divine Nature, exploded the doctrine of the Trinity, and all the other mysteries of the Christian religion <sup>x</sup>.

It can scarce be doubted, but that, by the course of trade, which he carried on in <sup>and such an</sup> *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, he became acquainted with the tenets of the *Jews*, as well as <sup>one as might</sup> those of the different sects, into which the Christians of the East were then miserably <sup>tempt all na-</sup> divided; the effects of which clearly discover themselves in the *Korân*. Observing also with <sup>tions to become</sup> what an implacable fury the *Jews*, and all these several sects of Christians, persecuted one <sup>profelytes to it.</sup> another, he from thence concluded, that the most effectual way for him to aggrandize him- f self, would be, to introduce a new religion, formed upon such a plan, that the most abandoned part of the *Jews*, as well as *Christians* of all denominations, and even pagans themselves,

<sup>u</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. ABU'L HASAN ALI AL MASUD. AHMED EBN YUSEF. sect. i. c. 39. ABU NAZAR, AL BECK, GREG. AB'UL-FARAJ. ubi sup. &c. Vide etiam HOTTINGER. hist. Orient. p. 207, & seq. LUDOVIC. MARRAC. prodrom. par. prim. p. 42. & seq. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 35, &c. GAGN. ubi supra, p. 10, 11. SALE'S translation of the Korân, p. 223, 224. &c. in not.

<sup>w</sup> ABU'LFED. & ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, & SIONIT. in append. ad eund. Pocock. not. in. spec. hist. Arab. p. 127. GOLII not. ad Alfraganum, p. 98. & alibi. LA ROQUE voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. 123. 153. & alibi. SALE'S prelim. discours. p. 2, 3, & alibi. Univers. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 356—367. Lond. 1748.

<sup>x</sup> AL. KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. SALE'S pre-

limin. disc. p. 38, 39.



might be thereby tempted to become profelytes to it. And accordingly we find, that *Islamism* is intirely adapted to the taste of a sensualist; and that the belief of the unity of God, as also of the apostleship of *Mohammed*, the heterodox notions borrowed from various heretical sects, who yet stiled themselves *Christians*, together with some injunctions pressing an observance of the moral duties therein specified, besides the retention of certain *Jewish* and *heathenish* rites, make up the whole of that religion \*.

*Ambition and sensuality the chief motives of his undertaking.*

HENCE it pretty plainly appears, that *Mohammed's* grand enterprize, which was conducted with great craft and success, ought to be considered not so much the effect of enthusiasm, as of a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, and to commence the legislator of the *Arabs*. For it is sufficiently apparent, from the substance of the *Korân* itself, and even from the very nature of *Mohammedism*, as well as the methods made use of by this impostor, and his followers, for the propagation of their religion, that ambition, and the desire of satisfying his sensuality, were the chief motives of his undertaking. Mr. *Sale* seems willing to think, “that his first views were perhaps not so intersted;” and “that the unity of God was what he chiefly attended to, all his other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental, and UNAVOIDABLE, than premeditated and designed.” The last of which assertions must be considered either as groundless, or as an absolute condemnation of the measures the impostor pursued. For, if all his other doctrines and institutions were in themselves unavoidable, or necessary consequences of the first article of faith he proposed to his followers, then they must be inseparably connected with what this author calls his grand point, to wit, the unity of God, and necessarily flow from it †. But as we cannot think so learned and judicious an author capable of advancing so wild and shocking a position as this; it seems more natural to suppose, that he intended to assert those doctrines and institutions to have been UNAVOIDABLE, with respect to the *Arabs*; or, in other words, that no other doctrines and institutions could be so well

*He adapted his doctrines and institutions to the corrupt disposition of the Arabs.*

adapted to the sensual taste of the *Arabs*, at that time, as those here hinted at. Now, if this be admitted, it will evidently follow, that *Mohammed* had a greater regard to the genius and disposition of the *Arabs*, in the framing of his system of religion, than to truth; which is the very thing of which he is accused by the *Christian* writers. If he consulted only the taste of the *Arabs*, and rejected truth in his doctrines and institutions, it is plain he had not their eternal interest at heart, but was acted by a principle of ambition, and only wanted to make them subservient to the forwarding his ambitious views. And, indeed, this is sufficiently intimated by Mr. *Sale* himself, when he allows, “that it is scarce to be doubted, but that *Mohammed* had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person; which he could attain to by no means more effectually, than by pretending to be a messenger sent from God, to inform mankind of his will.”—The count *de Boulainvilliers* also, a zealous advocate for *Mohammed*, scruples not to admit, that his religion was calculated to please, and sympathize with, the constitutional bent of the *Arabs*: nor does he discover the least disapprobation of that legislator's decisions, or ever so much as hint at their inexpediency, on this account. So that both Mr. *Sale* and count *Boulainvilliers*, in effect, vindicate, however inconsistent they may be with themselves, by so doing, the character of that impostor, handed down to us by the *Christian* writers; tho' at the same time, the former of those gentlemen represents this as set in the most infamous light ‡.

*Mr. Sale endeavours to palliate some of the worst of Mohammed's institutions.*

NAY, it is farther acknowledged by Mr. *Sale*, that “*Mohammed* was, as the *Arabs* are by complexion, a great lover of women; that we are assured of this by his own confession; and that he is even constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do, as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality; which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor.” After such an ample concession as this, is it not strange that this author should attempt to palliate his dissolute proceedings, if not directly to defend one of the most enormous of them. And yet this seems to be done by him, when he immediately subjoins—“But it must be considered, that polygamy, tho it be forbidden by the *Christian* religion, was, in *Mohammed's* time, frequently practised in *Arabia*, and other parts of the east, and was not accounted an immorality; nor was a man the worse esteemed on that account: for which reason, *Mohammed* permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations among his own followers; who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men; some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to *Mohammed* in his *Korân*, were almost all taken by him from the *Jewish* decisions, as will appear hereafter; and

\* Al Kor. MOHAMMED. pass. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 14, 15. Lond. 1718. SALE's prelim. disc. and notes on the Kor. pass. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACCI refut. Alcor. pass. Patavii, 1698. MOHAMMED. & MARRACC. refut. ejusdem, pass. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 39. † Al Kor. 40. Monsi. le Comte de BOULAINVIL. vie de Mahom. pass. ‡ SALE, ubi sup. p.

“therefore



- a “ therefore he might think those institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found  
 “ them practised or approved by the professors of a religion, which was confessedly of  
 “ divine original.” In answer to all which fine reflections, it will be sufficient to ob-  
 serve, that however polygamy may have been tolerated, or rather connived at, as is in-  
 timated by our blessed Saviour, by the *Jewish* law, it was absolutely prohibited by the  
 more perfect decisions of the Gospel, which brought life and immortality to light; that  
 however polygamy might have prevailed in *Arabia*, when *Mohammed* assumed the cha-  
 racter of a prophet and reformer there, many of the *Arabs* looked upon a plurality of  
 wives as utterly unlawful; and, lastly, that *Mohammed* himself could not have been ignorant,  
 that the *Jewish* dispensation was abrogated by the *Christian*; since he had been instructed  
 b in the principles of the *Christian* faith by *Sergius*, or *Boheira*, the *Nestorian* monk, as has  
 been above remarked, and as is allowed by even some of the *Moslem* writers themselves.  
 Our readers, therefore, will not be surprised, that we should take the liberty to express  
 our disapprobation of what is here advanced by Mr. *Sale* (S), notwithstanding his uncom-  
 mon skill in the *Arabic* tongue, and most extensive reading; as it seems to countenance  
 a notion inconsistent with the purity of that holy religion we profess, and think ourselves  
 obliged on all occasions to defend<sup>a</sup>.

As *Islamism*, therefore, seems to have been calculated to sooth and indulge mens vicious *How Islamism*  
 appetites in general, and the sensual depraved taste of the pagan *Arabs* in particular, 'tis no *came to make*  
 wonder that, in so short a time, it should have made such an amazing progress. Men are *so rapid a pro-*  
 c naturally prone to believe what they wish may be true, how absurd soever in itself this *gress in so short*  
 may be. And considering the weakness of the human intellect, especially in the generality  
 of mankind, and how incapable they for the most part are of listening to the dictates of  
 reason and truth, or of meditating upon their last and most permanent stage of being with  
 any attention, it can by no means appear strange, that, by mere dint of delusion, they  
 should so frequently bring themselves to such a belief. To which we may add, that  
 we have a spiritual enemy, who is perpetually endeavouring to impose upon us; to con-  
 found our ideas; to divert us from our pursuit after truth, especially that which will be of  
 the utmost importance to us; and, in fine, to prevent us, by all possible methods, from at-  
 taining that supreme felicity, for which we were originally designed<sup>b</sup>.

- d But, notwithstanding the wickedness and absurdity of some of his tenets, several cir- *Some of the*  
 cumstances concurred to render *Mohammed* powerful, and to forward the propagation of *Arabs infected*  
 his imposture. The *Koreish*, his countrymen, were infected with *Zendicism*; an error sup- *with Zendi-*  
 posed to have very near affinity with that of the *Sadducees*, among the *Jews*, who denied *cism*.  
 the existence of angels and spirits. An error this, which if pursued through all its con-  
 sequences, must terminate in absolute infidelity, or atheism itself; so that Mr. *Sale* pays  
 the deists no great compliment, when he takes them not to be very different from this sect.  
 Since therefore these *Arabs* rejected an over-ruling Providence, the resurrection, and a  
 future state, they had, in reality, no religion at all; and therefore, as the learned Dr.  
*Prideaux* rightly observes, were prepared to receive any impressions of God, and his  
 e worship, that *Mohammed* should think fit to communicate to them. Mr. *Sale*, how-  
 ever, contents himself with describing them, “ as worshipping one God, being free from  
 “ idolatry, and embracing none of the other religions of the country;” which certainly  
 must be considered as too favourable a description of the impious opinions they entertained<sup>c</sup>.

THE dissensions also in the western church, as well as the gross corruptions and super- *Great dissin-*  
 stitions that so deformed the eastern, greatly contributed to the establishment and exten- *sions and cor-*  
 sion of *Mohammedism*. At the time of *Mohammed*'s appearance, the contests amongst *ruptions in the*  
*Christians*, especially in the western church, ran so high, that, in consequence of them, *Christian*  
 several violences, and even frequent murders, were committed. The eastern church like- *church*.  
 wise, after the *Nicene* council, was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces  
 f by the disputes of the *Arrians*, *Sabellians*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. on which a most  
 fatal corruption of doctrine and morals, in the princes and clergy, ensued; which was  
 necessarily followed by an almost general depravity of the people. But we choose to

<sup>a</sup> SALE, ubi supra, 40, 41. MAT. C. xix. v. 4—9. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, p. 149. AL MOSTRATAF, AL JANNABI apud POCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 63. ut & ipse POCK. ibid. & p. 137. ABU'L HASAN ALI MASUD, &c. pass. EBN KHALECAN, in vit. Abu'l Ol. poet. ABU'LFED. AL JANNABI, AL FIRAUZARADI, SAFIODDIN. AL SHAHRESTANI, &c. <sup>b</sup> AL KOR. MOHAMMED. pass. <sup>c</sup> AL MOSTRATAF, POCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 136. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vi. & alibi. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Moham- med. p. 270. MILIUS de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 311. SALE's preliminary discourse, p. 24.

(S) It may not be improper to remark here, that not a single passage is to be met with in that part of the Universal History written by Mr. *Sale*, which can give the least offence to any of our *Christian* readers; tho'

we must not take upon us to assert the same thing of his Preliminary Discourse, and some of his notes upon the *Koran*.



draw a veil over so melancholy a subject; tho' a deist would expatiate upon it with great a pleasure and delight <sup>d</sup>.

The Roman and Persian monarchies both now in a declining condition.

If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of *Mohammed* on the one side, the weakness of the *Roman* and *Persian* monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes of succeeding in them, on the other. Had those once formidable empires, either of which in their vigour must have crushed *Mohammedism* in its birth, been not most strangely reduced, neither *Mohammed*, nor any of his followers, would have dared to have made an attempt upon the least province of either of them. But the *Arabs* having met with uncommon success in their enterprizes against those powers, they failed not to attribute it to their new religion, and the great interest the author of it had at the court of heaven. This inspired them with a resolution to propagate it by the most violent and unjustifiable b means, even by fire and sword, as, indeed, by their pretended prophet they had been strictly enjoined to do; which happy method of conversion has been most religiously observed, and made use of, by all their followers and descendents, even to this day <sup>e</sup>.

What made the Roman empire extremely weak at this time.

THE *Roman* empire declined apace after *Constantine*, whose successors, for the generality, bore but a very indifferent character. By *Mohammed's* time, the western half of it was over-run by the *Goths*; and the eastern so reduced by the *Huns* on the one side, and the *Persians* on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor *Maurice* paid tribute to the *Khagân*, or king of the *Huns*, who was a very potent prince; and, after *Phocas* usurped the throne, such lamentable havock was made among the soldiers, that, within the space of seven years, all the veterans were in c a manner destroyed, and scarce any regular troops left for the defence of the empire. And tho' *Heraclius*, who was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, restored the discipline of the army, and had great success against the *Persians*; yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to have received a mortal wound. So that no time could have been more favourable to the designs of *Mohammed*, than that wherein he found means to impose his new religion, or rather his infamous imposture, upon the *Arabs*. Nor can it well be doubted, but that he was raised up by GOD HIMSELF to be a scourge to the *Christian* church, for having been divided, and subdivided, into endless schisms and contentions, about the abstrusest niceties, that had been drawn into controversy, tho' d of little moment to that which ought to be esteemed the chief end of religion, and destroyed, in a great measure, those *Christian* virtues which the Gospel was given to promote. In fine, the terrible destruction of the eastern churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of *Mohammedism*, was undoubtedly intended by providence as a punishment to the members of them, for not living up to the precepts of that most holy religion which they had received <sup>f</sup>.

The Persians almost ruined by their intestine broils and dissensions.

THE *Persians* had also been in a declining condition, for some time, before *Mohammed*, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions; a great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of *Manes* and *Mazdak*. The opinions of the former are very well known; and those of the latter, who lived in the reign of *Khosrû Kobâd*, have been always expatiated upon in our ancient history of the *Arabs* and *Persians*. These sects had e certainly proved the immediate ruin of the *Persian* empire, had not *Khosrû Anushirwân*, or *Nushirwân*, as he is called by *Mirkbond* and *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historians, as soon as he succeeded his father *Khosrû Kobâd*, put *Mazdak* to death, with all his followers, and the *Manicheans* also, restoring the ancient *Magian* religion. However, *Anushirwân*, as the *Arabs* named him, tho' he was an excellent prince, and deservedly surnamed *The Just*, could not put the affairs of *Persia* in a flourishing condition. He joined the provinces of *Cablestân* and *Zablestân* to his hereditary dominions, and formed, by the conquests he had made, a most puissant empire, that extended from the city and territory of *Fergâna* to the borders of *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and from the maritime cities of *Syria* to the river *Indus*; notwithstanding which, the interior part of his government was not f settled upon a lasting foundation. *Ebn Shohnah* pretends, that *Anushirwân* obliged the *Greek* emperor himself to pay him homage, and to become a tributary unto him; but this must be a mistake. It has been before observed, that, in the reign of this prince, *Mohammed* was born <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> PRIDEAUX's preface to the life of Mahomet, p. v—ix. Lond. 1718. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. ii. p. 33—35. Vide etiam SIMON, hist. crit. de la creance, &c. des nations du Levant. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. 21. 27, &c. EUSEB. hist. eccles. lib. viii. c. 1. SOZ. lib. i. c. 14, &c. HILAR. & SULPIC. SEVER. in hist. sacr. p. 112, &c. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 239, &c. <sup>e</sup> SALE, ubi supra, p. 35, 36. AL KOR. MOHAMMED, &c. <sup>f</sup> PRID. & SALE, ubi sup. OCKLEY's history of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 19, &c. <sup>g</sup> Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 432, 433. Lond. 1748. et vol. xi. p. 177. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 70. SALE, ubi supra, p. 37. MEGHDI in vit. Nushirwân. MIRKBOND, sect. 34. KHANDEMIR, SHAHRESTAN. de relig. Orient. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 568, &c. HYD. hist. relig. vet. Persar. &c. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 2, 3. Oxon. 1723. D'HERBEL, ubi supra, p. 680.—683, et alibi.



**a** AFTER the death of *Khošrū Anuširwān*, the last king of *Persia*, who deserved the crown, his son *Khošrū Hormūz*, or, as the *Persians* sometimes called him, *Hormozd* (from whence came the *Hormizdas* of the *Greeks*), ascended the throne. He behaved at first with great prudence and moderation, distributing justice to his subjects in the most impartial manner; which gained him both their love and esteem. But afterwards a most cruel disposition discovered itself in him, insomuch that, according to some historians, he caused to be put to death thirteen thousand of his grandees; which vastly alienated his subjects from him. This encouraged the *Khagān* to invade his dominions with an army of 300,000 men: but his son, *Shabeb Shāh*, having passed the *Gihon*, at the head of those troops, was attacked upon his march, and intirely defeated, by a body of 12,000 *Persians*.

**b** only, under the command of *Babarām Tchubīn*, the best general then in *Persia*. However, *Hormūz*, having lost the love of his subjects, by his excessive cruelty, had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, and was obliged to resign the crown to his son *Khošrū Parvīz*, who, at the instigation of *Babarām*, had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. *Parvīz* was soon obliged to quit the throne to *Babarām*; but, obtaining succours of the *Greek* emperor *Mauritius*, he recovered the crown; yet, towards the latter end of a long reign, he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the *Arabs*; insomuch that he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son *Shirīyeh*. He is said to have made himself master of a great part of *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Nubia*, and some of the islands of the *Mediterranean*; nay, to have

**c** reduced *Chalcedon*, and penetrated almost to *Constantinople* itself. And yet he left his kingdom in a very declining condition <sup>h</sup>.

*SHIRUYEH*, called by the *Greek* writers *Siroes*, succeeded his father *Khošrū Parvīz*, or *Apervīz*, as the *Persian* historians sometimes call him, whom he caused to be put to death. He had a very short and unhappy reign. The kingdom of *Persia* being afflicted with a famine and pestilence at once, and his subjects generally disaffected to him, he abandoned himself to melancholy. This brought upon him a fever, which, with the plague, soon put a period to his days. Nor did his successor *Ardshīr* long enjoy the high dignity to which he was advanced; *Scheheriah* having cut him off, and all the nobility who were strictly attached to him, almost immediately after his accession. This put the usurper in

**d** possession of the crown, which yet, according to *Mirkbond*, he did not wear above fifty days. *Turan Docht*, one of the princesses of the blood, who next ascended the throne, disappointed the *Arabs* in a vigorous effort they made to conquer *Persia*; but is supposed to have died a martyr to that love which he had shewn for the people; and, on her decease, the public affairs fell into the greatest confusion. *Giban Shedad*, who came next, was deposed in few days. *Azurmi Docht*, the youngest daughter of *Khošrū Parvīz*, being seated on the throne, after a short reign, was assassinated by one of her subjects. Nor did her nephew and successor *Ferokhdaz*, who was poisoned by one of his slaves, long survive her. *Jezdegerd*, or *Yezdegerd*, the last king, was overthrown in a great battle by the *Khalīf Omar*, who annexed the most considerable part of the *Persian* territories to his

**e** own dominions. In fine, the domestic broils of the *Persians* effectually brought ruin upon them; for tho', as has been observed, they did, rather by the weakness of the *Greeks* than their own force, ravage *Syria*, and sack *Jerusalem* and *Damascus*, under *Khošrū Parvīz*, and, while the *Arabs* were divided and independent, had some power in the province of *Yaman*, where they set up the four last kings before *Mohammed*; yet, when attacked by the *Greeks* under *Heraclius*, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions; and no sooner were the *Arabs* united by *Mohammedism*, than they beat them in every battle, and, in a few years, totally subdued them <sup>i</sup>.

As the *Greeks* and *Persians* were in a weak and declining situation, so the *Arabs* were <sup>The Arabs</sup> strong and flourishing. Their country had been peopled at the expence of the <sup>now strong</sup> *Grecian* empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek <sup>and flourish-</sup> refuge in *Arabia*, where they, who could not enjoy tranquility and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The *Arabs* were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the *Greeks* and *Persians*, and inured to hardships of all sorts. They lived in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Nor would the barren region they inhabited, and particular manner of life to which they were confined, permit them to taste

<sup>h</sup> MIRKHOND, sect. 25. KHONDEMIR, ubi supra. LEBTARIKH, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. artic. *Hormouz*. SALE, ubi supra, p. 37. Univers. Hist. vol. xi. p. 185—193. Vide etiam MIRKHOND, sect. 36. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Khošrū Parvīz*, *Schirin*, &c. & Univers. Hist. vol. xi. p. 194.

<sup>i</sup> LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, sect. 37, 38, 40, 43, 45, &c. SCHIKARD. Tarikh, p. 165, 169, 170, &c. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ. hist. dynast. dyn. ix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Schironich*, *Ardshīr Ben Schironich*, *Scheheriar*, *Touran Docht*, &c. TEIXEIRA relaciones de los reyes de Persia, p. 195, &c. Univ. Hist. ubi supra, p. 196—206. SALE, ubi supra, p. 37, 38.



those gratifications and amusements so common in politer parts of the world. Their a political government was also such as favoured the ambitious designs of *Mohammed*; for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the *Arabs* been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur. This is so obvious and apparent, that it cannot escape the notice of all our readers, who are capable of the least attention <sup>k</sup>.

Which posture of affairs Mohammed was not unacquainted with. SUCH was the posture of public affairs in the eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, when *Mohammed* formed his design of subverting the *Greek* and *Persian* empires, and introducing a new system of religion amongst the *Arabs*. This, 'tis probable, b he was well enough acquainted with; having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in all particulars relating to the genius and disposition of both the aforesaid nations, and even, in some respects, of the interior of their respective governments, during his travels as a merchant in his younger years. Nor can it be well doubted, but that the intelligence he then received, enabled him to form his plan, and to promise himself success in his first attempts; especially as he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, and knew how to make the best of every incident, at least if we will believe the *Moslem* writers, and his great admirers the count *de Boulainvilliers* and Mr. *Sale* <sup>l</sup>.

BUT to return to our history—*Mohammed* pretending, that his grand article of faith, viz. the unity of the Divine Nature, was violated by all the rest of the world; not only c by idolaters, but by *Christians* of all denominations, and the *Jews* also, who are accused in the *Korân* of taking *Ezra* for the son of God; he resolved to make an attempt to rescue the world from the ignorance and superstition that prevailed in it. But, before this could be effected, he rightly judged, that it would be necessary for him to convert his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before, to a cave in mount (R) *Hara*, near *Mecca*, he there opened the secret of his (S) mission to his wife *Khadijah*; and acquainted her, that the angel *Gabriel* (T) had just before appeared to him, and told him, that he was appointed the apostle of God. He also repeated to her a passage, which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance which are related by the *Mohammedan* writers. d Our prophet was about forty years of age when he entered upon his office; for which he prepared himself by his usual residence in the cave abovementioned, in the month *Ramadân*. Here he continued till the night in which, as he pretended, the angel *Gabriel* was first sent to him. This night, which fell between the 23d and 24th of the month *Ramadân*, is called, in the *Korân*, the night of the *Al Kadr* (U) or the divine decree; because in

<sup>k</sup> BOULAINVILLIERS la vie de Mahom. pass. Sale, ubi supra, p. 38. Poc. not. in specim. hist. Arab. pass. Univers. Hist. ubi supra, b. iv. c. 21. <sup>l</sup> SALE, ubi supra, p. 38. BOULAINVIL. la vie de Mahom. pass.

(R) *Hara*, according to *Abu'Isfeda*, was about three miles distant from *Mecca* (17).

(S) The *Arabs* describe this mission in the following terms: "When the apostle of God was forty years of age, God sent him as an apostle to the swarthy people" (viz. the *Arabs*), "and the red" (viz. the *Barbarians*, or all other nations), "that, by his law, he might abolish all antecedent laws." The *Arabs* call themselves *swarthy people*, on account of their dark complexions; and the *Romans*, as well as several other nations in a northern direction from them, *red*, both because their faces approach nearer that colour than those of their countrymen, and because they believe them to be descended from *Esau*, or *Edom*; which last word denotes *red*. And this notion they seem to have borrowed from the *Jews*, who pretend that *Edom* was the great ancestor of the *Romans* (18).

(T) It appears from the *Korân*, and *Jallalo'ddin*, that *Mohammed*, and his more ancient followers, took the angel *Gabriel* to be the Holy Ghost. That he was a spirit of vast strength, as well as singular beauty, is intimated by *Al Beidarwi*; and, indeed, this is sufficiently implied by his name itself (גבריאל), which signifies the strength, or fortitude, of God. The *Moslems* believe, that he instructed *Mohammed* in all those points

of faith and morality that their prophet required an assent to from them; which is, indeed, strongly insisted upon in several passages of the *Korân* (19).

(U) The word *Al Kadr*, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, signifies power, and honour, or dignity; or, as *Al Zamakhshari* will have it, the divine decree. The night here mentioned is so named, either from its excellence above all other nights in the year, or because, as the *Mohammedans* believe, the divine decrees for the ensuing year, with respect to life and death, and the other affairs of this world, are annually on this night fixed and settled, or taken from the preserved table by God's throne, and given to the angels to be executed. Hence those words of the *Korân*—"By the perspicuous book, verily we have sent down the same on a blessed night, wherein is distinctly set down the decree of every determined thing, as a command from us." Some, however, suppose, that these words refer only to that particular night on which the *Korân*, wherein are completely contained the divine determinations in respect to religion and morality, was sent down. On the night of *Al Kadr*, *Mohammed* received his first revelations: when the *Korân*, say the commentators, was sent down from the aforesaid table, intire and in one volume, to the lowest heaven, from whence *Gabriel* revealed it to

(17) *Abu'Isfeda* in geograph. (18) Gagn. not. ad Jos. Ben Gorion, c. 97. p. 453. ut et ipse Jos. Ben Gor. in cap. 2. Ebn Saïd Al Megreb. apud Ism. Abu'Isfeda. ut ipse Abu'Isfeda. in hist. general. cap. de nationib. quæ religion. Christian. profit. Vide etiam Cl. Gagn. not. ad Abu'Isfeda. vit. Mohammed. c. vii. p. 14. (19) Al Kor. Mohammed. f. ii. c. 87. f. lui. v. 5, &c. Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidarwi, Gagn. not. ad Abu'Isfeda. de vit. Mohammed. p. 15.



- a in it the *Korân* first descended intire from heaven; that book being afterwards vouchsafed the *Moslems* from the same place only in parts, and this during the space of twenty-three years. It is observed by *Jallalo'ddin*, that the angel *Gabriel* appeared at first, on this occasion, to *Mohammed* at a distance, and in his proper form; which was so glorious, that *Mohammed* fainted away at the first sight of him: upon which, he assumed a human shape, and drew nearer to the prophet. According to *Abu'lfeda*, *Mohammed*, immediately after his first interview with *Gabriel*, advanced to the middle of the mountain, where he heard a voice coming from heaven, and saying, O MOHAMMED, *thou art the apostle of God, and I am GABRIEL*. Immediately after which, the angel again discovered himself, and *Mohammed* fixed his eyes upon him, till he retired. Then, returning to *Mecca*, he communicated to
- b *Khadijah* a more particular account of this revelation, which she received with great joy; declaring herself quite charmed with such agreeable news, and swearing, by him in whose hands her soul was, that she was convinced he would be the prophet of the Arabian nation. Nay, being in a sort of extasy, she immediately imparted what she had heard to her cousin *Waraka Ebn Nawfal*, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament. He very readily came into her opinion, concerning the certainty and reality of *Mohammed's* mission (W); swearing by him in whose hands was the soul of *Waraka*, that what she said was true; and that MOHAMMED was the great prophet foretold in the law by MOSES the son of AMRAN. This was soon after told by her to *Mohammed*; who thereupon repaired to the *Caaba*, walked seven
- c times round that sacred place, and, after he had performed his devotions there, retired to his own house. 'Tis pretended by the *Moslem* writers, that when *Gabriel* first appeared to *Mohammed*, he said to him, *Read*; and that when the prophet answered he could not read, being perfectly illiterate, he replied, that God, who had inspired man with the art of writing, would graciously remedy that defect in him. And with this perfectly correspond those words of the *Korân*, "Read, in the name of thy LORD, who hath created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by thy most beneficent LORD, who taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not." From what has been already observed, it may be inferred, that *Mohammed* had in view the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel, when he framed the narrative of his first pretended revelation. As he began to
- d set up for a reformer, at the age above-mentioned, the fortieth year of his age is usually called the year of his mission. Many more particulars, relative to this remarkable event, we are supplied with by *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Al Jannabi*, and others; which favour so strongly of the Arab, or rather *Moslem*, genius, that our curious readers will not expect of us an insertion of them in this place <sup>m</sup>.

THIS first step meeting with the approbation of so considerable a person as *Waraka Ebn Mohammed's Nawfal Ebn Asad Ebn Abd'al Uzza Ebn Kosa*, *Khadijah's* uncle, *Mohammed* entertained <sup>first steps justly</sup> great hopes of succeeding in the accomplishment of his design. Encouraged, therefore, <sup>etc. / sub.</sup> by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try, for some time, what he could do by private persuasion; not daring to hazard the whole affair, by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made profelytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife *Khadijah*, who was indisputably the first of those converts, his servant *Zeid Ebn Hâretha* (to

<sup>m</sup> AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. & alibi. SALE, ubi supra, p. 39, 42, &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi supra, p. 162. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 14—17. AL TABAR. apud Elmacin. ut & ipse ELMACIN. ibid. AL KODAI in cap. de numer. prophetar. & legator. JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, &c. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 66. f. xcvi, xcvi, & alibi pass. AL BOKHARI, AHMED BEN YUSEF hist. par. i. c. 9. AL JANNAB. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 14—17. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 104—109. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 157. AL BEIDAWI, LUK. c. i. v. 26. & LUDOVIC. MARRACC. refut. Alcoran. p. 811. Patavii, 1698.

*Mohammed* by parcels, as occasion required; and this, according to *Al Zamakhshari*, during the space of twenty-three years only. The *Moslem* doctors are not agreed where to fix the night of *Al Kadr*: the greater part are of opinion, that it is one of the ten last nights of *Ramadan*, and, as is commonly believed, the seventh of those nights, reckoning backwards; by which means it will fall between the 23d and 24th days of that month. This is the opinion of *Al Kodai*, and the most intelligent of the above-mentioned doctors. The 97th surat, or chapter, of the *Korân*, is intituled *Al Kadr*; which, as it will throw some light upon what has been observed, we shall beg leave to insert here. "Verily we sent

" down the *Korân* in the night of *Al Kadr*. And what  
 " shall make thee understand how excellent the night of  
 " *Al Kadr* is? The night of *Al Kadr* is better than a  
 " thousand months. Therein do the angels descend,  
 " and the spirit *Gabriel* also, by the permission of their  
 " Lord, with his decrees concerning every matter. It  
 " is peace until the rising of the morn (20).

(W) *Mohammed's* mission, according to the *Moslems*, was predicted by *Mosis* on mount *Sinai*, as also by all the prophets, whose spirits were assembled with him there. This notion, as they pretend, is countenanced by the *Korân*; tho' it must be owned too absurd to merit the attention of any of our sober intelligent readers (21).

(20) *Jallalo'ddin*, *Al Zamakhshari*. *Al Shabli*, *Al Kodai*, *Al Beidawi*, *Al Kor. Mohamm.* f. xlv, xcvi, &c. *Ludovic. Marrac. not. ad Alcoran.* f. xlv, xcvi, &c. *Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Mohammed.* p. 14, 15. *Sale's translat. and notes on the Kor.* p. 401, 497, &c. *Gagn. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem.* p. 105. (21) *Al Kor. Mohammed.* f. iii. v. 80. *Vide etiam Gagn. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi supra, p. 15.*



whom he gave his freedom on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers) and his cousin and pupil *Ali*, the son of *Abu Táleb*, tho' then not above nine or ten years of age, according to the greatest part of the *Moslem* doctors. But this last, making no account of the other two, used to stile himself *the first of believers*. The next person *Mohammed* applied to with success, was *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Kohâfa*, surnamed *Abu Becr*, and *Al Seddik*, or *the faithful witness*, a man of very considerable authority among the *Koreish*; and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him. Nor was he at all disappointed in his views; for *Abu Becr*, being gained over, prevailed on *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas*, *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, and *Telha Ebn Obeid'allah*, all principal men in *Mecca*, to follow his example. Afterwards *Abu Obeida*, whose name was *Amer Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Gjerrah*, *Obeida Ebn Al Hâreth*, *Said Ebn Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail Ebn Abd'al Uzza*, *Abd'allah Ebn Masûd*, and *Amer Ebn Yâser*, at the solicitation of the preceding converts, embraced *Islamism*, and openly declared their intention to support *Mohammed*; so that the surprising success he now met with, was, in a great measure, if not solely, owing to the influence of *Abu Becr*, who, after the death of the prophet, was saluted *Khalîfa*, or *Khalîf*, that is, *successor*, or *vicegerent*, in exclusion of *Ali*, to whom that title, and the power annexed to it, of right belonged. We are informed by *Al Kodai*, that *Abu Becr's* name, in the time of ignorance, that is, before the introduction of *Islamism*, was *Abd'al Caaba*, or *the servant of the Caaba*; and that afterwards he was named by the prophet *Abd'allah*, or *the servant of God*. He was the son of *Abu Kohâfa*, or *Othmân Ebn Amer*, who was of the posterity of *Tâim Ebn Morra*. He was surnamed *Abu Becr*, that is, *the father of the girl*, or *the virgin*, to wit, *Ayesha*, who was a girl, or virgin, when *Mohammed* married her; all his other wives having had husbands before they were admitted to his bed. We must not omit observing, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, one of those *Arabs* that immediately followed *Abu Becr*, was of a very generous disposition; having, according to *Al Beidawi*, given no less than 4,000 *dirhems*, which was one half of what he had, towards defraying the charge of the expedition to *Tabûc*. But this will be more fully related in its proper place<sup>a</sup>.

He makes his mission no longer a secret. *ABU BECR* having thus, by his example and authority, gained *Mohammed* a considerable number of proselytes, the prophet gave him the surname of *Al Seddik*, which imports *the faithful witness*. He did not only vouch for his veracity, in every thing he related concerning the revelation vouchsafed him in the night of *Al Kadr*, and his nocturnal journey afterwards to heaven, but likewise greatly exerted himself to increase the number of his followers. *Mohammed* likewise complimented him with the appellation of *Atik*, or *preserved*, that is, *one saved from hell-fire*; intimating thereby, that this zealous *Moslem* was most certainly one of the elect. For the space of three years, during which term he pretended to have received frequent revelations, the apostle only instructed his votaries in private; being under some apprehensions of the resentment of the *Koreish*, the bulk of which tribe did by no means at first favour his undertaking. However, *Abu Becr*, persisting in his fidelity to him, and having, as he supposed, formed a sufficient party to support him, *Mohammed* made his mission no longer a secret; but, at the end of the above-mentioned period, gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations; and, in order to do this with more convenience, and a better prospect of success, he directed *Ali*, whom he had from his infancy taken under his protection, as *Al Abbâs* had *Jaafar*, another of *Abu Táleb's* sons, to prepare an entertainment, and invite thereto the sons and descendents of *Abd'al Motalleb*, intending then to open his mind unto them. This was done, and about forty of them came; amongst whom were *Hamza* and *Al Abbâs*: but *Abu Labeb*, one of *Mohammed's* uncles, making the company break up before the prophet had an opportunity of speaking, he could not forbear expressing his uneasiness on that account to *Ali*, who thereupon found himself obliged to give them a second invitation the next day; and when they were come, *Mohammed* made them the following speech:—"I know no man in the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, who can propose to his relations any thing more excellent than what I now do to you: I offer you the felicity both of this world and of that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; who therefore among you will be my *Wazir*, or assistant herein, and become my brother, and my vicegerent?" All of them hesitated, and declining the matter, *Ali* at length rose up, and declared that he would assist him; and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him: "I," said he, "O prophet of God, will be thy (X) *Wazir*; I myself will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes,

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. vit. Mohammed. c. viii. p. 17, 18. Aut. lib. AL SEIRAT. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi supra, & la vie de Mahom. c. viii. p. 109—112. AL KODAI, AL BEIDAWI, ELMACIN. l. i. c. i. SALE's translation of the Korân, p. 159. SIONIT. in append. ad geogr. Nubien. c. 8.

(X) The word *Wazir*, or *Viser*, used here, properly denotes a porter, or carrier of burdens; but, in a more noble sense, it is taken for a *private-counsellor*, or rather a *prime minister*, who is the person that bears the whole burden



a “ eyes, rip open the bellies, and cut off the legs, of all who shall dare to oppose thee.” *Mohammed*, upon this, embraced *Ali* with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to, and obey him, as his deputy. “ This,” said he, “ is my brother, my deputy, and my successor, or vicar; therefore shew yourselves submissive and obedient to him.” At which the whole company broke out into a great laughter, telling *Abu Tâleb*, that he must now pay obedience and submission to his own son °.

It ought here to be remarked, that the original word made use of by *Abu'lfeda*, which we have translated *successor*, or *vicar*, is *Khalifa*; which title, after the death of *Mohammed*, was common to all his successors. *Abu Becr* was the first who enjoyed it, as well as the power annexed to it; tho' afterwards it was applied to *Omar*, *Othmân*, and then to *Ali* himself, whom *Mohammed*, immediately after the public commencement of his mission, honoured with it. The *Persians*, however, in opposition to the *Turks*, maintain, that *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* was the first lawful *Khalif* and *Imam*; and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. The *Turks*, on the other hand, who stile themselves *Sunnites*, or *orthodox*, and the *Persians Shiites*, or *schismatics*, acknowledged *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, the three first *Khalifs*, and respect them as rightful *Imams*; tho' they are rejected by the *Persians* as intruders and usurpers. Hence the rivetted antipathy which has so long reigned between the *Turks* and the *Persians*; and which has long been come to such a pitch, that the former hold it more meritorious to kill one of the latter than seventy *Christians*. The *Persians* still retain so great a veneration for the memory of *Ali*, that some of them believe him to be still living; and that he will come at the end of the world with *Elias*, and fill the earth with justice; nay, several of them are so superstitiously mad, as to look upon him as God, or at least as something little inferior to the Divinity. So *Abd'allah Ebn Saba* directly called him God; and *Alaba Ebn Darâ* preferred him to *Mohammed*; thinking that the prophet was sent by *Ali* to draw all men to him; whereas he abused the trust reposed in him, and drew them over to himself. Others contended, that the angel *Gabriel* mistook *Mohammed* for *Ali*; being deceived by the resemblance they bore to one another; for they were as like one another as two crows, according to these sectaries; who were therefore called *Al Ghorabites*, or the *crowish sect*. But of this, and all the other principal sects among the *Mohammedans*, we shall give a minute and circumstantial account hereafter <sup>p</sup>.

*MOHAMMED*, notwithstanding the repulse he had received, was so far from being discouraged, that he began to preach in public to the people; who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers; which so highly provoked them, that they openly declared themselves his enemies; some few only excepted, who were converted to *Islamism*. Nor could he have escaped their resentment, had he not been protected by *Abu Tâleb*, his uncle, who was very active in his favour. However, the chief of the *Koreish* warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew; making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting. The principal of these were *Otha* and *Sheiba*, the sons of *Rabia Ebn Abd' Menâf*, *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb Ebn Ommiyah*, *Abu Al Bekhterah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Asad*, *Al Aswad Ebn Al Motalleb Ebn Asad*, *Abu Jabl Ebn Heshâm Ebn Al Mogheira*, *Al Walid Ebn Al Mogheira*, of the family of *Makhezum*, *Bonia* and *Menba*, the sons of *Al Hejâj* the *Sahamite*, and *Al As Ebn Wayel* the *Sahamite*. But all their pacific endeavours proving ineffectual, they at length threatened *Abu Tâleb* with an open rupture, if he did not pre-

° *ABU'LFED*, ubi supra. p. 18—20. *AL KODAI*, *Al Kor. MOHAMMED*, f. lxxiv. *ELMACIN*. ubi supra. *AL BEIDAWI*, *AL ZAMAKHSHARI*, *JALLAL'OD*. *ELMACIN*. & *SIONIT*. ubi supra. *GAGN*. not. ad *Abu'lfed*. ubi supra. *SALE*'s transl. of the *Kor*. f. lxxiv. p. 472, 473. <sup>p</sup> *AL SHAHRESTAN*. apud *Pocock*. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 261. ut & ipse *Pocock*. ibid. *GREG*. *ABU'L-FARAJ* hist. dynast. dyn. ix. p. 169—170, &c. *ELMACIN*. ubi sup. *ISM*. *ABU'LFED*. in hist. general. cap. de gent. *Moslemor*. seu. *Mohammedanor*. *D'HERBEL*. biblioth. Orient. art. *Schiab*, & alibi passim. Vide etiam *JOAN*. *GAGN*. not. ad *Abu'lfed*. de vit. *Mohammed*. p. 20. *SALE*'s preliminary discourse, sect. viii. p. 175—179, & *HADR*. *RELAND*. de relig. *Mohammed*. p. 36, 37, & alibi.

burden of the administration. It appears from *Abu'lfeda* here, that the institution of this post was originally owing to *Mohammed*; except we shall think proper to admit, with the *Korân*, that *Haron* was *Moses*'s *Wazir*. Be that as it will, *Ali* was the first *Moslem* who was distinguished by this honourable title: nor had he any successors in the office annexed to it, before the year of the *Hijra* 132, or of *CHRIST* 749, when *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, the last of the *Ommiyahan Khalifs*, constituted *Abu Moslemah Ebn Al Hâlal* his *Vizir* of religion,

or master of the prophet's household; in which dignity he was confirmed by *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*. He was succeeded in this post by *Yabia Ebn Khâled*, as *Yabia* was by others, till the commencement of the *Turkish* empire, in which the office of *Vizir* was finally established, and continues to this day. None of those authors, who have favoured the public with a history of *Wazirs*, seem to have traced this supereminent dignity to its original source (22).

(22) *ISM*. *ABU'LFED*. ubi supra, p. 19. *GREG*. *ABU'L-FARAJ*. hist. compend. dynast. p. 213, 214. *AL KOR. MOHAMMED*. f. xxv. v. 36. *Al Firauzabad*. in *Kam. Gol. lex. Arab*. 3c.



vail on *Mohammed* to desist. At this *Abu Táleb* was so far moved, that he earnestly dis- a  
suaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any farther; representing the great danger he  
and his friends must otherwise run. But *Mohammed* was not to be intimidated; telling his  
uncle plainly, *that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he*  
*would not leave his enterprize.* *Abu Táleb*, therefore, finding him so firmly resolved to pro-  
ceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies: so  
that, notwithstanding the people of his tribe came to a determination to expel both him  
and his followers, he found a powerful support in his uncle, against all their machina-  
tions <sup>1</sup>,

*A short digres-  
sion.*

It must be remembered, that, during the three years in which *Mohammed* confined him- b  
self to private admonitions, he was, as his votaries pretend, honoured with frequent reve-  
lations. The first, which happened on the night of *Al Kadr*, and of which we have already  
given our readers a short account, was preceded, according to *Al Jannabi*, by several ex-  
traordinary communications of the divine will to the prophet, that, for the space of six  
months before this memorable event, in dreams, were vouchsafed him. The same author  
also informs us, that, for some time before *Mohammed* appeared in public as a reformer, a  
stop was put to his revelations; which so greatly afflicted him, that, one day as he was walk-  
ing upon mount *Hara*, he found himself in so melancholy a disposition, that he was upon  
the point of throwing himself down headlong from off the top of the mountain: but, to his  
vast surprize, as he was advancing towards the summit for that purpose, he heard, all on  
a sudden, a voice from heaven, saying unto him, O Mohammed, *thou art the apostle of* c  
*God!* Upon which, lifting up his eyes on high, he saw the angel *Gabriel* descending to-  
wards him, clothed in red, and seated on a throne, which was suspended between heaven  
and earth. At this sight being much terrified, he ran to his relations, and particularly to  
*Khadijah*, whom he commanded to cover him; and then the following words of the *Korân*  
immediately descended from heaven: "O thou covered, arise and preach, and magnify thy  
" LORD. And cleanse thy garments: and fly every abomination: and be not liberal, in  
" hopes, &c." Some pretend, that the angel *Gabriel* himself addressed the new apostle in  
these words, which form the beginning of the seventy-fourth chapter of the *Korân*; and,  
from hence, think this chapter to have been the first which was revealed: but the more re-  
ceived opinion is, that it was the ninety-sixth. Others believe, that the prophet, having d  
been reviled by certain of the *Koreish*, was sitting in a melancholy and pensive posture,  
wrapped up in his mantle, when *Gabriel* accosted him. Others imagine, that he lay sleeping  
unconcernedly; or, according to others, praying, covered, with his wife *Ayesha*, by a  
large rug, when the angel *Gabriel* made his appearance to him. But however this may be,  
it is generally supposed by the *Moslem* writers, that, in the seventy-fourth chapter of the  
*Korân*, *Mohammed* was more especially commanded to warn his near relations, the *Koreish*;  
as he was expressly ordered to do it in a subsequent revelation. The epithets, *wrapped up,*  
*and covered,* used in the seventy-third and seventy-fourth chapters of the *Korân*, have been  
taken, by several learned men, pretty plainly to intimate, that *Mohammed* was subject to  
the falling-sickness; a malady generally attributed to him by the *Christians*, tho' not directly e  
mentioned by the principal *Mohammedan* writers. This does not please Mr. *Sale*, tho' he  
allows such an inference may be made; who is very unwilling to believe that the pretended  
prophet was ever visited with such a distemper. But, in opposition to this notion, Mr.  
*Gagnier* has pretty clearly shewn, that the probability of *Mohammed's* having been troubled  
with such a disorder may be fairly collected from some of the very best *Moslem* historians <sup>1</sup>.

*Mohammed*  
*preaches, ex-  
horts, &c. pub-  
licly.*

THE revelations being thus re-commenced, and he having entered upon his prophetic or f  
apostolic function with success, notwithstanding the obstruction at first given him on the part  
of the *Koreish*, *Mohammed* continued to discharge it with uncommon diligence and applica-  
tion. 'Till this period, he had contented himself with calling and inviting men to the know-  
ledge of the truth; but now finding himself, as he pretended, invested with full powers, and  
commissioned in form to undertake the office of a reformer, he preached, he exhorted pub-  
licly, he rendered his vocation manifest to all; and, in consequence of the character he  
had assumed, he propagated *Islamism*, with all his might, where-ever his authority pre-  
vailed <sup>2</sup>.

*Hamza and*  
*Omar are con-  
verted.*

IN the mean time, *Abu Táleb* remained inviolably attached to the interests of *Mohammed*,  
notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the *Koreish* to obstruct the progress of the new reli-

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi supra, p. 20, 21. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi supra, p. 162. SALE's prelim. discours.  
p. 44. Vide etiam ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 10. Lond. 1718. <sup>2</sup> ISM ABU'LFED.  
ubi sup. p. 16. AL JANNAB. p. 38. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. lxxiii, lxxiv, & alibi. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL  
BEIDAWI, HOTTINGER. hist. Orient. l. i. c. 2. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in Alc. p. 763. See PRID. life  
of Mahom. p. 16. RODERIC. TOLETAN c. vi. RICARDI confutat c. xiii. THEOPHAN. ZONAR. Miscel-  
l. histor. Fortalit. fidei, lib. iv. conf. 2. OCKLEY's hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 300, &c. GAGN. not. ad Abu'l-  
fed. p. 9. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 113. SALE's translation of the Korân, p. 469—473. <sup>3</sup> AL  
JANNAB. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 18. GAGN. la vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. p. 113. &c. GREG.  
ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. See also PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 10. Lond. 1718.



a gion. The tribe had come to a resolution to proscribe all who had embraced it. And finding they could neither silence the new converts by fair words, nor menaces, they were determined to try what could be done by force, and ill treatment. They therefore used *Mohammed's* followers so very injuriously, that it was not safe for them to continue any longer at *Mecca*; nay, *Mohammed* himself was insulted on mount *Al Safâ* by *Abu Jahl Ebn Heshâm*, a principal man among the *Koreish*, and one of his most inveterate enemies; which proved a great discouragement to some of his adherents: however, it had such an effect upon his uncle *Hamza*, who was not yet converted, that, upon his being acquainted with it by *Abd'allah Ebn Jodhân's* maid, he expostulated with *Abu Jahl*, struck him with his bow, and, after having grievously wounded him, professed himself a proselyte to *Islamism*. This induced the family of *Makbûm*, to which *Abu Jahl* belonged, to take up arms against *Hamza*, and the *Hâshemites*, in support of their relation; but not being able to carry their point, the *Hâshemites* at last prevailed. *Mohammed* had also the pleasure to see his party considerably strengthened soon after, by the conversion of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, a person highly esteemed, and, before this remarkable event, a violent opposer of the prophet. The *Moslems* pretend, that *Mohammed* prayed for the conversion either of *Omar* or *Abu Jahl*, whom he took to be the most dangerous of his enemies; and that, hereupon, *Omar* was almost miraculously converted, by reading the twentieth chapter of the *Korân*: upon which, he retired immediately to mount *Al Safâ*, where he found *Mohammed*, and about forty of his followers; the principal of which were *Hamza*, *Abu Becr Al Seddik*, and *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, assembled together; to whom he declared himself a *Moslem*. *Al Jannabi* relates, that *Omar*, at the request of the *Koreish*, had an intention to assassinate *Mohammed*; but was diverted from his bloody design by *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; tho' *Abu'lfeda* says, that he was persuaded to desist from so wicked an attempt by *Naim Ebn Abd'allah Alkhâm*. The *Mohammedan* writers assert him to have been surnamed *Al Farûk*, or the *Divider*; because, when a certain *Moslem* was condemned by *Mohammed* for his iniquitous treatment of a *Jew*, and appealed afterwards from the sentence of the prophet to *Omar*, he cut him in two with his scymitar, for not acquiescing in the decision of so upright a judge; which when *Mohammed* heard, he gave him the surname of *Al Farûk*, or the *Divider*; because, by this action, he had shewn himself capable of perfectly distinguishing between truth and falsehood. *Al Kodai* affirms, that thirty-nine of *Omar's* adherents followed his example the same day he professed himself a votary of *Mohammed*. For a minute and circumstantial account of this extraordinary change, we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Jannabi*, *Al Kodai*, and others of the *Mohammedan* writers. The conversion of *Hamza* and *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* happened in the year preceding the first flight of the *Moslems* into *Ethiopia*, or the fourth year of *Mohammed's* mission, according to *Abu'lfeda*; and not in the year following that flight, or the first *Hejra*, as Mr. Sale, in direct opposition to that celebrated historian, has been pleased to assert.

BUT notwithstanding these first instances of success, the *Koreish* raised such a persecution against the *Moslems*, that some of them, and particularly *Othmân Ebn Affân*, his wife *Rakîah*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, *Othmân Ebn Matîn*, *Abd'allah Ebn Masûd*, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, found themselves obliged to fly for refuge into *Ethiopia*. This was the first flight; but, afterwards, several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children. These refugees, the first of whom were only twelve men and four women, met with a kind reception at the court of the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*; who refused to deliver them up to those whom the *Koreish* sent to demand them. Nay, the *Arab* writers seem unanimously to attest, that this prince even professed the *Mohammedan* religion; but as the absurdity of the relations of that affair, or at least the principal of them, has been already demonstrated in our ancient history of the *Ethiopians*, we shall beg leave to supersede all farther accounts of it here. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that notwithstanding what has been advanced concerning this affair by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki*, and *Ebn Malkam*, as the whole has manifestly the air of a fiction, and not the least traces of it are to be met with in any of the *Christian* historians, who have touched upon the origin and progress of *Mohammedism*, nor even in any of the ancient monuments of the *Ethiopians*, our more intelligent readers will probably allow it to have been deservedly exploded both by *Ludolfus* and *Marracci*.

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 21, 22, 23. EBN SHOHNAH. AL JANNAB. p. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, &c. AL KODAI, in vit. Omar. AL TABAR. EBN SHEHAB apud Al Kodaium, ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 22. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 123—131. ABUNAZAR, ELMACIN. ubi sup. JOAN-NEI ANDREAM, c. i. & PRID. life of Mahom. p. 14. <sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xi. p. 23—27. ELMACIN. & JOANNES ANDREAS, ubi sup. KAMUS, EBN SHOHNAH, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, AL KODAI, MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, in lib. de excellent. Habessinor. par. i. cap. 2. EBN MALKAM apud Moham. Ebn Abd'al Bak. ubi supra. JOB LUDOLF. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 284, & alibi. LUDOVIC. MARRACCI. in prodrom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. SELD. vox Ebraic. p. 533. Vide etiam Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 331. Lond. 1748. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. p. 24—27. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 119—123.



*They send to demand the Moslem fugitives of the Najāshi in vain.*

ABD'ALLAH EBN ABU RABIA, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, whom the *Koreish* sent with presents, consisting of rich furs, to the *Najāshi*, to demand the fugitives above-mentioned, returned to *Mecca*, without having been able to succeed in their commission. That prince was determined to take them, and all their brethren, who should think proper to retire into *Ethiopia*, under his protection. This so incensed the *Koreish*, that they came to a resolution to suppress effectually, if possible, the new religion, that had now made so considerable a progress among the *Arab* tribes; and, in order to this, they entered into a solemn league, or covenant, against the *Hāshemites* (for so *Mohammed's* followers were called), and the family of *Abd'al Motalleb*; engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them. To give this the greater sanction, they reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the *Caaba*. Upon this, the tribe became divided into two factions; and the family of *Hāshem* all, both *Moslems* and unbelievers, repaired to *Abu Tāleb*, as their head; except only *Abd'al Uzza*, surnamed *Abu Labeb*, the son of *Abd'al Motalleb*, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew, and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party. This was likewise partly done at the instigation of *Omm Jemil*, his wife, who was sister to the great enemy of the *Hāshemites*, *Abu Sofiān Ebn Harb*, of the family of *Ommiyah* <sup>w</sup>.

*Some of them return to Arabia.*

IN the mean time, the *Arab* refugees, who had taken sanctuary in *Ethiopia*, received advice, that the citizens of *Mecca* had embraced *Mohammedism*. This induced thirty of them to return home; but, upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*, they found that idolatry still reigned in that city: wherefore only three of them, viz. *Othmān Ebn Affān*, *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awān*, and *Othmān Ebn Matūn*, had the courage to visit their friends and relations there. It must not be forgot, that when the first of those refugees, viz. *Othmān Ebn Affān*, with his wife *Rakiab*, *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awām*, *Abd'allah Ebn Masūd*, *Abd'alrahmān Ebn Awf*, *Abu Hodheifa Ebn Otba*, with his wife *Sabala*, the daughter of *Soheil Ebn Omar*, *Ben Masaab Ebn Omeir*, *Abu Salmah Ebn Abd'al Ased*, with his wife *Salama*, the daughter of *Ommeya*, *Othmān Ebn Matūn*, *Amer Ebn Rabia*, with his wife *Lili*, the daughter of *Abu Hantama*, *Hateb Ebn Omar*, who first set his foot in *Ethiopia*, and *Soheil Ebn Babidha*, had taken their rout on the sea-coast for *Ethiopia*, they embarked at *Jodda*, a maritime city about two days journey to the west of *Mecca*. Here they hired a vessel for half a *dinār*, and immediately set sail for *Ethiopia*. This event happened, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki*, in the fifth year of *Mohammed's* mission, and the month of *Rajeb*; which is a farther proof of *Mr. Sale's* error in the point above-mentioned <sup>x</sup>.

*The Koreish grow extremely troublesome to Mohammed and his followers.*

WE are told by *Al Jannabi*, that, soon after the arrival of the *Moslems* in *Ethiopia*, the fifty-third chapter of the *Korān*, intituled, THE STAR, came down from heaven, by the ministry of the angel *Gabriel*; and that, after the first reading of it, *Mohammed* prostrated himself, in a sense of the divine goodness; which being observed by some idolaters, who were present, they all of them did the like. The news of this event, according to the same author, being brought into *Ethiopia*, the *Moslems* there concluded that *Islamism* was established in *Mecca*; which induced some of them to cross the sea, and advance into the neighbourhood of that city, as has been already observed. During the residence of those *Arabs* there, *Mohammed* was protected by his uncle *Abu Tāleb*, tho' he found it extremely difficult to screen him from the fury and violence of the *Koreish*; who, according to the last-mentioned author, made frequent attempts upon him; sometimes endeavouring to destroy him by open force, and at others by secret wiles and machinations: nay, if that writer may be credited, in order to compass their end, they had recourse to the magic art, to enchantments, and diabolical illusions; they raised demons to harass him, and oblige him to desist at last from his undertaking. In fine, they gave him so much trouble, that he was obliged to change his habitation, and seek an asylum for himself, and his new companions. This he found in the house of one *Orkam*, which had on the hill of *Safā* an advantageous situation. Here he brought over to *Islamism* all the members of *Orkam's* family. The house he then dwelt in was afterwards held in high veneration among the *Moslems*. *Orkam*, the possessor of it at that time, made a present of it to his son, when he married an *Arab* lady. *Al Mansūr*, the second *Khalif* of the house of *Abbās*, purchased it of the heirs of *Orkam* for a large sum of money, and gave it to his son and successor *Al Mobdi*, surnamed *Al Khaizorān*; that is to say, the cane, or reed; from whom, says *Al Jannabi*, it retains the appellation of the house of the reed to this very day <sup>y</sup>.

*Abu'lfeda's authority preferable to that of Al Jannabi.*

IT has been already observed, that *Abu'lfeda* places the conversion of *Hamza* and *Omar Al Farūk* in the fourth year of *Mohammed's* mission; that is, he makes it to precede the first flight into *Ethiopia* only about one year. To which we must now beg leave to add,

<sup>w</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi supra. p. 25. EBN SHOHNAH. ABU'L MAALA ALAEDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, ubi supra. SIONIT. in append. ad geograph. Nubienf. c. 7. ELMACIN. & JOAN. ANDREAS, ubi supra. AL JANNABI, ubi supra, p. 41. Vide etiam GAGN. ubi supra, p. 122, 123. <sup>x</sup> ABU'L MAALA ALAEDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, ubi supra. ABU'LFED. ubi supra. p. 23—27. AL JANNABI, GAGN. la vic de Mahom. tom. prem. c. x. p. 119—123. <sup>y</sup> AL JANNAB. MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, in lib. de excellentiis Hāshimior. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. ubi supra.



- <sup>a</sup> that *Al Jannabi* is of a contrary opinion. According to that author, this conversion happened in the sixth of *Mohammed's* mission, and consequently the year after the first *Hejra*, or flight into *Ethiopia*; *Al Kodai*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki*, and *Al Jannabi*, all agreeing (with *Abu'lfeda*), that *Mohammed's* adherents first sought for refuge at the court of the *Najáshi*, in the fifth year after the apostle entered upon his prophetic function. As we cannot therefore decide in favour of both these opinions, which are diametrically opposite to each other, the question here is, whether of them we are to chuse; or, in other words, whether we are to give the preference to *Abu'lfeda's* authority, or that of *Al Jannabi*? Mr. Gagnier and Mr. Sale have, to our very great surprize, followed the latter of these authors in the point before us. We say, to our very great surprize; since *Abu'lfeda* was not near so much tinctured with bigotry and superstition as *Al Jannabi*, does not discover so great a propensity to fable and romance, and lived near three hundred years before him. We cannot therefore but think, that he ought to be esteemed as an historian of much better reputation and authority. Besides, the conversion of *Hamza*, one of *Mohammed's* uncles, seems naturally connected with the protection given him by *Abu Táleb*, another of them, as it is represented by *Abu'lfeda*, in the body of his history. So that it being agreed on all hands, that *Abu Táleb* most powerfully supported *Mohammed* in the fourth year of his mission; and *Al Jannabi*, *Al Kodai*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki*, &c. all asserting, that the first *Hejra*, or flight into *Ethiopia*, happened in the fifth; both the reason of the thing, and the testimony of those writers (even of *Al Jannabi* himself) jointly concur to establish, and, as we apprehend, render indisputable, the authority of *Abu'lfeda*. Nor can this be at all affected, in the present article, as Mr. Gagnier seems to imagine, by what we find, in another place, related by *Al Jannabi*; viz. that *Mohammed* lived upon the mountains of *Al Safá*, after the first retreat of the *Moslems* to the court of the *Najáshi*: for this ought either to be looked upon as a fresh mistake, or as a natural consequence of the former; which we are inclined to believe; or, lastly, as a proof that *Mohammed* lived twice upon that hill, once before, and once after, some of his first converts were obliged to fly into *Ethiopia* <sup>2</sup>.

- THE factions into which the tribe of the *Koreish* was divided, and which occasioned the solemn league above-mentioned, subsisted for five years; but, in the tenth year of his mission, *Mohammed* told his uncle *Abu Táleb*, that God had manifestly shewed his disapprobation of the covenant entered into by the *Koreish* against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument, except the name of God. Of this accident *Mohammed*, says Mr. Sale, had probably some private notice; for *Abu Táleb* went immediately to the *Koreish*, and acquainted them with it; offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in case it were true, he insisted, that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the *Háshemites*. To this they acquiesced, and going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment, found it to be as *Abu Táleb* had said; and the league was thereupon declared void. The form, in which the name of God was written, according to *Abu Zeid Abd'al Rahmán*, was this, IN THY NAME, O GOD; which words, as the same author affirms, only remained untouched. He also adds, that the hand of *Mansúr Ebn Akrema*, the notary who drew up the writing, was dried up as soon as he had finished it. The *Moslem* writers, however, do not intirely agree amongst themselves, in their relations of this pretended miracle; for *Abmed Ebn Abd'al Rakím*, as he is cited by *Marracci*, asserts, that all the names of God only were eaten out of the instrument, every other part of it being perfectly visible: upon which, continues that author, *Abu Táleb*, addressing himself to the *Koreish*, observed, that as God had been averse to the drawing up of the instrument then before them, he had taken care that every thing relating to him in it should be defaced, and that every thing that was the effect of their wickedness should remain. Be this, however, as it will, upon so remarkable an event, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the rescission of the instrument immediately ensued. Our readers will here take notice, that this extraordinary affair, which proved of such signal service to *Mohammed*, was probably, even according to Mr. Sale himself, the effect of collusion; since the person who, as he insinuates, gave the impostor private notice of the destruction of so many words in the instrument, did, in all likelihood, by his directions, erase them. They will also farther remark, that what has been advanced here by *Abu'lfeda*, *Abu Zeid Seid Abd'al Rahmán*, and *Abmed Ebn Abd'al Rakím*, amounts to a good proof, that the *Arabs* had letters in use amongst them, when *Mohammed* made his first appearance upon the theatre of the world, and even before his birth, as we have already observed in our ancient history of that most wonderful and illustrious nation <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. ABUL MAALA ALAZEDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, AL KODAI, ubi supra. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 119—130. & not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi supra, p. 21, 22. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 44, 45, &c. <sup>3</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xii. p. 27. ABU ZEID SEID ABD'AL RAHMÁN, in lib. de sign. seu mirac. prophet. AHMED EBN ABD'AL RAHIM apud Ludovic. Marraccium, in prodr. par. ii. p. 36. Patavii, 1698. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Ism. Abu'lfed, ubi supra, & SALE's prelim. disc. p. 42.



Mohammed  
loses his uncle  
Abu Tâleb,  
and his wife.

AFTER this memorable event, *Mohammed* remained with his uncle *Abu Tâleb*; who died <sup>a</sup> the same year, according to *Abu'lfeda*. The prophet had before been shut up, or rather closely besieged, in one of *Abu Tâleb's* castles, if we will believe *Al Jannabi*. The two parties, that is, the *Hâshemites*, and the opposite faction of the *Koreish*, were so exasperated against each other, that there was no manner of intercourse or communication kept up between them; at least before the rescission of the late decree. They never saw one another, except at the public solemnities of the pilgrimage, and then no kind of civilities or salutations passed between them. *Abu Tâleb* departed this life in the month of *Shawâl*, and the tenth year of *Mohammed's* mission; so that he did not long survive the late accommodation. At his death, he was above eighty years of age; and died, according to the general opinion, an unbeliever; tho' some pretend that he professed himself a *Moslem* just before he <sup>b</sup> expired. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that, as his death approached, *Mohammed* pressed him to declare his assent to the two fundamental article, THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS PROPHET; but that he excused himself from making such a declaration, because the *Koreish* would, as he said, impute it to his being intimidated at that juncture, and consequently give out, that the fear of death had extorted it from him. However, continues the same author, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, who attended him in his last illness, *Mohammed's* cousin-german, asserted, that, with his last breath, he acknowledged his belief of those articles. Be that as it will, *Mohammed* sustained a great loss by the death of his uncle, who had supported him with no small success against all the efforts of his most powerful and inveterate enemies. It must be remembered here, that those who assert *Abu Tâleb* to <sup>c</sup> have embraced *Mohammedism*, when he was at the point of death, produce some passages out of his poetical compositions, to confirm their assertion; and that he lived only eight months and twenty-one days after all acts of hostility ceased between his friends and the *Koreish*, according to *Al Jannabi*. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, *Mohammed* had the additional mortification to lose his wife *Khadîjah*, who had so generously made his fortune. She died in the sixty-fifth year of her age, and not in the forty-ninth, as we find asserted by *Marracci*. *Mohammed* had all his children by her, except one called *Ibrahim*, if we will give credit to *Al Kodai*. Two such sinister events, coming as it were together, could not but prove extremely prejudicial to the prophet's affairs. For which reason, this year is called by the *Mohammedans* <sup>d</sup> the year of mourning <sup>b</sup>.

A short digression relating to a prophecy of Mohammed.

It has been remarked by *Al Jannabi*, that the year preceding the death of *Abu Tâleb* and *Khadîjah*, the *Persians* gave the *Greeks*, or subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, a signal defeat in *Syria*, near *Bosra* and *Adbraât*; upon which, the *Koreish* made great rejoicings. The news of this victory reaching *Mecca*, the infidels became strangely elated, and began to abuse *Mohammed*, and his followers; imagining that this success of the *Persians*, who, like themselves, were idolaters, and supposed to have no Scriptures, against the *Christians*, who pretended, as well as *Mohammed*, to worship one God, and to have divine Scriptures, was an earnest of their own future successes against the prophet, and those of his religion. To check which vain hopes, it was foretold, in the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*, intituled, AL RÛM, or THE GREEKS, which, the *Moslems* pretend, was revealed on occasion of this victory, that how improbable soever it might seem, yet the scale should be turned in a few years, and the vanquished *Greeks* prevail as remarkably over the *Persians*. Which prophecy, according to the commentators on the *Korân*, was exactly fulfilled, tho' they do not agree in their accounts of its completion; the number of years between the two actions being not precisely determined. Some place the victory gained by the *Persians* in the fifth year before the *Hejra*, and their defeat by the *Greeks* in the second year after it, when the battle of *Bedr* was fought: others place the former in the third or fourth year before the *Hejra*, and the latter in the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh year after it, when the expedition of *Al Hodeibiyah* was undertaken. The date of the victory <sup>e</sup> gained by the *Greeks*, in the first of these accounts, interferes with a story, which the commentators on the *Korân* tell us, of a wager laid by *Abu Becr* with *Obba Ebn Khalf*, who turned this prophecy into ridicule. *Abu Becr* at first laid ten young camels, that the *Persians* should receive an overthrow within three years; but, on his acquainting *Mohammed* with what he had done, that prophet told him, that the word *bed'*, made use of in the prediction, signified no determinate number of years, but any number from three to nine (tho' some suppose the tenth year is included); and therefore advised him to prolong the time, and raise the wager; which he accordingly proposed to *Obba*, and they agreed that the time assigned should be nine years, and the wager an hundred camels. Before the time was <sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 47. ABD'ALLAH EBN AL ABBAS apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. c. xiii. p. 28. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. Vide etiam carm. ABU TALEB apud Abu'lfed. ubi supra, & GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 132, 133. AHMED EBN YUSEF in hist. sect. i. c. 40. AL KODAI de uxerib. Mohammed. LUDOVICI MARRACCI vit. Mohammed. c. i. p. 15, &c.

elapsed,



- a elapsed, *Obba* died, of a wound he had received at *Obod*, in the third year of the *Hejra*; but the event afterwards shewing that *Abu Becr* had won, he received the camels of *Obba*'s heirs, and brought them in triumph to *Mohammed*. The victory, mentioned in the *Korân*, seems, according to Mr. *Salé*, to have been obtained about the sixth year before the *Hejra*, when the *Persians*, after their conquest of *Syria*, made themselves masters of *Palestine*, and took *Jerusalem*, as agreeing best with the terms used in the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*, and being the most likely to alarm the *Arabs*, by reason of their vicinity to the scene of action. And, in the year of *Christ* 625, in which the fourth year of the *Hejra* began, about ten years after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, the *Greeks*, in a great battle, overthrew the *Persians*, obliged them to quit the territories of the empire, drove them to the last extremity, and spoiled the capital city of *Al Madâyen*. But, for more exact information in these matters, our readers must have recourse to historians and chronologers. In the mean time, we shall beg leave farther to remark, that tho' *Al Jannabi* takes the battle, mentioned in the *Korân*, to have been fought in the neighbourhood of *Bostra* and *Adbraât*, as well as *Al Beidawi* and *Ahmed Ebn Yahya*, yet others place the scene of action in the land of *Persia*, and others in *Mesopotamia*, on the frontiers of that kingdom: but *Ebn Abbâs* differs from them all, when he thinks that the aforesaid general action happened in *Palestine*. Be this, however, as it will, the *Persians* were at that time in a declining condition, as well as the *Greeks*; and this *Mohammed* very well knew, as has been already observed, and is even allowed by Mr. *Salé* himself; so that the pretended apostle might, without the gift of prophecy, conjecture, that the *Greeks* would, within a few years, in their turn, overcome the *Persians*, and boldly offer such a conjecture as a prophecy, in order to animate and encourage his followers, who were then in a state of persecution. That such a procedure as this was, at that time, consonant to the *Arab* genius, appears from hence, that the infidel *Koreish* did foretel future successes to themselves from the victory of the *Persians*; and that this prediction also, as well as *Mohammed*'s, was, in some measure, fulfilled. But there is nothing at all wonderful in this: sanguine persons will frequently utter such conjectures as these, with a prophetic air, either to animate their partisans, after some disaster has happened, or to express their hopes of better times. Instances enough of this kind might be produced from history, were they in any manner necessary; and thousands of such instances, we doubt not, have actually occurred to persons acquainted with the nature of mankind, since the creation of the world. Nothing, therefore, can be more ridiculous, or inconsistent with itself, than the conduct of Mr. *Salé*; who, in one part of his book, represents both the *Persians* and the *Greeks* as extremely weak, when *Mohammed* began to attempt a reformation amongst the *Arabs*; and, in another, insinuates, that the *Persians* were then so infinitely superior to the *Greeks*, that the latter were upon the point of being swallowed up by the former. With what view this is done, our intelligent readers will easily perceive. Mr. *Gagnier* also discovers a strong inclination to favour the *Mohammedan* cause; when, in our opinion, without reason, he carps at Father *Marracci*'s refutation of the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*. In fine, the two learned men now in view would perhaps have had a dislike to *Islamism* in those countries only where it at present prevails; and that because it is the established religion there<sup>c</sup>.

- BUT to return to our history—Before the expiration of the tenth year of the prophet's mission, a most wonderful fact was wrought by *Mohammed*, if we may depend upon *Al Jannabi*, for the conviction of unbelievers. The beginning of the fifty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*, according to some, refers to this famous miracle, supposed to have been performed by *Mohammed*: for it is said, that, on the infidels demanding a sign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two, one part vanishing, and the other remaining; and *Ebn Masûd* affirmed, that he saw mount *Hara* interpose between the two sections. The words of the *Korân*, hinted at in the chapter above-mentioned, intituled, THE MOON, are to the following effect:  
 "The hour approacheth; and the moon hath been split in sunder: but if they see a sign, they turn aside, saying this is a powerful charm. And they accuse of imposture, and follow their own lusts: but every thing will be immutably fixed." *Al Jannabi* also relates, that *Moslems*, as well as unbelievers, and the people of the book, that is, both *Jews* and *Christians*, who were both favoured with Scriptures of divine original, saw this stupendous prodigy<sup>d</sup>.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding this, after the death of *Abu Tâleb* and *Khadijah*, the *Koreish* began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends. The principal of these were *Abu Labeb Ebn Abd'allah*, *Al Hakam Ebn Al As*, and *Okba Ebn Abi Moait Ebn Ommeya*, who persecuted him with great

<sup>c</sup> AL JANNAB. p. 43, 47, 48, &c. ELMACIN. p. 13, 17. DION. PETAV. rationar. tem. p. 506. JALLALO'DDIN, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xxx. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, AHMED EBN YAHYA, ASEMAN. bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. par. 1. p. 411, &c. MOJAHED apud Al Zamakhshar. SALE's notes on the 30th chapter of the Kor. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. xii. p. 134, 135. <sup>d</sup> AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. liv. v. 2, 3. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, GAGN. ubi supra, p. 134, 135, 136. Vide etiam lib. AL SHAIB. & LUD. MARRACC. refutat. Alcoran, c. xxx. p. 541, 542. Patavii, 1698.



rancour and fury; insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, a and first pitched upon *Tâyes*, about sixty miles east from *Mecca*, for the place of his retreat. Thither, therefore, he went, accompanied by his servant *Zeid*, and applied himself to *Masîd* and *Habîb*, two of the chief of the tribe of *Thakîf*, who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received him very coldly, and even treated him with some contempt: however, he staid with them a month, and made some converts amongst them; some of the more considerate and better sort of the citizens shewing him a little respect. At last, the slaves, and inferior people rose against him, and, bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to *Mecca*. This he did the twenty-third day of the month *Dbu'lkaada*, in the tenth year of his mission, according to *Al Jannabi*, and put himself under the protection of *Al Motâam Ebn Adi* <sup>c</sup>.

The reason of  
Mohammed's  
retreat to  
*Tâyes*.

THE reason assigned by *Golius* for *Mohammed*'s retreat to *Tâyes*, in preference to all other places, is, because his uncle *Abbâs* lived for the most part in that city: hence the *Turks*, at this day, give the district or territory belonging to it the name of *Abbâs Beladi*; that is, the country of *Abbâs*; and under that appellation it has chiefly gone even from the age of *Mohammed* to the present. To this place, therefore, he seems to have repaired, in order to secure to himself the protection of *Abbâs*; and afterwards, if a favourable opportunity offered, to subjugate the inhabitants of it. But he found himself disappointed in both those views, as sufficiently appears from what has been already observed. *Tâyes* is situated upon the back of mount *Ghazwân*, the coldest spot in *Hejâz*; insomuch that it pretty frequently freezes upon the top of this mountain. For which reason, it abounds with variety of fruits, c great quantities of which are continually sent to *Mecca*, and enjoys a most salubrious air. Hence the poet *Temîris*, when he celebrates the praises of *Zeinab*, sister to the prince of *Hejâz*, says, that she spent the winter at *Mecca*, and the summer at *Tâyes*. Its first name was *Veja*, which it derived from its founder. *Ghazwân* is commonly called by the *Arabs* *Afwân*, and looked upon to be famous, amongst them, for the excellent raisins it produces. *Abu'lfeda* says, the town now in view was originally called *Tâyes*, because it was separated from the continent of *Syria* by the waters of the deluge. But this seems to be a mistake, as it first went under the name of *Veja*; and, consequently, that of *Tâyes* must be perfectly modern, in comparison of the age of *Noah*. For other etymons of the word *Tâyes*, we must beg leave to refer the curious to *Al Jannabi* <sup>d</sup>.

Who the *Al*  
*Anfâr*, or  
*Ansârs*, were.

THIS last repulse greatly discouraged the new converts; as they perceived from hence that their countrymen were more than ever incensed against them. However, *Mohammed* continued boldly to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, who resorted to *Mecca*, on that occasion, from all parts of *Arabia*, against idolatry, and particularly against the worship of *Allât* and *Al Uzza*, to which the tribes, especially the women of that of *Thakîf*, were much addicted; tho' he exposed his person to insults and affronts, and his life itself to no small danger, by so doing. Here he gained several proselytes, and amongst them six of the inhabitants of *Yathreb*, of the Jewish tribe of *Khazraj*; who, on their return home, failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow citizens to embrace it. We are told, that this tribe, and that of *Al Aws*, were reconciled e immediately after their conversion to *Mohammedism*, tho' they had before been at variance an hundred and twenty years. The city of *Yathreb* was inhabited by those two tribes, who were descended from *Azd*, the son of *Cablân*, the son of *Saba*, the son of *Yashbab*, the son of *Taarab*, the son of *Kabtân*, the son of *Eber*. These converts of the tribe of *Khazraj* are called by the Arab writers *Al Anfâr*, *Al Ansarii*, or *Ansârs*; that is assistants, favourers, supporters, &c. because they assisted and supported the prophet, when he was pursued to the very brink of destruction, by the malice and contumelious rage of his enemies. They first met *Mohammed* upon the hill called *Al Akaba*, a little out of *Mecca*, where a temple stood, in which, according to *Al Juzi*, or *Al Juzius*, these *Ansârs* first took an oath to exert themselves in support of their new apostle, and his religion. An uninterrupted friendship and harmony long reigned f amongst the members of the Jewish tribes of *Khazraj*, *Coreidba*, and *Nadîr*, whose great progenitor, say the *Arabs*, was *Harûn Ebn Amrân*. *Mohammed*, therefore, insinuating himself into the good graces and affections of the *Ansârs*, they very readily embraced *Islamism*, and gladly received from him that part of the *Korân* which had been revealed. With regard to the *Jews* first seated at *Yathreb*, we are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that they deduced their origin from those *Israelites* that were sent by *Moses* to extirpate the *Amalekites* who occupied *Yathreb*, *Khaibar*, and other cities in the province of *Hejâz*. Having executed their orders, and killed the king of the *Amalekites*, they brought his son with them prisoner into *Palestine*; and, some time after, returning into *Arabia*, they took possession of those towns, whose inhabitants they had before put to the sword, and remained there, till the tribes of g

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi supra, c. xv. p. 29. FBN SHOHNAH, ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. AL JANNAB <sup>f</sup> GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 100. TEMIRIS poet. Arab. apud Golium, ibid. SHARIF AL EDRISI, in provinc. Hej. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi supra. p. 29.



a *Aws* and *Khazraj*, who were obliged to abandon *Yaman*, by the inundation of *Al Arem*, came and subdued them. Others say, that the *Jews* did not settle in *Arabia* till after the reduction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and lastly, others believe, that they had no settlement in that country till after the destruction of the second temple by *Titus*. The tribe of *Koreidha*, tho' in league with *Mohammed*, at the incessant persuasion of *Caab Ebn Asad*, a principal man amongst them, went over to his enemies in the WAR OF THE DITCH; and were severely punished for it. But of this our curious readers may expect a full and ample account hereafter <sup>g</sup>.

THE next remarkable event, we find related of *Mohammed*, by *Abu'lfeda*, is the night-journey he made from *Mecca* to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to heaven, so much spoken of <sup>night-journey to heaven.</sup> by all that have written of him. This happened, according to the author of the book *Al Seirat*, before the decease of *Abu Taleb*, and consequently in or before the tenth year of his mission. But *Al Juzi*, or, as the *Arabs* call him, *Ebn Al Juzi*, and he seems to have reason on his side, takes it to have happened in the twelfth year of his prophetic function. Here, therefore, we shall beg leave to place it. Dr. *Prideaux* thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission; or else, by pretending to have conversed with God, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind him by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the *Jews*. And this must be allowed extremely probable, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Mr. *Sale*, which has no manner of weight in it. For he contents himself with barely asserting, "that he does not find, that *Mohammed* himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings, as his followers have since done." Whereas from the whole tenor of his conduct, as described even by the *Moslem* writers themselves, the contrary seems most clearly to appear. Nor can any thing be more remote from truth than what the learned author now before us immediately subjoins, "and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles," &c. since this bold assertion runs counter to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, as well as to the express testimony of some good *Christian* writers, who have transmitted to posterity several particulars relating to the life and actions of *Mohammed*. In fine, the contrary to it may be demonstrated from the authors, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*, so frequently cited in this work. However, he merits greater regard, when he presently adds, that "it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy, to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as *Moses* had heretofore done in the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas he before contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of *Gabriel*." This, we say, merits greater regard; tho', at the same time, it must be allowed, that it fixes upon the favourite prophet, in conformity to what has been related of him by all *Christian* writers, the imputation of having been one of the most abandoned wretches, and the most execrable impostors, however inconsistent he may be with himself by so doing, that ever appeared in the world. Nor can we deny but that, in our opinion, such a character he most richly deserved <sup>h</sup>.

BUT to resume the thread of our history—*Mohammed* lying in the open air between the mountains of *Al Safa* and *Merwa*, in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*, according to the tradition of *Abu Horeira*, was one night accosted by the angel *Gabriel*, and another heavenly spirit with him. *Gabriel*, if we will believe *Al Farad*, opened *Mohammed's* heart, wrung out the black drop, or seed of original sin, washed and cleansed the same, filled it with wisdom and faith, and then put it into its proper place, out of which he had taken it for the more expeditious and convenient performance of that operation. Afterwards *Gabriel*, with seventy pair of wings expanded from his sides, according to some, brought to our apostle the beast *Al Borak*, which, say the *Mohammedans*, was the beast the prophets used to ride, when they were carried from one place to another, upon the execution of any divine command. *Mohammed* describes this animal to have been as white as milk, to have resembled an ass as well as a mule, and to have been of a size something less than the latter, but larger than the former. According to the tradition of *Abu Horeira*, the face of *Al Borak* was like that of a man, and his jaws like those of a horse. His eyes shone with as

<sup>g</sup> EBN SHOHNAH. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xv, xvi, xvii. p. 29, 30, 31. AL JANNAB. AL TABAR. EBN AL JUZI. ELMACIN. ubi sup. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, EBN ISHAK. Vid. etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 30, 31. La vie de Mahom. l. iv. c. 2 & alib. & SALE'S not. on the 33d chap. of the Kor.

<sup>h</sup> Aut. lib. AL SEIRAT apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 32. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. EBN AL JUZI, AHMED EBN YUSEF. PRIDEAUX'S life of Mahomet, p. 38. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 166. AL NODHAM EBN MASUD apud Al Shahrestan. ut & ipse AL SHAHRESTAN. ibid. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 187, 188. HOTTING. hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 6. GUADAGNOL. tract. ii. c. 2. sect. 2. AL KOR. MOHAMMED, f. liv. v. 2, 3. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 134, 135, 136. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, AL BOKHARI. SALE'S prelim. discourse, p. 46, 47. See also SALE'S translat. of the 54th chap. of the Kor. and his notes on that chap. & lib. AL SAHIB, &c.



great a lustre as the stars would do, were they enlightened by the solar rays, and he had a two wings resembling those of an eagle. The *Moslems* also pretend that he was endued with a rational soul, so that he could hear, reason, and understand, tho' he was destitute naturally of the faculty of speech. He could move with such surprising velocity, that he was able to pass from one place to another, as quick as lightning; from whence he received the name of *Al Borák*, which denotes *lightning*, or rather *the author of lightning, the thunderer*, in the *Arabic* tongue. At *Mohammed's* approach, he kicked with great force, and would not suffer the prophet to mount him. Upon which, *Gabriel* immediately interposed, and addressed himself to the beast in the following terms: "Stand still," said he, "O *Borák*, and be obedient to *Mohammed*, for a greater favourite of God than he is never got upon thy back." To which *Al Borák* replied, "Did not *Ibrahim*, O *Gabriel*, the friend of b God, ride upon me, when he went to pay a visit to his son *Ismael*? Perhaps, *Gabriel*, this is the mediator, intercessor, and the author of the new religion, whose fundamental article is THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD." To this *Gabriel* answered—"Stand still, O *Borák*, stand still, this is *Mohammed* the son of *Abd'allah*, the chief of the sons of *Adam*, the first amongst the prophets and ambassadors, and the seal of them all; his tribe is settled in *Yaman*, and his religion orthodox; all men, through his intercession, hope to enter paradise; at his right hand is paradise, and at his left hell-fire; whoever professes his word to be true will enter paradise, but whoever accuses him of a lye will be thrust into hell." To this *Al Borák* returned, for God had enabled him to speak on this occasion, "O *Gabriel*, I adjure thee, by the friendship and alliance between thee and *Mohammed*, c to prevail upon him to admit me into paradise, by his intercession, in the day of the resurrection." The prophet hearing this, said to him;—"Stand still, *Borák*; through my intercession thou shalt be with me in paradise." Upon which the beast presently came to him, took him on his back, and carried him through the air to *Jerusalem* in the twinkling of an eye <sup>1</sup>.

and after-  
wards at the  
first heaven;

HE no sooner arrived there than he went to the temple, where he found *Ibrahim*, *Musa*, and *Isa*, that is, *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Jesus*, with a great number of the prophets and saints, who all saluted him, and immediately went to prayers with him. After which, *Gabriel* and he ascended a ladder of light, which they found ready fixed for them, and left *Al Borák* upon the sacred spot till their return. Then they proceeded directly to the first d heaven, where, upon their arrival, *Gabriel* knocked at the gate, and having informed the porter who he was, as also that he had brought *Mohammed*, the friend of God, with him, by the divine command, it was instantly opened. This gate he describes to be of a prodigious size. The *first heaven*, he likewise tells us, consisted intirely of pure silver, and that he there saw the stars hanging from it by chains of gold as large as mount *Noko*, near *Mecca* in *Arabia*; and that in these stars the angels keep guard, to hinder the devils from approaching too near, or prying into the actions, and overhearing the discourse, of the inhabitants of heaven, in order to tempt them. When *Mohammed* first entered this heaven, he saw an old decrepit man, according to the same tradition, who called him the best of sons, and the best of prophets. This venerable person, as he learned from *Gabriel*, was our first e father *Adam*, who then, say certain of the *Moslems*, recommended himself to his prayers. He also saw, as some pretend, an infinite number of angels of all manner of shapes; an amongst those who appeared in the forms of birds, a cock as white as snow, of so prodigious a size, that with his head he touched the *second heaven*, though this was five hundred years journey distant from the *first*, according to the usual computation of travellers in the East. Nay some affirm, that the head of this (Y) cock reached up, through all the

<sup>1</sup> AL BOKHARI, ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xix. p. 33. AL JARUD apud Abu'lfed. ibid. Aut. lib. AGAR. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii. & xciv. v. 1. MOSLEM, AL BEIDAWI, AHMED EBN YAHYA, ABU HOREIRA. Vide etiam PHILIP. GUADAGNOL. Lat. vers. lib. AGAR. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 31, 32. RODERIC. TOLETAN. c. 5. JOAN. ANDRAM, c. 8. RICHARDI confutat. legis Saracenicæ, c. 1. 27. CANTACUZENI orat. 4. GUADAGNOL. ubi sup. tract. ii. c. 2. sect. 2. BELLONIUS, lib. iii. c. 7. BOCHART. hierozoic. par. ii. lib. 6. c. 13. FORTAL. FID. lib. iv. confid. 4. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 8, 9, 33, 34. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. ii. p. 195—207. SALE's prelimin. discours. p. 46. & translat. & not. on the Kor. f. xvii, xciv, &c.

(Y) This fable of the cock *Mohammed* has been supplied with by the *Talmudists*, as has been rightly observed by Dr. *Prideaux*. The *Babylonish Talmud* mentions a bird called *Ziz*, that standeth with his feet upon the earth, reacheth up unto the heavens with his head, and with the expansion of his wings totally obscures the solar orb. The *Chaldee paraphrast* on the *psalms* likewise describes this bird as a cock of the same immense size, and tells us that he crows before the LORD. He also in his paraphrase on the book of *Job* informs us,

that he crows every morning before the LORD, and that God gives him wisdom for this purpose. *Al Termedi* relates that this cock's wings are adorned with an infinite number of emeralds, carbuncles, and pearls, of inestimable value; and that, at the approach of the day of judgment, he will pronounce the words PRAISE, SANCTITY, &c. with a very loud and sonorous voice. For a more particular account of him, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors here cited in the margin (23).

(23) *Buxtorfii lexicon Rabbinicum, in voce זיז* Chald. paraphr. ad Psal. l. 11. & lxxx. 14. & ad Job iii. 7. xxxviii. 36. xxxix. 16, &c. Abu Horeir. in major. tradit. ascension. Al Termedi. in lib. de wit. animal. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 32, 33, 34.



- a *seven heavens*, as far as the throne of God, which is above seven times higher. His wings are represented as adorned with carbuncles and pearls, and as extended, when he pleases, towards the East and West, at a distance proportionable to his height. The angels appearing in the shapes of animals, as *Gabriel* informed the prophet, intercede with God for all those living creatures on earth that they resemble; those in the form of men for men, those in the form of beasts for beasts, and those in a shape similar to that of birds for birds. The angel above mentioned, according to *Mohammed*, is the representative of the cocks, and every morning joins with God in singing an holy hymn by his crowing, which is so loud that all the inhabitants of heaven and earth, except men and fairies, can hear it, and then all the other cocks, both material and immaterial, crow also. We likewise learn from *Al Termedi*, that, at the approach of the day of judgment, the great white cock in the *first heaven* shall be commanded to draw in his wings, and cease crowing, which shall be a sign that that day is at hand, to all beings, but men and fairies, who having been before deaf to his crowing, shall not then be sensible of his silence. The *Mohammedans* believe, that there are three voices which God always hears; the voice of him that is constant in reading the *Korân*, the voice of him that prayeth early every morning for the pardon of his sins, and the voice of this great cock, which they think is ever most acceptable to him. Some pretend, that, according to a tradition derived originally from *Mohammed*, the *first heaven* consists of a thin subtle vapour, called the firmament, and that the celestial space occupied by this vapour, throughout the vast extent of it, is full of angels and superior intelligent beings, some of whom profoundly inclined themselves, and other prostrated themselves, by way of adoration, before *Mohammed*. The chief of these were, as is hinted by the same tradition, *Michael* and *Asmael*, who treated *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* with the highest marks of distinction<sup>k</sup>.

- FROM the *first heaven* they advanced to the *second*, into which they were admitted, and then at the *second* met with the same salutation as before. We are not informed of what happened to them during the course of their ascent; but only that this heaven is about five hundred years journey distant from the former, according to the celerity and method of travelling here on earth. The *second heaven* consists of a sort of iron, says the tradition, called *Maun*. Here *Mohammed* is said first to have met with *Noah*, who rejoiced much at the sight of him, recommended himself to his prayers, and afterwards with *Isa* and *Yahya*, that is *Jesus* and *John*, who both welcomed him to that place, and stiled him the best of men, and the best of prophets. But the author of the book called *Agar* differs from the tradition, or narration, of *Abu Horeira*, in the point before us. For he places *John* in the *sixth heaven*, and *Jesus* in the *seventh*, or the highest of all. Here *Ibrahim*, or *Abraham*, has by the same author a place likewise assigned him. It may not be improper to observe, that this writer, though a *Moslem*, seems to intimate, that *Mohammed* acknowledged himself to be inferior to CHRIST; which he did, as Mr. *Gagnier* justly remarks, in order to flatter the *Christians*. For the true, or orthodox, *Moslems* consider our Saviour as a creature, and *Mohammed* at the same time as scarce inferior to God himself, and derive the word *Mohammed* from the divine name MAHMUD. Some authors relate, that the substance of the *second heaven* was pure gold; and that the prophet saw twice as many angels there as in the *first*, and, amongst them, one of so prodigious a size that his head reached even to the *third heaven*. *Al Bokhârî* agrees with *Abu Horeira* in assigning *Jesus* and *John* a place in the *second heaven*, and *Abraham* one in the *seventh*<sup>l</sup>.

- GABRIEL and *Mohammed* being arrived at the *third heaven*, met with the same reception afterwards at there as before. This heaven, say some of the *Mohammedan* writers, was almost intirely the *third*; formed of precious stones; though others make it to have consisted of a sort of iron called *Zaitun*. Amongst the wonderful creatures of God that *Mohammed* saw here, there was a great angel, called *The faithful of God*, who had an hundred thousand other angels under his command. Some pretend that this angel was of so prodigious a size, that the distance between his eyes was equal to seventy thousand days journey, according to our rate of travelling here on earth. But here, as Dr. *Prideaux* observes, *Mohammed* was inconsistent with himself, since the distance between a man's eyes is, in proportion to his height, as one to seventy-two; so that, according to this computation, the angel's height must have been near fourteen thousand years journey, which is almost four times as much as the distance between the highest heaven and the earth: wherefore this angel could not have stood within any one of the heavens. He had a large table before him, in which he was continually writing some words, and blotting out others. Besides the former appellation,

<sup>k</sup> ABU HOREIRA, AL BOKHAR. apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. p. 34, 35. Lib. AGAR. PRID. & GUADAGNOL. ubi sup. AL TERMED. in lib. de vit. animal. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xv. AL BEIDAWI, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 207—210.

<sup>l</sup> AL BOKHARI & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Lib. AGAR. GUADAG. & PRID. ubi sup. ABU HOREIRA. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 35, 36. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. iii. p. 210, 211.



as *Mohammed* learned from *Gabriel*, he had another, viz, *The angel of death*. On the table here mentioned he is constantly employed, according to *Gabriel*, in writing the names of all that are to be born, computing the days of their lives, and blotting out those names, as he finds the persons to whom they belong to have completed the number of days assigned them. And, added *Gabriel*, whenever any name is erased, the person to whom it belongs immediately dies. Then *Mohammed* and his guide were saluted, continues the tradition, in a most friendly manner, by *David* and *Solomon*. To these *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Bokbâri* add *Joseph*; but tell us not whether he was the patriarch of that name, or the husband of the Virgin *Mary*, the mother of our LORD. At last having performed their devotions amongst the angels, after the manner of *Abraham*, the well-beloved of God, with two inclinations, they retired, and without delay set out for the *fourth heaven*. It must be remembered here, that the *third heaven* is about five hundred years journey, if we will give any credit to *Abu Horeira's* narration, from the *second*; as also that *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* traversed this immense quantity of space in about an hour's time <sup>m</sup>.

then he reaches  
the fourth.

Upon their arrival at the *fourth heaven*, they were admitted and received as before. Here *Gabriel* introduced *Mohammed* to *Edris*, or *Enoch*, according to *Abu'lfeda*; or, as others will have it, to *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*. This person felicitated the two travellers, after their entrance, in the same manner that others had done before. The *fourth heaven*, if some of the *Moslem* writers may be credited, was made of a kind of silver, called *Zohari*; or, as others say, of emeralds. In this heaven he saw a vastly larger number of angels than in the former, and, amongst them, one so very tall that he reached from the *third heaven* to the *fourth*, which was also five hundred years journey. This angel, as the apostle learned from *Gabriel*, spent his time in weeping, and making great lamentations; which was occasioned by the sins of men, and the destruction which they thereby voluntarily bring upon themselves. Some *Moslems* also pretend, that *Mohammed* saw here another angel, seated on a throne of light, with a vast number of inferior spirits attending him on his right hand and on his left, and always ready to execute his orders, whose head reached to the *seventh heaven*, and his feet to the *seventh earth*. For the *Mohammedans* believe, that the number of earths corresponds with that of the heavens. After having performed their devotions with the number of inclinations used by *Abraham*, *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* took their leave, and made the proper dispositions for proceeding on their journey to the *fifth heaven* <sup>n</sup>.

From thence  
he proceeds to  
the fifth;

HERE they were admitted, as soon as they made themselves known to the porter, without any difficulty at all; and after their admission, met with *Aaron*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, who congratulated them on their arrival. This *heaven* also is about five hundred years journey distant from the preceding, and consists, as the tradition says, of an extremely pure sort of gold, called, from its fineness and purity, *Al Safia*; or, as others will have it, of adamant. Some pretend, that *Moses* found *Mohammed* here, and recommended himself to his prayers; as also *Edris*, or *Enoch*, who paid him uncommon honours. They also relate, that the fire of God's wrath is reserved for obdurate offenders, and particularly the wicked *Arabs*, in this place; and mention other particulars relating to it, that merit not the least attention <sup>o</sup>.

and after-  
wards to the  
sixth;

In the *sixth heaven*, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, *Mohammed* met with *Moses*, who called him his brother, but wept at the sight of him. The reason he gave for which was, because a boy, as he said, was sent after him, that would be instrumental in bringing more individuals of the nation to which he belonged to paradise, than there were *Israelites* or *Jews* in that happy region. This the *Arabs* interpret of their prophet and themselves. Some assert, that *Gabriel* and *Mohammed* found *John the Baptist* in the *sixth heaven*; and that he recommended himself to the prayers of the *Arab* prophet. We are also told, that this prophet saw many more angels in the *sixth heaven* than in the *fifth*, and in the *fifth* than the *fourth*. The matter of the *sixth heaven*, according to *Mohammed's* description of it, say some of the *Moslems*, was a precious stone, called *Al Hâfala*, that is, *the clear and transparent*. It ought to be remarked, that *Al Bokbâri* agrees with *Abu Horeira* in his relation of some of the circumstances attending the interview between *Moses* and *Mohammed* <sup>p</sup>.

then to the  
seventh.

FROM the *sixth heaven* *Gabriel* and the pretended apostle of the *Arabs* ascended into the *seventh*, which, say some of the *Moslem* traditions, was composed intirely of *divine light*; or, as others assert, of a *red hyacinth*, called *Al La'ama*. Some affirm, that *Mohammed* observed here an angel that was the largest of all God's creatures, and had seventy thousand heads, every one of which had seventy thousand faces, every one of which had seventy thousand mouths, every one of which had seventy thousand tongues, every one of which spoke seventy thousand languages, with all which he was continually celebrating the praises of the Almighty. Here *Mohammed* had an interview, according to *Al Bokbâri*, and some traditions of great authority amongst the *Moslems*, with a venerable old man, seated on a

<sup>m</sup> Ibidem ibid. & alibi

<sup>n</sup> Ibidem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ibidem ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Ibidem ibid.



- a throne of light, fixed to the house *Al Ma'mûr*, who, as *Gabriel* informed him, was *Abraham*, the father of the faithful, and the friend of God. *Abraham* treated him with the same respect that he had met with in every one of the inferior heavens; after which, he was elevated to the lote-tree, beyond which there was no passing. This tree, say the commentators, stands in the *seventh heaven*, on the right hand of the throne of God; and is the utmost limit, beyond which the angels themselves must not pass; or, as some rather imagine, beyond which no creature's knowledge can extend. The *Korân* seems to intimate, that what was under this tree, when *Mohammed* saw it, exceeded all number and description. Some suppose the whole host of angels worshipping beneath it, and others the birds sitting on its branches, to be intended in the passage of that book here referred to.
- b This tree, called by the *Arabs* *Sedra*, or *Sedrat*, as *Abu'lfeda* from the narration of *Al Bokhârî* relates, bears fruit that resemble the water-pots of *Hajr*, and leaves like the ears of elephants. The fruits are sweeter than either milk or honey, and one of them, according to the tradition of *Ebn Abbâs*, who received it immediately from *Mohammed* himself, is sufficient to sustain all God's creatures, if they were assembled in the *seventh heaven*. Here the pretended apostle saw four rivers, says *Al Bokhârî*; the two interior of which run in paradise with great rapidity, and the two exterior are the *Nile* and the *Euphrates*. The source of these, or the fountain from whence they spring, is under the tree *Sedrat*, and named in the *Korân* *Salsabil*. At this fountain the angel *Gabriel* left *Mohammed*, and was succeeded in his post of guide to the apostle by another angel, who went under the name of
- c *Israfil*, and informed the *Arab* prophet, according to *Abu Horeira*, that the four rivers here mentioned were called *Al Cawthar*, the *Nile* of *Egypt*, *Sihân*, and *Jihân*; and that they all ran from the aforesaid fountain, situated under the throne of God. With regard to the house *Ma'mour*, or *Ma'mûr*, that is, *visited*, it was visited daily, says the foregoing tradition, by seventy thousand angels; from which circumstance it seems to have received its name. The form of it was in all respects similar to the *Al Harâm*, or sacred temple at *Mecca*; and should it any time fall from the *seventh heaven*, it would, as some of the *Moslems* believe, fall perpendicularly upon this temple. *Mohammed* related, that it was built of *red hyacinths*, and adorned with an innumerable company of lamps, that were continually burning. The angels there informed him, as we find intimated in *Abu Horeira's* narrative, that they began to perform pilgrimages to this house, which sometimes in heaven was called *Al Dhorâb*, that is, *placed at a great distance*, as well as *Al Ma'mûr*, a thousand years before the creation of *Adam*. Mr. *Gagnier* observes, that the primitive *Christians* seem to have entertained the same opinion of the situation of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, in respect of the earthly one, that the *Mohammedans* do of that of the house *Al Ma'mûr*, in respect of the *Harâm*, or temple of *Mecca*; from whence we may infer the probability of *Mohammed's* receiving some hints in the narration now before us from several ancient *Christian* pieces, and particularly the apocryphal book, intitled, *The Revelation of St. PETER*, an *Arabic* version of which is preserved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*. In proof of this opinion, our curious readers may find an extract from that book in those learned notes of Mr. *Gagnier* upon *Abu'lfeda*, that have been so often cited in this work <sup>a</sup>.
- e WE must not omit observing here, that the *sixth heaven*, according to the book *Agar*, was five hundred years journey distant from the *fifth*; as the *seventh heaven* was from the *sixth*. The author of that book likewise informs us, that *Mohammed* in the *seventh heaven* found *JESUS CHRIST*, and recommended himself to his prayers; which amounts to a clear acknowledgment in the *Arab* prophet of our Saviour's superiority. But Mr. *Gagnier* takes this to have been done, in order to flatter the *Christians*, by this writer himself; or else he thinks the passage in the original may have been misunderstood, and mistranslated, by *Guadagnolus*, who has not produced the *Arabic* text. For the staunch and orthodox *Mohammedans* entertain higher sentiments of their prophet, as has been already remarked. After
- f the apostle had been elevated to the house *Al Ma'mûr*, *Gabriel* brought to him three cups, one full of wine, another of milk, and the third of honey; upon which, he took the milk, and drank it, as the most proper of the three; and the angel approved of his choice. But, according to another tradition, he had only two cups offered him, one filled with milk, and the other with wine; and that upon his preferring the former to the latter, he heard a voice, saying, "Thou hast made a lucky choice, *Mohammed*; since, hadst thou drank of " the wine, thy nation would have deviated from the right path, and consequently in their " enterprizes have proved unsuccessful."

<sup>a</sup> Lib. AGAR, ABU HOREIRA, AL BOKHARI, ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL JUZI in lib. de rit. peregrinat. Meccan. c. 77. ABD'ALLAH EBN AL ABBAS apud Abu Horeir. HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 38. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717. AL KOR. MOHAMMED f. liii. v. 14. JALLALO'DDIN. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. lxxvi. v. 18. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. in Abu'lfed. de vit. Mohammed. p. 37, 38. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 223—234. <sup>r</sup> Lib. AGAR, & PHIL. GUADAGNOL. ubi supra. ALI EBN HAMZA ABU HASAN AL KASSAI in vit. prophet. PRID. ubi sup. ABU HOREIR. de ascension. Mohammed. AL BOKHAR. & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. in lfm. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 35, 36, &c.



What happened to him after he approached the throne of God.

THE angel *Gabriel* not being permitted to advance any farther than the house *Al Ma'mûr*,<sup>a</sup> and the lote-tree above mentioned, there took his leave of *Mohammed*, who, by his direction, or that of the angel *Israfil*, ascended up the rest of the way to the throne of God by himself. Before he reached that glorious throne, says the tradition, he passed two seas of light, and one of a black colour, of an immense extent; he passed also through an infinity of angels, called *Al Sâjedun*, or *adorers prostrating themselves*, *Mahalelun*, or *those who praise God*, *Carubun*, or *Cherubim*, and *Robanun*, or *spirituals*. Some of the *Mohammedans* pretend, that he did not meet with *Israfil*, who supported the throne of God, till he approached that throne; tho' others believe, that this angel took *Mohammed* under his care as soon as *Gabriel* left him. Be that as it will, we are told, that *Israfil* has a million of heads, every every one of which has a million of mouths, to every one of which there is a million of b tongues; and that every one of these tongues speaks a million of different languages, in which this angel is day and night incessantly praising God. At last *Mohammed*, after having traversed almost infinite tracts of space, continues the relation, approached the immediate presence of God himself, when he heard a voice saying unto him, "O MOHAMMED, advance, and approach the glorious and powerful God;" upon which ascending higher, he saw a luminous appearance of a most transcendent brightness, and, at the divine command, drew so near to the Almighty, that he was scarce two (Z) bows length distant from him. On the right side of the throne, according to the prophet's relation, the names of God and *Mohammed* were written in the following Arabic words; LA ALLAH ILLA ALLAH, WA-MOHAMMED RASOUL ALLAH; i. e. THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS APOSTLE: which words, containing the two fundamental articles of faith of the *Moslems*, he also pretends to have found inscribed on all the gates of the seven heavens, through which he passed. Being thus introduced into the divine presence, as he tells us, he saw God sitting on his throne, who, as a mark of his favour, put one of his hands upon the prophet's breast, and the other upon his shoulder, the coldness of which was so intense that it pierced through every part; tho' immediately afterwards an ineffable sweetness and complacency, flowing from the divine presence, diffused itself over his soul, and filled him with a most perfect pleasure. After which, says the tradition, he had a long and familiar conference with God, who revealed many hidden mysteries to him, and instructed him in the knowledge of his law, gave him some rules for the better regulation of his conduct, and the more effectual communication of this knowledge to the people over whom he was to preside, and conferred many singular privileges upon him. Some of these were, that he should be the most perfect of all creatures; that he should be honoured and advanced above the rest of mankind; that he should be the redeemer of all believing in him; that he should be able to speak all languages; and that the spoils of all he conquered in war should belong to him alone. Lastly, he received a command from God to injoin his followers to pray fifty times a day; but afterwards meeting with *Moses*, who represented to him the impossibility of performing so tedious and fatiguing a duty, at his persuasion, he returned to the immediate presence of God, and prevailed upon him to oblige the *Moslems* to pray only five times in every twenty-four hours, and that at certain stated times. These, which seem to have been left to the determination of *Mohammed* and his successors, were the following: First, the prayer in the morning, before sun-rise; secondly, the prayer after noon, when the sun begins to decline from the meridian; thirdly, that in the afternoon, before sun-set; fourthly, that in the evening, after sun-set, and before the day be shut in; and fifthly, that after the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night: to which some add a sixth, not as a prayer enjoined, but as a work of supererogation, called *the singular prayer*, which begins at the first watch of the night, and continues till day-break, or rather may be performed in any part of that space. As *Mohammed*, therefore, pretended to have received the divine command for this institution, from the throne of God himself, the observance of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the *Korân*, though they be f not therein particularly prescribed.

He returns to Mecca.

THE prophet having thus received full instructions immediately from the Almighty himself, thought now of descending into the lower regions, and visiting once more his friends up-

<sup>a</sup> Lib. AGAR, & ABU HOREIRA, ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. ubi sup. & f. liii. v. 9. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 38, 39. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. f. v. ver. 7, 8. HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. cap. viii, ix. p. 86, &c. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 39, 37. SALE's prelimin. disc. sect. 4v. Vid. etiam GAGN. not. in Abu'lfed. ubi sup. HOTTING. hist. ecclesiast. tom. vii. p. 470—529. BOBOV. in liturg. Turcic. post itiner. Abr. Peritfol, edit. p. 1, & seq. GRELOTIUS in itinerar. Constantinopolit. p. 253—264. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. in prodrom. Al Kor. CHARDIN. itinerar. tom. vii. p. 245—329. aliosque plurim. scriptor.

(Z) Dr. Prideaux, or rather Guadagnol, whose Latin version of the book of Agar he has followed, translates the Arabic word here *two bow-shots*; whereas it proper-

ly signifies *two bows lengths*, or *two cubits length*; however the Doctor might have met with the original word in the fifty-third chapter of the *Korân* (24).

(24) *Prid. life of Moham.* p. 36. Lond. 1718. *Al Kor. Mohammed.* f. liii. v. 9, & seq.



- a on earth. At a proper place, therefore, *Gabriel* met him again, and conducted him through various descents, and the *seven heavens*, to *Jerusalem*, where *Al Borák* waited for them. In their passage, they met with vast numbers of angels, all the way, who saluted them with the greatest demonstrations joy, and the most friendly felicitations. When they drew near to the earth, it was still extremely dark; but descending a little lower, they had just light enough to discover part of the kingdom of *Armenia*, and the province of *Adkerbijan*, which appeared to them like two small green garden-spots under them. At *Jerusalem* the prophet mounted *Al Borák*, and was attended by the angel *Gabriel* all the way to *Mecca*. Upon his arrival there, he said to *Gabriel*, "My people will, I apprehend, accuse me of telling them lies, and refuse to believe me, if I communicate to them the particulars of my night-journey to heaven." To which *Gabriel* replied, "Abu Becr, O Mohammed, the faithful witness, in that case, will sufficiently justify all the particulars of that wonderful event you shall please to enumerate to them."

- Thus have we obliged our curious readers with a circumstantial relation of *Mohammed's* night-journey to heaven, extracted from *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Bokhâri*, and the tradition ascribed to *Abu Horeira*, intitled, *The history of the ascension*; a MS. copy of which was presented by archbishop *Marsh*, late lord primate of *Ireland*, to the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*. Mr. *Gagnier* has obliged the learned world with a *French* version of that piece; but of all this we could not pretend to give our readers here an *English* translation, as it would have swelled us beyond the bounds which we have been necessitated to prescribe to ourselves in this work. Besides, tho' we have not had time to compare Mr. *Gagnier's* version with the original *Arabic*, nor is this to our present purpose, we have some reason to believe, that this version is far from being faithful and exact. However, as that history, or narration, abounds with the most monstrous absurdities, and the most palpable fictions, that have nothing entertaining in them, our readers will not be sensible of any loss in, and consequently by no means regret, such an omission. As this history is a part of the *Sonna*, which contains not only all the juridical and ceremonial laws, supposed to have been derived from their prophet, in force amongst the *Mohammedans*, but also the histories and narrations attributed to *Mohammed*, which are either wholly omitted, or but just touched upon, in the *Korân*, tho' looked upon to be of equal authority with that book; 'tis plain, that all the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Mohammedans*, hold their prophet's nocturnal journey to heaven to have been a real event. Since, therefore, this journey was one of the most eminent of *Mohammed's* miracles, as has been rightly observed by Mr. *Gagnier*, and the traditional account of it believed to be true, nay as true as the *Korân*, by all the *Moslems*, who receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority; we may fairly infer from thence, that *Mohammed*, in the opinion of the greatest part of his followers, at least, did not disclaim all along any power of performing miracles, or, which is the same thing, did not deny several extraordinary interpositions of the Supreme Being in his favour. And with these *Mohammedans*, in the point before us, concur many very authentick and reputable *Christian* writers. 'Tis true, Dr. *Prideaux* takes upon him to affirm, that *Mohammed* disclaimed all miracles; but in this that learned gentleman seems not altogether consistent with himself; since he elsewhere more than barely insinuates, that *Mohammed* invented the story of his journey to heaven, in order to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, and consequently that he did not absolutely disclaim the power of performing miracles. Nay, he immediately subjoins, "that his journey to heaven must be acknowledged to have miracle enough in it, by all those who have faith to believe it;" that is, by all the *Sonnites*, who comprehend the greatest part, or rather the bulk, of the *Mohammedans*; from whence it appears, that, at least in their opinion, *Mohammed* did not only pretend to the power of working miracles, or, which is the same thing, gave out, that God was pleased to favour him with an extraordinary interposition, in order to forward the propagation of his religion, but likewise that he succeeded in his intention of convincing his followers of the truth of it. But that he arrogated to himself, on certain occasions, the power of suspending the common laws of nature, or, at least, that he pretended they were sometimes suspended on his account, seems to have been clearly implied, if not put beyond all doubt, by the *Korân*. We flatter ourselves, therefore, that what has been already advanced on his head, will be admitted by all our intelligent readers.

We must beg leave farther to observe, before we dismiss the point at present before us, that it is a dispute among the *Mohammedan* divines, whether their prophet's night-journey was really performed by him corporally, or whether it was only a dream or vision. Some think that the whole was no more than a vision; and allege an express tradition of *Mohammed* performed corporally.

\* ABU HOREIR. ubi. sup. Lib. AGAR, & GUADAGNOL. ubi sup. PRID. life of Mahomet. p. 37. Lond. 1718. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. xii. p. 249—251. " Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 298, &c. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 31, &c. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mahom. p. 68, &c. MILLIUS de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 368, 369. Vide etiam PRID. ubi sup. p. 28, 29. Al KOR. MOHAMMED. f. xvii. liv. v. 2, 3, & alib. & Al JANNAB. pass.



*wiyah*, one of *Mohammed's* successors, to that purpose. Others suppose he was carried bodily to *Jerusalem*, but no farther; and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only. But the received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was actually transported in the body to his journey's end; and if any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer to say, that it might be easily effected by an omnipotent agent. And that he was disposed to persuade them, that his body was actually conveyed to *Jerusalem*, at least, is a notion strongly countenanced, if not absolutely confirmed, by the authority of the *Korân*. But were the history of this memorable transaction only a part of the *Sonna*, or the collection of authentick traditions attested by *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu Becr*, whom *Mohammed* married after the death of *Khadîjah*, and who survived her husband about fifty years, *Abu Horeira*, the prophet's friend and most intimate companion, *Ebn Abbâs*, *Ebn Omar*, *Jâber Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Anas Ebn Mâlec*, it would amount to the same thing, as being of equal validity. The last of these handed down those traditions, and the relation of *Mohammed's* nocturnal journey amongst the rest, to *Al Shâfi'i* and *Kottada*, who delivered them to *Abmed Ebn Hanbal* (A), from whom *Al Zobari*, who first began to collect them, and commit them to writing, in the year of the *Hejra* 124, received them. After him, *Al Bokhâri*, the famous author, or rather compiler, of the *Sonna*, reduced all those traditions to one complete and entire body of pandects, in a book titled *Al Sabih*, that is, *the sincere*, because in it the author has distinguished the genuine from the spurious traditions, in the year of the *Hejra* 224. As to the night, in which *Mohammed's* journey to heaven was performed, the *Moslem* doctors are not perfectly agreed: some make it the night of the seventeenth day of the month of *Ramadân*; others place it in the former *Rabi'a*; and others, lastly, in the month of *Rajeb*. Which last seems to be the most prevailing opinion. For the *Turks*, at this day, celebrate the twentieth night of *Rajeb* as a grand festival, in commemoration of *Mohammed's* nocturnal journey to heaven; which they pretend happened on that night, as we are informed by a modern traveller, who was himself at *Constantinople* an eye-witness of it. It must be remembered here, that the aforesaid journey was performed, according to a certain author, notwithstanding the immense tract of space traversed in it, within the tenth part of a night; tho' this circumstance, it must be owned, has been omitted in the narrations of *Abu Horeira* and *Al Bokhâri*, as well as by the best *Moslem* commentators and historians <sup>w</sup>.

Abu Becr  
vouches for his  
veracity.

WHEN *Mohammed* first told this story to his uncle *Al Abbâs*, and *Om Hâna*, the daughter of *Abu Tâleb*, it seemed so absurd and incredible to both of them, that they endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from communicating it to the *Koreish*. But being resolved to push the point in view, he was imprudent enough to relate the whole affair to *Abu Jahl*, one of the most active and inveterate of his enemies, who ridiculed him for it. Nay, he placed his relation in so ridiculous a light to the *Koreish*, that they were upon the point of insulting him; inasmuch that several of his followers left him upon it; and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not *Abu Becr* vouched for his veracity, and declared, that if *Mohammed* affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a decree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. Mr. *Sale*, therefore, thinks this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances *Mohammed* ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived. But this seems to be only judging by the event; since nothing could have a more direct and natural tendency, with submission to that ingenious gentleman's opinion, than such a series of the most gross and palpable absurdities, to overturn *Mohammed's* scheme, even had the *Arabs* not been so acute and discerning a nation as Mr. *Sale* himself is pleased to represent them <sup>x</sup>.

Many notwithstanding dis-  
believed Mo-  
hammed's re-  
lition.

ABU BECR's fidelity, and signal service, to *Mohammed*, so raised his character with that impostor, that, according to *Al Kodai*, he had the title of the *faithful witness* conferred upon him, tho' some believe he had before been distinguished by that appellation. And, indeed,

<sup>w</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. xviii. p. 32. AL BEIDAWI, ATA, ABU HOREIRA, AL JANNAB. p. 54, &c. See also SALE's translat. and notes on the Kor. f. xvii. p. 227. AL KOR. MOHAMMED, f. xvii. & alibi. POC. RELAND. MILL. ubi supra. AL BOKHAR. GAGN. not. in Abu'lfed. ubi supra, p. 32, 33. AL SEIRAT. EBN AL JUZ apud ISM. Abu'lfed. ubi supra, p. 32. THO. SMITH, de morib. & institut. Turcar. p. 49. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Zohari*. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 156, 157, &c. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 37. Lib. AGAR, GUADAGNOL. &c. <sup>x</sup> ABU HOREIRA, AL KOR. MOHAMMED, f. xvii. HOTTING. hist. Orient. l. ii. c. 6. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. c. xiii. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 47.

(A) This *Abmed Ebn Hanbal* and *Mohammed Ebn Edris Al Shafi'i*, who was born either at *Gaza* or *Ascalon* in *Palestine*, the year of the *Hejra* 150, were contemporaries; but it appears from *D'Herbelot*, that *Al Zobari*, who died in the year of *Hijra* 124, lived near an hundred years before them. Mr. *Gagnier*, therefore, whom

we have followed here, must be egregiously mistaken, when he asserts, that *Al Zobari* received the collection of traditions here mentioned from *Al Shafi'i*, *Al Kottada*, and *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*; which mistake our learned readers would do well to expunge out of that author's notes upon *Abu'lfida* (25).

(25) *Ebn Khalecân*, *D'Herbel. biblioth. Orient. art. Zohari*, &c. *Joan. Gagn. not. in ISM Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham.* c. xix. p. 33.



- a the extraordinary merit of his faith in the above-mentioned particular, highly deserved such an honourable mark of distinction. However, *Mohammed* found himself still obliged to combat several difficulties, before he could gain from his countrymen an intire assent to the preceding relation; and hence it is, that, in order to support the credit of it, he introduces God himself, in two passages of the *Korân*, to attest it. In one of which God is made to swear, that, in the whole story, *Mohammed* related nothing but what he had seen, and consequently what he knew to be strictly true. And even notwithstanding this, many of his countrymen, who had embraced *Islamism*, apostatized, according to *Abu Horeira*; whilst others of them, at the same time, most vigorously opposed him, out of a spirit of debate and contention. Nor has the story of *Mohammed's* night-journey to heaven, taken in the literal
- b sense, failed proving a stumbling-block to many *Moslems* in every age, since that famous journey is supposed to have happened; tho' it must be owned, that the generality of them have always most firmly believed the truth of it. Nay, from their adherence to such traditions as these, they have derived the name of *Sonnites*, or *Traditionists*; because they acknowledge the authority of the *Sonna*, or the collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet; which is a sort of *supplement* to the *Korân*, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as design, answering to the *Mishna* of the *Jews*<sup>7</sup>.

- As, therefore, the aforesaid traditions, together with what the orthodox *Mohammedans* call *the constitutions of the Seniors* (that is, of the *Khalifs*, who immediately succeeded the pretended prophet, and especially the four first) concerning them, collected, explained, and digested under proper heads, by the compilers of them, make up the sum of the *Mohammedan* theology, and contained so considerable a part of the *Moslem* religion; our curious readers will by no means think the account inserted here of *Mohammed's* journey to heaven too prolix, especially as that journey is to be considered as the foundation of those traditions; he pretending to have received, at least, many of them from God himself, as an invaluable collection of divine truths. Nor, indeed, can we enter into the true spirit and genius of *Mohammedism*, without such a description of that fictitious event; nor so clearly discover the immense difference between the monstrous lyes of the *Korân*, which sometimes alludes to it, and the sublime truths of the Gospel; nor consequently form an adequate idea of the unaccountable absurdity, as well as the most shocking impiety, of those favourers of the *Korân*,
- c or rather of deism itself, who have been educated in the principles of the *Christian* religion<sup>8</sup>.

- THE *Socinians*, as has been justly observed by Dr. *Prideaux*, seem to have had the *Sonna* before them, when they suppose, that our blessed Saviour was carried into heaven, and instructed there in the doctrines he was to teach, a little before he entered upon his prophetic function. This they do, in order to elude the force of those texts of Scripture, which, by asserting his descent from heaven, do clearly intimate his existence there as God, and consequently evince his real and proper divinity, before he took our nature upon him. But we must beg leave to observe, that tho' *Mohammed*, supposing him to have acknowledged the canonical authority of the holy Scriptures, and *Socinus*, were much upon a level; yet the present *Socinians* are more inexcusable, in the point before us, than the followers of that impostor. For
- e the latter are countenanced in their absurd notion of *Mohammed's* ascension by the *Korân* itself, and even fully persuaded of the truth of it, from what they find delivered in the *Sonna*, a book with them of the same authority; whereas the former have framed their impious fiction in direct opposition to Scripture, if not with a certain intention of invalidating the express testimony of those Sacred writings. Which is a plain demonstration of the difficulties to which they are reduced, in order to defend their antiscriptural and erroneous opinion<sup>9</sup>.

- To conclude this head, the *Moslem* doctors are not quite agreed, as to the manner in which their prophet saw God. Some maintain, that he saw his Creator with his real natural eyes; and others, that he viewed him with the eyes of the mind. The former notion is espoused upon the authority of *Ata* and *Abu Horeira*; but the latter is the most prevailing
- f opinion, as we learn from *Al Jannâbi*. In some sense or other, however, *Mohammed's* journey to heaven must be acknowledged by every orthodox *Moslem*; it being reputed by all the doctors of the law as heinous a crime, and as damnable an error, to deny the traditional history of that famous event, as to disbelieve any point insisted on in the *Korân*. On this occasion, it may not be improper to produce the words of the *Khalif Omar*, as they have been preserved by *Al Jannâbi*, on this subject. Being one day preaching in a mosque, and pushed by his zeal, he cried aloud: *To deny the ascension of the prophet into heaven, is to open a gate to incredulity, and to deny the reality of one of the greatest miracles and the most wonderful works of the ALMIGHTY*<sup>10</sup>.

The sum of the Mohammedan theology contained in the Sonna.

The Socinians more absurd than the Moslems.

The Moslems not agreed in their opinion of Mohammed's vision of God.

<sup>7</sup> ELMACIN, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. liii, & alibi. HOTTING. ubi sup. ABU HOREIRA, ATA, AL JANNAB. GAGN. ubi sup. c. xiv. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 32. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 37, 38. Lond. 1718. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 298. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 68, &c. MILLIUS de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 368, 369. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 154. <sup>8</sup> Ibidem ibid. EBN AL ATHIR, EBN AL KHASSAI, POCOC. ubi sup. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 39, 40. <sup>9</sup> PRID. ubi sup. p. 40, 41. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvii, liii, & alibi. AL BOKHAR. & ABU HOREIRA, ubi sup. <sup>10</sup> ATA, ABU HOREIRA, AL JANNAB. p. 54, 56. GAGN. ubi sup. c. xiv. p. 263, 264.



Twelve men of Medina take an oath to Mohammed.

IN this year, that is, the twelfth of Mohammed's mission, called by the Moslems the *accepted year*, twelve men of *Yathreb*, or *Medina*, of whom ten were of the tribe of *Khazraj*: and the other two of that of *Aws*, came to *Mecca*, and took an oath of fidelity to Mohammed at *Al Akaba*, a hill on the north of that city. Six of those of the tribe of *Khazraj*, according to *Ebn Ishâk*, had before resorted to Mohammed at the same place, on a similar occasion; viz. *Saad Ebn Zarâra*, *Awf Ebn Al Hâreth*, *Rabe' Ebn Melk*, *Kotba Ebn Amâm*, *Okba Ebn Amer*, and *Jâbr Ebn Abd'allah*. This oath was called the *womens oath*; not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed, or his religion; it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the *Korân*, and is to this effect; viz. That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan *Arabs* used to do, when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them) nor forge calumnies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable. And, as a reward for the due observance of this oath, he promised them paradise; but, on failure of such observance, he doomed them to eternal misery on the day of the resurrection. "In the mean time," added he, "whether you are to be punished or forgiven, I recommend you to the divine protection." When they had solemnly engaged to do all required of them, Mohammed sent one of his disciples, named *Masâb Ebn Omair*, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion. *Masâb*, being arrived at *Medina*, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly *Osaid Ebn Hodeira*, a chief man of the city, and *Saad Ebn Moâdh*, prince of the tribe of *Aws*; Mohammedism spreading so fast, that there was scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it. The principal of these were the *Banu Abd'al Asbal* and *Asad Ebn Hosein*, tho' the *Banu Ommiya Ebn Zeid* persisted still in their infidelity. Upon this, *Masâb* immediately wrote to Mohammed, giving him a full account of the happy success of his mission, and at the same time desiring of him leave to form a congregation of all those who professed *Islamism* at *Medina*. To this the prophet readily agreed; in consequence of which, the new Moslems assembled regularly, to the number of forty persons, in the house of *Saad Ebn Khaithama*. This missionary, therefore, by his diligence and activity, extended Mohammed's interest in *Medina*, before his arrival there; which not a little facilitated the execution of his grand scheme. The form used by *Masâb*, as we are told by *Ebn Ishâk*, of the initiation of the new converts, was conceived in the following terms: *Wash yourself with water, purify your two garments, repeat the confession of your faith* (THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS APOSTLE); and, lastly, *say your prayers with two incurvations*. The year we are now upon was stiled the *accepted year*, because in it the prophet's party was strengthened by the accession of *Al Ansâr*, the *Ansârs*, or his coadjutors and confederates of the tribes of *Khazraj*, who had before sworn obedience to him. And let this suffice for an account of the principal transactions of that most remarkable year <sup>c</sup>.

Several of that city swear fidelity to Mohammed.

THE next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's mission, *Masâb* returned to *Mecca*, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of *Medina*, who had professed *Islamism*, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers. Of these several belonged to the tribe of *Aws*, and the rest to that of *Khazraj*. On their arrival, they immediately sent to Mohammed, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need; for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in *Mecca*, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger: wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at *Al Akaba*, the hill above-mentioned, which then was in the occupation of the *Banu Tafri*; whom therefore we may suppose to have been some of Mohammed's adherents. At this interview he was attended by his uncle *Al Abbâs*, who, tho' he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of *Medina*; wherein he told them, that as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city, and to seek an *asylum* elsewhere; and as they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Mohammed swore to be faithful to them, a part of the *Korân* being before read to all present; on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. After which, he permitted them to speak, and composed some differences between them. They then asked him what recompence they were to expect, if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel; he answered, Paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home; after Mohammed had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority amongst them as the twelve apostles of CHRIST had among his disciples. The form used by the *Ansârs*, or confederates, when they agreed to the prophet's proposal, or rather that

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi. sup. c. xx. p. 40, 41, 42. AL KODAI. ubi sup. EBN ISHAK. AL JANNAB. ABU ZEID. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vi. v. 151. lx. v. 12.



- a of his uncle *Al Abbās*, was, *WE HAVE HEARD IT WELL*; which is taken notice of in the *Korān*. It must here be observed, that the oath taken on this occasion to defend *Mohammed*, amounted to a sort of declaration of war against both the *Blacks* and the *Reds*, that is, against all nations that should dare to oppose the establishment of the new religion. The promise of paradise, here mentioned, is supposed to be founded on those express words of the *Korān*—"And as to those who fight in defence of God's true religion, God will not suffer their works to perish: He will guide them, and dispose their heart aright; and he will lead them into *paradise*, of which HE hath told them." Nay, in order to inspire them with a superior degree of fortitude and resolution, he supported the promises of the *Korān* with the authority of *THE LAW* and *THE GOSPEL*, as is manifestly implied in the following words of the *Korān*: "Verily God hath purchased of the true believers their souls, and their substance, promising them the enjoyment of *paradise*; on condition that they fight for the cause of God: whether they slay, or be slain, the promise for the same is assuredly due by *THE LAW* and *THE GOSPEL*, and *THE KORAN*. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than God? Rejoice, therefore, in the contract which ye have made. This shall be great and unspeakable happiness." Having brought this important point to bear, *Mohammed* made the proper dispositions, in conjunction with his friends, for retiring from the city of *Mecca* <sup>d</sup>.

- As the declaration of the *Anṣārs* in his favour secured him a proper retreat, and for the present screened him effectually from the fury of his enemies, this may be considered as the foundation of his future greatness; it may therefore not be improper here to insert the names of the chief of them, whom he had dignified with the name, as well as authority, of apostles. 1. *Abu Amama*, or *Aṣa'ad Ebn Zarāra*. 2. *Sa'ad Ebn Al Raba'*. 3. *Abd'allah Ebn Rawāba*. 4. *Rabe' Ebn Malec*. 5. *Al Bera Ebn Ma'rūr*. 6. *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Harām*. 7. *Abāda Ebn Al Sāma*. 8. *Sa'ad Ebn Abāda*. 9. *Al Mondar Ebn Omar*. 10. *Oṣaid Ebn Hodhair*. 11. *Sa'ad Ebn Khaithama*. 12. *Rafā'a Ebn Abd'al Mondar*. The nine first of these belonged to the tribe of *Khāzraj*, and the other three to that of *Aws*. Some of the learned, however, in the room of the last of them, substitute *Abu Haitham Ebn Al Yothān*. According to a tradition of *Abu Becr*, preserved by *Ebn Ishāk*, when *Mohammed* elected them, he said, *You are invested with the same power and authority that the apostles of* Isa (JESUS) *were, and I am the GREAT APOSTLE of all my people*; to which they replied, *It is undoubtedly so*. If we will believe the same author, who pretends to have received his intelligence from *Caab Ebn Malk*, one of the *Anṣārs* then present, who himself heard it, when the confederates of *Medina* had taken the oath of fidelity to *Mohammed*, and were upon the point of returning home, the devil cried out with an exceeding loud voice, from the top of *Al Akaba*, *O ye inhabitants of Al Jehājeb, why do you concern yourselves with Mohammed, the Sabian; for those with him are Sabians, and intend to make war upon you*. Upon which, the prophet immediately said to them, *This is the little fellow of the hill Al Akaba, the son of the disparager*; and then directing his discourse to that malevolent spirit, *O thou enemy of God*, said he, *thou canst do no mischief here; thou canst draw no prey into thy net*; and then turning to his friends, *Depart*, said he, *go and take your rest*; which they accordingly did. That *Mohammed* was frequently by his enemies called a *Sabian*, we learn from *Ebn Al Athir*, as well as the *Korān*, where he endeavours to clear himself of that imputation, by declaring, that he only taught and professed the religion of *Abraham*, as has been already observed. For a full and ample account of the *Sabians*, who are mentioned in the *Korān*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Hottinger*, *Abraham Ecchellensis*, *Euty chius*, *D'Herbelot*, *Hyde*, *Prideaux*, *Sale*, and to what has been advanced concerning them in our ancient history of the *Arabs* <sup>e</sup>.

- MOHAMMED* finding now a confederacy formed in his favour, began to pull off the mask, *Mohammed* and to discover his true sentiments in relation to the means of reformation. Hitherto he had propagated his religion by fair means; so that the whole success of his enterprize, before the flight to *Medina*, must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion. For before the second oath of fealty, or inauguration, at *Al Akaba*, he had no permission to use any force at all; and in several places (B) of the *Korān*, which he pretended were revealed

<sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxi. p. 42, 43, 44. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. v. v. 8. f. viii. v. 39. EBN ISHAK. AL JANNAB. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xlvii. v. 5. f. ix. v. 113. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 43, 44. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 162. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 42. <sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 40—44. EBN ISHAK, EBN HESHAM, EBN AL ATHIR, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. v. 62. HOTTING. hist. Orient. lib. i. c. 8. ABR. ECHELLENS. Euty ch. vindic. par. ii. c. 7. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. PRID. POC. GOL. HYD. & Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 381—384.

(B) Hence it very clearly appears, that the *Korān* is inconsistent with itself, and consequently can never be considered as a book of divine authority. For, in some places of it, *Mohammed* declares, that he had no permission to force or compel any person to embrace his religion; whereas, in others, he commands his followers to set up the true faith by the sword, and propagate it by persecution. But instances of this kind occur not seldom in that book; so that perhaps we may have an opportunity of inserting more of them in the sequel of this history (26).

(26) *Sale's prelim. discours.* p. 48, 49.



during his stay at *Mecca*, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish; that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto God. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and, when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth, says Mr. Sale, and retire to *Medina*, than to make any resistance. In which, however (as Mr. Sale himself is pleased to allow) there was no great virtue, as his adherents were in no-wise able to make head against their numerous and powerful enemies. This wonderful passiveness and moderation, therefore, seems intirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers, for the first twelve years of his mission; for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of *Medina*, to resist his enemies, than he gave out, that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels; and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave to attack them, to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword. To this he was excited by an apprehension that his designs would proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, by pacific measures; which determined him to have recourse to the most violent methods, even utter excision, for the more effectual conversion of the pagan *Arabs*, or rather the extension of his power, and the advancement of his authority. Nor do his followers at this day fail making use of the same means of conviction, on many occasions; being sufficiently authorized thereto by the example of their prophet, as well as the injunctions he has left them. The first passage of the *Korân*, which gave *Mohammed* the permission of defending himself by arms, is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which, a great number to the same purpose were pretended to be revealed<sup>f</sup>.

Mr. Sale  
censured.

WE are told by Mr. Sale, who by citing, on this occasion, a passage in *Machiavel* with approbation, and even inserting it, makes it his own; "that innovators, when they depend solely upon their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risque; that from hence it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and that the unarmed ones have failed, and therefore that *Moses*, *Cyrus*, *Theseus*, and *Romulus*, would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time, had they not been armed." Upon which most remarkable words, we shall only at present beg leave to make the following short reflection: *Moses*, according to what is here suggested, was as much an innovator as *Cyrus*, *Theseus*, and *Romulus*; in the establishment of his institutions, he depended solely on his own strength, and consequently no miracles, or extraordinary interpositions, of the Supreme Being, contributed any thing thereto; and therefore those books, which assert such interpositions, can be no means be deemed of divine authority. This must necessarily fix the imputation of imposture upon the writings of the sacred historian; and will of course induce us to entertain very unfavourable sentiments of the tenets adopted by those authors from whom such a suggestion comes<sup>g</sup>.

The Koreish  
conspire to kill  
Mohammed.

THE chief of the *Koreish* finding that *Mohammed*, notwithstanding the opposition they had given him, by his diligence, activity, and address, had considerably extended his influence; and having moreover received intelligence, that he had provided for the security of his companions, as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with the *Ansârs*, began to be greatly alarmed. Fearing, therefore, the consequence of this new alliance, they began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent *Mohammed's* escape to *Medina*; and having held a council thereupon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed. In order to effect this, they agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design; and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the *Hashemites* were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death. Nor did they doubt but that they should effectually secure themselves from the fatal effects of his ambition by a salutary precaution. We are told by *Al Jamâbi*, that the council (C) above-mentioned was held in the palace of *Kofa Ebn Kelâh*, the wisest man among the *Koreish*; and that

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & GAGN. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxii. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 49. <sup>g</sup> MACHIAVELLI princ. c. 6. SALE, ubi sup.

(C) The following account of this affair is given by *Al Beidawi*. When the *Meccans* heard of the league entered into by *Mohammed* with those of *Medina*, being apprehensive of the consequence, they held a council, whereat, they say, the devil assisted, in the likeness of an old man of *Najd*. The point under consideration being what they should do with *Mohammed*, *Abu'lakhtari* was of opinion that he should be imprisoned, and the

room walled up, except a little hole, through which he should have necessities given him, till he died. This the devil opposed, saying, that he might probably be released by some of his own party. *Heshâm Ebn Amru* was for banishing him: but this advice also the devil rejected; insisting, that *Mohammed* might engage some other tribes to his interest, and make war on them. At length *Abu Jabl* gave his opinion for putting him to death;



a that the devil himself, *Mohammed's* most inveterate enemy, in the shape of an old man, assisted at their deliberations. He intimated to them, that *Mohammed*, being crafty and eloquent, would easily insinuate himself into the good graces and affections of the people of *Medina*, and the neighbouring *Arabs*; insomuch that, after he had seduced them, he would soon be able to form a considerable army, and make himself master of *Mecca*. These suggestions of the ancient person of *Najd*, for that the evil spirit pretended to be, had such an effect upon the *Koreish*, that they produced the foregoing resolution. *Abu Jahl* also, *Mohammed's* implacable foe, who then made a considerable figure amongst the *Koreish*, and proposed the opinion that prevailed, greatly exerted himself on this occasion <sup>b</sup>.

In the mean time *Mohammed* directed his companions to repair to *Medina*, where, in con-  
 b sequence of the late treaty, they might be assured of protection, which they accordingly did. But himself, with *Abu Becr* and *Ali*, staid behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave *Mecca*. Here he narrowly watched the motions of the *Koreish*, and was soon apprized of their machinations. For the foregoing conspiracy was scarce formed, when, by some means or other, it came to *Mohammed's* knowledge; and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel *Gabriel*, who had now ordered him to retire to *Mecca*. Whereupon, to amuse his enemies, he directed *Ali* to lie down in his place, and wrap himself up in his green cloak; which he did, and *Mohammed*, as the *Moslems* believe, escaped miraculously to *Abu Becr's* house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. The extreme danger *Ali* was in produced in his  
 c mind an infinity of movements and agitations, which continued the whole night. For the conspirators looking through the crevice, and seeing *Ali*, whom they took to be *Mohammed* himself, asleep, remained watching there till morning, when *Ali* awoke, and they found themselves deceived. The *Moslem* historians and panegyrists bestow the highest encomiums upon *Ali*, for so generous and heroic an action. *Abu'l-feda* pretends, that when *Mohammed*, in his passage to *Abu Becr's* house, met some of the assassins, he repeated the nine first verses of the thirty-sixth chapter of the *Korân*, and immediately threw a handful of dust upon their heads; and that they thereupon were instantly stricken with blindness, so that they could not see him. The words supposed to be more particularly efficacious on this occasion, are the following: "And we have set a bar before them, and a bar behind them;  
 d "and we have covered them with darkness; wherefore they shall not see." *Ebn Ishâk* relates, that of this plot the following passage of the eighth chapter of the *Korân* is to be primarily understood: "And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they "might either detain thee in bonds, or put thee to death, or expel thee the city; and they "plotted against thee: but God laid a plot against them, and God is the best layer of "plots." In fine, *Mohammed*, being thus pressed on all sides, found himself obliged at last to retire; which he did in company with *Abu Becr*, who could not forbear shedding tears at the deplorable situation of the prophet's affairs, and, by the direction of one *Abd'allah Ebn Oraikat*, an unbeliever, arrived at a cave (D) in mount *Thûr*, a hill a little to the south of *Mecca* <sup>i</sup>.

e It seems to be intimated by the *Korân*, that *Abu Becr* was so extremely dejected during his and the prophet's residence in the cave of *Thûr*, that *Mohammed* could not without great difficulty preserve his spirits from sinking. With regard to mount *Thûr*, it seems to be about an hour's journey to the south, or rather south-west, of *Mecca*. *Mohammed*, in his flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, probably took a compass about the mountains and the maritime coast, described by *Sharîf Al Edrisi*, commonly called the *Nubian* geographer; so that he first reached *Batn-Mar*, and afterwards *Osfân*, *Kodaïd*, &c. This may be inferred from

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 50. AL JANNAB. p. 61, 62. EBN ISHAK, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. c. xvii. p. 280—283.

<sup>i</sup> ISM. ABU'LED. ubi sup. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxvi. v. 9. & f. viii. v. 26. AL BEIDAWI in comment. ad Al Kor. HOTTINGER, hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 5. AL GHAZALI, PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 42.

death; and proposed the manner; which was unanimously approved (27).

(D) The *Moslems* have a tradition, that a party of the *Koreish*, being detached from *Mecca* to reconnoitre the mouth of the cave, when they came thither, found it covered by a spider's web, and a nest built by two pigeons at the entrance, which they saw, and which had laid two eggs therein. At which sight, they reasoned with themselves in this manner: "If any person had lately entered this cavern, the eggs now before us "would infallibly have been broke, and the spider's "web demolished; there can, therefore, be no body in

"it." After which, they immediately retired. As the prophet, therefore, and his friend, were now saved so miraculously, by means of the pigeons eggs, and the interposition of the spider's web, he afterwards enjoined his followers, in memory of so remarkable an event, to look upon pigeons as a sort of sacred animals, and never to kill a spider. Which veneration for pigeons, Mr. Gagnier thinks, might occasion the story of the pigeon, taught by *Mohammed* to come to his ears, in order to persuade the *Arabs*, that the Holy Ghost conversed with him. But as this is only a bare conjecture, our readers may allow what degree of credit to it they please (28).

(27) Al Beidawi. (28) Gagn. la vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. p. 289, 290, 291. Por. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 186. Hadr. Reland. de relig. Moham. p. 259—262.



*Ebn Ishák.* *Abu Becr*, before he left *Mecca*, had commanded his son *Abd'allah* to watch the motions of the *Koreish*, and bring him intelligence of what passed there; he had also taken care to give his servant *Amer Ebn Fohêrah* orders to carry a supply of provisions to the afore-said cavern. He and the prophet were frequently visited by his daughter *Ajama*, who brought them a considerable variety of refreshments. *Al Damiri*, in his history of animals, relates, that the pigeon is an animal held sacred among the *Moslems*, because God was pleased to deliver *Mohammed* miraculously, by means of two of them, from the infidel *Arabs*, who had surrounded that cavern, when he was there, in order to take him. We are told by *Al Jannabi*, and other *Moslem* historians, that *Mohammed* performed many miracles in the cave of *Thûr*, which produced a very good effect; tho' *Abu'lfeda* has not taken the least notice of them <sup>k</sup>.

He arrives  
safe at Me-  
dina.

HERE the prophet and *Abu Becr* took refuge for three days, and recovered themselves a little out of the consternation into which they had been thrown by the late bloody attempt of the *Koreish*. But the latter being informed of the route they had taken, sent a party after them, under the command of *Sorâka Ebn Malec*, the *Madbehite*, who coming up with them between *Thûr* and *Medina*, and offering to seize *Mohammed*, his horse fell down. Upon which, *Sorâka* desired the prophet to pray to God for him, that he might be screened from all impending dangers; and, in this case, promised to leave off pursuing him. This *Mohammed* did, and *Sorâka* mounted his horse again without receiving any hurt; but as, notwithstanding his promise, he still continued the pursuit, his horse fell down with him a second time, when he was remounted without the least contusion, upon the prophet's repeating his prayers to God for him. Upon this, the prophet looking at him, said, *How will you behave yourself, O Sorâka, when you (E) shall have put on the bracelet of KERSA, or KHOSRU PARVIZ?* *Sorâka*, therefore, returned to *Mecca*, without offering him any violence; and *Mohammed*, with *Abu Becr* and *Abd'allah Ebn Oraikat*, being thus delivered from his pursuers, arrived safe at *Medina*, where he met with a very favourable reception <sup>l</sup>.

Makes several  
proselytes be-  
fore his entry  
into Medina.

HOWEVER, before he entered that city, he thought proper to stop at *Kobâ*, a village about two miles north-west of *Medina*, where he lodged four days at the house of one *Calthum Ebn Al Hadam*. Here he laid the foundation of a mosque, and called it *Al Takwa*, or the temple of piety; which was afterwards, according to some, built by the *Banu Amru Ebn Awf*. Before *Mohammed* reached *Kobâ*, he was met by one *Boreida Ebn Al Hoseib*, the *Sabamite*, at the head of the *Banu Sabam*, amounting to about seventy persons, who immediately embraced *Islamism*, after having taken an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the prophet. During his abode at *Kobâ*, he also received another proselyte of great note amongst the *Mohammedans*, and sufficiently known likewise amongst the *Christians*. This was the famous *Salmân Al Farfi*, or *Salmân the Persian*, who was of a good family at *Ispahan*, and, in his younger years, left the religion of his country to embrace *Christianity*; but travelling afterwards into *Syria*, he was advised by a certain monk of *Amûria* to go into *Arabia*, where a prophet was expected to arise about that time, who should establish the religion of *Abraham*; and whom he should know, among other things, by the seal of prophecy between his shoulders. *Salmân*, whose father was *Dekan*, or governor, of *Ispahan*, performed the journey, and meeting with *Mohammed* at *Kobâ*, where he rested in his flight to *Medina*, soon found him to be the person he sought, and professed *Islam*. The commentators on the *Korân* suppose this *Salmân* to have been the person mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of that book, and whom *Dr. Prideaux* confounds with *Abd'allah Ebn Salam*, the Jew, who was so intimate with *Mohammed*, and, according to some *Christian* writers, assisted him in the compiling his pretended revelations. It is said he died in the city of *Al Madâyen*, then the capital of *Persia*, of which he had been appointed governor by the *Khalif Omar*, in the thirty-fifth year of the *Hejra* <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. v. 42. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 51. SHARIF. AL EDRISI, EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. AL DAMIRI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. & not. ad Abu'lfed. c. xxiv. <sup>l</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 51, 52. ASSOHAÏLI, SHARIF AL EDRISI, AL JANNAB. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. ii. c. xvii. p. 291—295. <sup>m</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 52. EBN ISHAK. Aut. lib. AL MOSHTAREK, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in descript. Arab. p. 14. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvi. RICARD. confutat. legis Saracenicae, c. xiii. JOAN. ANDREAS, de confus. sect. Mahometan. c. ii. AL BEIDAWI, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 24, 25. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Mahom. p. 74, & la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 296, 297, 298.

(E) The *Moslems* say, that these remarkable words are to be considered as a prophecy, or prediction, that was fulfilled in the fifteenth year of the *Hejra*, when the *Khalif Omar* gained a signal victory over *Yezdegerd*, the last king of the *Persians*, of the *Sassanidae*, at *Kadesia*. When the action was over, the bracelets, belt, and diadem, of the fugitive prince, which had formerly belonged to *Khosrû Parviz*, were brought to *Omar*, who

calling *Sorâka*, then become a good *Moslem*, to him, caused him to put on those insignia of *Yezdegerd*. This he did, at the *Khalif's* command; but his hair being grey, and his arms very hairy, he exhibited a very odd and grotesque appearance. However, the *Moslems* urge this as a full proof of the completion of *Mohammed's* prophecy here, and consequently of his having had the knowledge of future events communicated to him (29).



- a MOHAMMED having left *Kobâ* the sixteenth of the former *Rabî*, early in the morning, arrived the same day, after he had fortunately, or, as the *Moslems* tell us, miraculously, escaped all the dangers that threatened him, at *Medina*. He was met at a small distance from the town by about five hundred of the inhabitants, who had notice given them of his approach by a *Jew* posted upon one of the highest towers of the city. He had no sooner entered the place than he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and conducted with *Abu Becr*, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, to the house of *Abu Ayub Ebn Zeid*, the *Ansar*, who carried the prophet's baggage upon his own shoulders to the apartment fitted up for him. Here he remained till he had built himself an house; which he immediately set about, and, adjoining thereto, also erected a mosque at the same time, for the exercise of his new religion. Hither his faithful friend *Ali*, in about three days time, repaired to him, after he had settled some affairs at *Mecca*. *Abu Becr* now was extremely chearful, seeing the prophet in so flourishing a situation; tho' he had before been so dejected, at the prospect of the imminent dangers which threatened him, that *Mohammed* found it necessary to raise his drooping spirits with those words recorded in the *Korân*, *Be not grieved, for God is with us*. In fine, the new converts became every day more and more numerous; insomuch that he doubted not but, in a short time, he should be able to carry the vast design he had formed into execution. It is intimated by *Zonaras*, that *Mohammed*, before he fled to *Medina*, which city that author calls *Æthrib*, a manifest corruption of *Yathreb*, the ancient name of this place, desired the emperor *Heraclius* to grant him a tract of ground to settle upon, with his followers, as they were obliged to leave *Mecca*, by the violence of the *Koreish*. Which request, according to the same writer, the emperor complied with; and the impostor, by way of return, pillaged the neighbouring part of *Syria*. But as this article is unsupported by any good *Arab* author, we shall not insist upon the truth of it here; and therefore our learned readers may allow it what degree of credit they please<sup>n</sup>.

- THE first thing *Mohammed* did, as has been just observed, after his arrival at *Medina*, was to build a temple, or mosque, for his religious worship, and an house for himself; which he did on a parcel of ground that had before served to put camels in, or, as others tell us, for a burying-ground, and belonged to *Sabal* and *Soheil*, the sons of *Amru*, who were orphans, and under the tutelage of *Moâd Ebn Ofra*. But others say, that the site of the temple belonged to *Banu Al Najjâr*, one of the most considerable tribes amongst the *Arabs*. Be that as it will, this action *Dr. Prideaux* exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice; since, as he affirms, *Mohammed* violently dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer (whom the author he quotes calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion. But, in answer to this, *Mr. Sale* thinks it sufficient to reply, "that, besides the improbability of *Mohammed's* acting in so impolitic a manner at his first coming, the *Mohammedan* writers set this affair in a quite different light. For one," continues he, "tells us, that the prophet treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as a present; however," he goes on, "as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it, and the money was paid by *Abu Becr*. Besides," says the same author, "had *Mohammed* accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it; for they were of a very good family of the tribe of *Najjâr*, and not the sons of a carpenter, as *Dr. Prideaux's* author writes, who took the word *Najjâr*, which signifies a *carpenter*, for an appellative; whereas it is a proper name." *Mr. Gagnier* also, from whom indeed *Mr. Sale* has borrowed his whole answer to what has been advanced by *Dr. Prideaux*, endeavours to overthrow the same notion, by citing *Al Bokhârî*, *Al Jannâbi*, *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, and even the *Korân* itself, in support of the contrary opinion. This we thought ourselves obliged to take notice of, that our readers may be convinced of our strict impartiality in all dubious points, and the present one in particular; since, by laying before them what has been offered on both sides here, we put it in their power the more easily to determine to whose sentiments they will adhere<sup>o</sup>.

OUR readers will here observe, that *Mohammed* (F) made his grand entry into *Medina* on the sixteenth of the former *Rabî*, as has been just remarked, and not on the twelfth, as we find

<sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 50, 51, 52. AL MOSHTAREK, ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. v. 42. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iii. c. 1. JOAN. ZONAR. annal tom. ii. p. 86. Parisiis, 1687. <sup>o</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHNAH, ubi sup. AL BOKHAR. in Sonna. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv. v. 126. f. vi. v. 152. f. xciii. v. 6. & alib. pass. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 44. Disputat. Christian. c. iv. SALE's prelm. discours. p. 51, 52. JOAN. GAGN. not. in Ism. Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. p. 52, 53.

(F) *Abu'lfeda* gives a confused and indistinct account of this affair; but it is set in a clear light by *Mr. Gagnier*, from the best *Moslem* writers. But farther, that

*Mohammed* entered *Mecca* on the sixteenth, rather than the twelfth, of the former *Rabî*, appears from hence, that *Medina* is ten good days journey distant from *Mecca*; which



and the Arabian method of computing time.

find intimated by Dr. *Prideaux*. The Doctor, in that point, runs counter to the best *Mohammedan* writers, and even to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, for it appears from *Abu'lfeda*, and the other writers already cited, that the prophet and *Abu Becr* arrived at *Khobâ* on the twelfth of the former *Rabî*, and reached *Medina* four days after; that is, on the sixteenth of the aforesaid month. However, the *Hejra*, or flight of *Mohammed* from *Mecca*, happened on the first of the former *Rabî*; and that day afterwards became very famous among the *Mohammedans*. This remarkable event has supplied the *Moslems* with an *era*, called the *Hejra*, even to this very day, tho' it did not take place till the reign of the *Khalif Omar*, by whom it was first appointed, on the following occasion. A dispute arising between two of his subjects about the payment of a sum of money, which one of them pretended was due to him, the *Khalif* himself was applied to by the creditor, for his assistance in this affair. But the debtor alleging, that the month mentioned in the bill did not belong to the current year, but to the following, and consequently that the money was not then due; and there not appearing any date as to the year on the bill, the *Khalif* found it impossible to decide this controversy. In order, therefore, to remedy such defects, and prevent such inconveniencies, for the future, it was ordained, by the advice of his privy council, that all bills and other instruments should ever after have inserted in them the date both of the day of the month, and also of the year, in which they were signed. And as to the year, he was persuaded by *Harmuzan*, or *Hormuz*, a learned *Persian*, whom he consulted on this head, to order all computations to be made for the future from the flight of *Mohammed* from *Mecca* to *Medina*; for which reason this *era* was called the *Hejra*, that word, in the *Arabic* language, signifying a flight. However, the *Arabs*, after the example of the *Romans* and the *Egyptians*, on a similar occasion, made no alteration in the ancient form of their proper year. For it still consists of only three hundred fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes, as formerly; the *Arabs* still, as they always have done, computing by lunar months. As for the *Khalif Omar*, tho' he introduced a new *era*, yet he anticipated the computation from the event that gave rise to it fifty-nine days; beginning the year, as before, from the *Neomenia*, or first, of the month *Al Mobarram*, which precedes the first of the former *Rabî* fifty-nine days. The flight, therefore, or migration, of *Mohammed* from *Mecca*, in the *Moslem* computation of time, is supposed to have fallen upon the sixteenth of *July*, which answered to the first of *Al Mobarram*; tho', in reality, it happened on the first of the former *Rabî*, in the year of our LORD 622. However, in this, the present *Arabs* differ from their ancestors, that whereas the former, by intercalating seven months in nineteen years, after the manner of the *Jews*, reduced their lunar to solar years, and consequently had their months always fixed to the same season of the year, the latter, from the time of *Mohammed*, have intercalated a day on the second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-ninth years of the period formed by the odd hours and minutes exceeding the annual complement of three hundred fifty-four days, which consists of thirty years. The present *Arabian* year, therefore, in those parts of that period, has three hundred fifty-five days, by reason of the aforesaid intercalation. Which form of the year the *Mohammedans* strictly observe, they being confined to such a usage by a passage in the *Korân*; according to which, the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the *Arabs* had learned of the *Jews*, in order to reduce their lunar to solar years, is absolutely unlawful. For, by this means, they fixed the time of the pilgrimage, and of the fast of *Ramadân*, to certain seasons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory. Hence it appears, that the beginning of the year, amongst the *Moslems*, is ambulatory and unfixed, the succeeding year always beginning eleven days sooner than the preceding; so that, in the period of thirty-three years, the first day of the *Mohammedan* year passes through summer, spring, winter, and autumn, and arrives again at the same time of the solar year, tho' not precisely at the same day. The decree of *Omar*, here mentioned, began to be in force about the eighteenth year of the *Hejra*, and the manner of computation enjoined therein has ever since prevailed amongst the *Mohammedans*. It has been already observed, in the ancient history of the *Arabs*, that it was usual with them, before the appointment of the *Hejra*, to compute from the last great war they were engaged in; whence it happened, that the war of the elephant, the impious war, &c. supplied them with *eras* at *Mecca*; so

which place the prophet left on the first of the aforesaid month. For, as, in his journey from thence to *Medina*, he took a compass round about the maritime coast and the mountains, as has been already observed, and staid four days at *Khobâ*, besides three in the cave at *Thûr*, he could not possibly have reached *Medina* before the six-

teenth day of the former *Rabî*, as even *Abu'lfeda* himself seems to intimate, tho' in apparent contradiction to what he had just before advanced. But this point is so exceeding clear, that at present we shall insist no farther upon it (30).

(30) *Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. c. xxiv. p. 52. Gagn. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iii. c. 1. p. 300.*



a that it would be intirely superfluous and unnecessary to give a farther account of every *æra* that preceded the *Hejra* here <sup>p</sup>.

BEFORE we dismiss this point, however, it may not be improper to inform our curious *The ancient and modern names of the Arabian months.* readers, that the names of the *Arabian* months are, *Al Moharram*, *Safar*, the former *Rabî*, the latter *Rabî*, the former *Jomâda*, the latter *Jomâda*, *Rajeb*, *Shaabân*, *Ramadân*, *Shawâl*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhajja*, the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth of which were held sacred by the *Arabs*. The first of these months consists of thirty days, and the second of twenty-nine; and so they go on alternately to the end of the year; only, in the intercalary years, the month *Dhu'lhajja* has thirty days, on account of the day added; but in all the other years only twenty-nine. The descendents of *Kabtân*, or *Joëlan*, the son of *Ebr*, who are called *Al Arab Al Ariba*, i. e. the genuine or pure *Arabs*, denominated their months *Mutemer*, *Najir*, *Khavan*, *Savan*, *Ritma*, *Ida*, *Asam*, *Adil*, *Natil*, *Vaïl*, *Varna*, and *Burec*; which words have not the least affinity with the present names. But the former were gradually lost, after *Kelab*, the son of *Morrah*, one of *Mohammed's* progenitors, imposed the latter, from certain accidents that happened in the months to which they were applied; and these having received a sanction from *Mohammed's* authority, who made the use of them one of the distinguishing marks of his followers, they have ever since prevailed. We might here give an account of another *æra*, of a later date, by which the *Mohammedans* of *Persia* computed in all civil affairs, called by them the *æra* of *Yezdegerd*, as it commenced ten years after the *Hejra*, in the very beginning of the reign of that prince, had this not been already done in our ancient history of the *Persians* <sup>a</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

**M**OHAMMED finding the people of *Medina* intirely at his devotion, soon thoroughly established his new system of religion in that place. The city of *Medina*, which we have already described, was about ten days journey distant from *Mecca*, and stood in the northern part of *Hejâz*. At the time of *Mohammed's* retreat thither, it was inhabited partly by *Jews*, and partly by heretical *Christians*, who formed two different factions, that persecuted each other with no small fury and violence. This gave *Mohammed* as good an opportunity as could be desired of making new converts among them; and to this must be attributed the great and rapid success he met with in the execution of his favourite design. He had espoused *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu Becr Al Seddik*, above a year before he found himself obliged to abandon *Mecca*, tho' she was then not above seven years of age; but did not consummate his marriage with her till eight months after his retreat to *Medina*. She accompanied her husband in an expedition he undertook against the tribe of *Mostalek*, in the sixth year of the *Hejra*, when she was accused of disloyalty to his bed, as we shall relate more fully hereafter. According to *Abu'lfeida* and *Al Bokhâri*, she was not above nine years old when *Mohammed* began to cohabit with her, nor above eighteen at the time of that impostor's death. Some authors say, that, about this time also, he gave in marriage to *Ali* his daughter *Fâtema*, whom he considered as one of the most perfect of women, and who was the only one of his children that survived him <sup>r</sup>.

THE next point the pretended prophet had in view, was the union of the *Mohâjerîn* and the *Ansârs*. The *Mohâjerîn*, or *refugees*, were those of *Mecca*, who fled thence on account of their religion; and the *Ansârs*, or *auxiliaries*, were those of *Medina*, who received *Mohammed*, and his followers, into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. After his new mosque and house, therefore, were finished, in order to facilitate this, and to attach both those bodies of *Moslems* more closely to his interests, he established a fraternity among them; the principal statute or maxim of which society was, "that they should not only treat one another like brethren, but likewise most cordially love and mutually cherish one another, to the utmost of their power." But lest even this should prove insufficient, and absolutely to effect what he proposed, he coupled the individuals of those two bodies; the principal pairs resulting from which particular union were the following: *Abu Becr* and *Hareja Ebn Zeid*, *Abu Obeidab Ebn Al Jarab* and *Saad Ebn Moad*, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* and

<sup>p</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 52. EBN SHOHNAH, GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 52, 53, 55. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 43. ABR. ECHELLENS. hist. Arab. p. i. c. 10. ALFRAGAN. element. astron. c. i. p. 67. Amstelodami, 1669. ELMACIN. ubi sup. c. i, & iii. EUTYCHIUS, GREG. ABU'L-FAR. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 172, 173. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. AL KODAI de ritib. peregrinat. Meccan. PRID. ubi sup. p. 44, 45. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. iv, & vii. Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 44. Lond. 1748. <sup>a</sup> GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 3—9. R. SAAD. in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. MOHAM. ALFRAGAN. element. astron. c. i. p. 1, EBN MASUD. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 8, 9. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 177, & p. 183. EUTYCHIUS. par. ii. p. 256, & p. 296. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 2, & 4. ULUGH BEIGH, de cognitione epoch. c. 3. Univers. Hist. vol. xi. p. 206. <sup>r</sup> GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 98. AL SHAHRESTAN. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. i. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 137. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxv. p. 53. AL JANNAB. AL BOKHARI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 302, 303. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiv. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 165. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 183, & alibi.



*Otbân Ebn Mâlec, Abda'l-Rahmân Ebn Awf and Saad Ebn Al Rabi', Othmân Ebn Affân and Aws Ebn Thâbet, Telha Ebn Obeid'allah and Caab Ebn Mâlec, Said Ebn Zeid and Obba Ebn Caab.* Which institution, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was the last transaction of the first year of the *Hejra* <sup>a</sup>.

Changes the  
Kebla, and  
appoints the  
month of Ra-  
madân for a  
fast.

THE second year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe the same author, was ushered in by a change of the *Kebla* (G), or the part to which the *Mohammedans* are to turn their faces in prayer. At first, *Mohammed*, and his followers, observed no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed; it being declared to be perfectly indifferent. Afterwards, when the prophet fled to *Medina*, he directed them to turn towards the temple of *Jerusalem* (probably to ingratiate himself with the *Jews*); which continued to be their *Kebla* for seventeen or eighteen months; but either finding the *Jews* too intractable, or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan *Arabs*, who could not forget their respect to the temple of *Mecca*, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the *East*. This change was made in the second year of the *Hejra*; and, as *Jallalo'ddin* relates, occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy. This year also he appointed the month of *Ramadân* (H) for a fast, according to the same author; which fast likewise we find expressly enjoined in the second chapter of the *Korân* <sup>b</sup>.

#### ABOUT

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxvi. p. 53. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. AL JANNAB. p. 75. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 303, 304. <sup>b</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 54. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. v. 146. JALLALO'DDIN, AHMED EBN YAHHYA, GREG. ABU'L-FAR. p. 163. AL KODAI, JOANNES ANDREAS, c. vi. v. 10. BUXTORF. synagog. Judaic. c. x. MAIMONID. in Halachoth Tephillah, c. i. sect. 3.

(G) The *Jews* constantly pray with their faces turned towards *Jerusalem*, which has been their *Kebla* from the time it was first dedicated by *Solomon*; for which reason *Daniel*, praying in *Chaldea*, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city; and the same was the *Kebla* of *Mohammed*, and his followers, for seventeen or eighteen months, and till he found himself obliged to change it for the *Caaba*. The *Arabs* had directed their prayers towards that place from very remote antiquity, as the *Sabians* had theirs towards the *North-star*, and the *Persians*, who considered *fire* and *light* as their chief deities, towards the *East*; because in that quarter the sun first appeared, which they held to be the fountain of both; and therefore *Mohammed*, in order to gain them, found himself obliged to alter his original plan, in relation to the *Kebla*. Hence it came to pass, that *Al Kebla* was sometimes used among the *Arabs* to denote the *Caaba* itself; and the *Mohammedans* in general were called *Ahlol KEBLA*, or the people of the *KEBLA*, as we learn from some good authors. It may not be improper here to observe, that *Mohammed* seems to have copied most of the particulars comprised in his institution of prayer from the *Jews*, tho' he exceeded them in the number of his prayers. For they were directed to pray only three times a day, in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; which practice was, at least, as early as the time of *Daniel*. The several postures used by the *Mohammedans* in their prayers are also the same with those prescribed by the *Jewish Rabbins*, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration, by prostrating themselves so as to touch the ground with their forehead; notwithstanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to *Baal-Peor*. The *Moslem* precepts also relating to the cleanness of the place of prayer, and the garments wore during the performance of that duty, as well as the separation of the men from the women, at the same time, seem to have been derived from the *Jews*. Many other conformities between the *Jewish* and *Mohammedan* public worship might be here remarked, would the limits of the work we are at present engaged in permit. Our readers will observe, that *Mohammed* used the *Jewish Kebla* at least

seventeen or eighteen months, as may be inferred from *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Kodai*, and not only six or seven, as we find advanced, without any manner of foundation, by Mr. Sale (31).

(H) The *Mohammedans* are obliged, by the express command of the *Korân*, to fast the whole month of *Ramadân*, from the time the new moon first appears till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night, or sun-set. This injunction the *Moslems* at present observe so strictly, that, while they fast, they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null, if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle; some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely. The fast is also deemed void, if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sun-set they are allowed to refresh themselves, to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till day break; tho' the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight. This fast is extremely rigorous, when the month of *Ramadân* happens to fall in summer, on account of the length and heat of the days. The reason given by *Mohammed* why this month was pitched on for so solemn a fast is, that the *Korân* was then sent down from heaven. None of the *Moslems* are excused from it, except only travellers, sick persons, women with child, and giving suck, ancient people, and young children, who are all upon the same foot with those that are sick. But then all such are obliged to fast an equal number of days, as soon as they are capable of so doing; and, in the mean time, are ordered to expiate their breaking the fast by giving alms to the poor. *Mohammed* is reported to have said, that a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month; and that a fast of one day in *Ramadân* was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month. Among the more commendable days is that of *Asbûra*, the tenth of *Mohurram*; which, according to some authors, was observed by the tribe of *Koreish* before the birth of *Mohammed*; tho' others maintain, that the prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the

(31) *Gemâr. Bava Bathra, & Berachoth.* 1 Kings, viii. 29, &c. Dan. vi. 10. *Isr. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 54. Al Kodai. Greg. Abu'l-Far. ubi sup. p. 163, & 281. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 147, 148. Al Shabrestan. Al Kor. Moham. f. ii. v. 143. f. iii. v. 96. Al Juzi, in lib. de peregrinat. Meccan. c. 67. Poc. ubi sup. p. 175. Lib. Mogreb. apud Al Khassai, apud Al Shabrestan. & apud Autor. Sharho'l-Mawakef. Al Firnuzabad. in Kam. Gen. xix. 27. xxiv. 63. xxviii. 11, &c. Dan. vi. 10. Millius de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 427, &c. Hyde, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 5, &c. Maimonid. in epist. ad profelyt. relig. Poc. ubi sup. p. 306. Maimon. in Halachoth Tephilla, c. ix. sect. 8, 9. Menura Hammur, fol. 28. 2. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 109.*



a ABOUT this time, the prophet receiving advice, that a rich caravan of the *Koreish* was on the road from *Shâm*, or *Syria*, to *Mecca*, he detached his uncle *Hamza*, at the head of thirty horse, to seize upon it; who accordingly posted himself in one of the woods of *Yamâma*, through which it was to pass, for that purpose. But being informed, that the caravan was guarded by three hundred men, he thought fit to retire at their approach, as being too weak to attack them. He, therefore, returned to *Medina*, without making any attempt. We are also told, that, after this, some small parties were sent out to harass the *Koreish*, who found themselves not strong enough to annoy them. However the prophet made the proper dispositions for acting against them with success <sup>a</sup>.

*Hamza not strong enough to attack one of the enemies caravans.*

b WE have taken the liberty here to differ from Dr. *Prideaux*, who believes this attempt of *Hamza* to have been made in the first year of the *Hejra*. For such a notion is intirely unsupported by *Abu'lfeda*, whose authority is by no means inferior to that of *Al Makîn*, and the other author here cited; in the point before us. Besides, 'tis highly improbable, that *Mohammed* should have thought of committing any hostilities against the *Koreish*, before he had united the *Mobâjerîn* and the *Ansâr*, which did not happen till the first year of the *Hejra* was upon the point of expiring. For before he had effected that union, it would have been impossible for him to have drawn together any number of forces; which he must have done, before he could have thought of engaging in a war with the *Koreish*. Nor can it be inferred from *Al Makîn*, the principal author mentioned by Dr. *Prideaux*, on this occasion, that *Hamza* was sent out with a party against a caravan of the *Koreish*, in the first year of the *Hejra*, tho' he is pleased to intimate the contrary. We, therefore, hope our readers will not refuse concurring with us in so probable an opinion <sup>w</sup>.

c BUT farther, that *Hamza's* expedition was undertaken in the second, not the first, year of the *Hejra*, we learn from *Al Jannâbi*. That writer informs us, that, in the beginning of the latter *Rabî*, above a year after *Mohammed's* arrival at *Mecca*, the prophet sent *Obeidah Ebn Al Hâreth*, on whom he conferred the first pair of colours in his service, with a party of sixty or eighty horse, all *Mobâjerîn*, except one who was an *Ansâr*, to make reprisals on the *Koreish*. *Obeidah*, continues *Al Jannâbi*, in pursuance of his orders, set out from *Medina*, and, in his march, arrived at a well in *Hejâz*, called *Khainat Al Haran*, where he met with a party of the *Koreish*, who immediately prepared for an encounter. However, they parted without any effusion of blood, excepting only that *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, one of *Obeidah's* men, let fly an arrow that killed one of the *Koreish*; and this, says our author, was the first arrow that was shot after the introduction of *Islamism* into *Arabia*. Upon this, the infidels, believing that the *Moslems* were sustained by a larger body of troops, retired with great precipitation; and two *Moslems*, that were amongst them, took this opportunity to desert, and join *Obeidah's* detachment. The names of these were *Al Makdâr Ebn Amru* and *Otha Ebn Ghazwân*, the *Mâzenite*. A LITTLE WHILE AFTER, adds our author, the prophet dispatched his uncle *Hamza* at the head of thirty horse, all *Mobâjerîn*, towards the maritime coast of *Hejaz*; who, being arrived at a wood, met a party of eighty *Meccan* horse. Both sides prepared for action; but, by the interposition of *Majda Ebn Amru*, they parted without coming to blows. From this account, in conjunction with what we have already observed,

<sup>a</sup> ELMACIN. hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 1. Disputat. Christian. c. 4. apud Vincent. Bellovac. in specul. histor. lib. xxiv. Par. 1531. & Theod. Bibliand. in Alcor. Latin. 1550. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 53. <sup>w</sup> Idem. ibid. ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. Disputat. Christian. c. 4. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 53—55.

*Jews*. And this notion, it must be owned, is the most probable. For *Mohammed* seems to have followed the guidance of the *Jews* in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars relating to prayer. Whence it came to pass, that the *Moslems*, as well as the *Jews*, abstain from meat, drink, women, and unctiion, from day-break until sun-set, and the stars begin to appear; spending the night in taking what refreshments they please, and excusing from the fast such persons as are not capable of observing it. Besides, this perfectly agrees with what we find related by *Al Kazwîni*, who informs us, that when *Mohammed* asked the *Jews* at *Medina* the reason why they fasted on the day of *Ashûra*, and they answered him, because *Pharaoh* and his people were on that day drowned in the *Red Sea*, *Moses* and the *Israelites* then escaping; he replied, that he bore a nearer relation to *Moses* than they, and

ordered his followers likewise to fast on that day. However, if we will believe *Ebn Al Athîr*, having contracted afterwards an utter aversion to the *Jews*, he intended to have altered the fast and day of *Ashûra*, had he lived a year longer. Dr. *Prideaux* thinks that *Mohammed* instituted the fast of *Ramadin*, to answer *Lent*, in imitation of the *Christians*, with whom he was desirous of ingratiating himself, out of his hatred to the *Jews*, at the commencement of this institution. *Ramadin* is the ninth month; and, when the ancient *Arabs* reduced their lunar to solar years, by an intercalation of seven months in nineteen years, always fell in summer; from which circumstance it derived its name, which, in *Arabic*, denotes *heat*, or *vehemency of heat*. How the *Turks* at present observe this fast, our curious readers may be informed by a learned modern traveller, whom they will find cited in the margin (32).

(32) *Al Kor. Moham. s. ii. xix. Al Beidawi, Poc. not. in carmen Tograi, p. 89, &c. Chardin, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 421, 423, &c. Reland, de relig. Mohammed. p. 109, &c. Al Ghazâlî, Al Bârezi, in comment. aborat. ad Ebn Nobatæ, Siphra, fol. 252. 2. Josephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, fol. 34. Vide etiam Gemar. Yoma, fol. 40. & Maimon. in Halachoth Taniyth. c. v. s. 5. Gemar. Taniyth, fol. 12. & Yoma, fol. 83. & Es Hayim, Taniyth, c. i. Al Kazwîni; Ebn Al Athîr, Ebn Ahmed, Abu'lfed. Al Kodai, Al Makrizi, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 175. Al Jawhar. Golii not. ad Alfrâgan. p. 7. Sinith de morib. & institut. Turcar. p. 42, &c.*



it indisputably appears, that *Hamza's* excursion was made, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Dr. *Prideaux*, in the second year of the *Hejra*; and that no acts of hostility were committed the preceding year <sup>x</sup>.

Abd'allah  
Ebn Hajash  
intercepts a  
caravan of  
the Koreish.

MOHAMMED, having now provided for the safety of his companions as well as his own, being securely settled at *Medina*, and, by the prudent measures he had taken, consequential to the late offensive and defensive league, concluded with the *Ansârs*, finding himself in a condition not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but even to attack them, began to send out, in earnest, parties to make reprisals on the *Koreish*. One of these, which he ordered to advance as far as *Nakbla*, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Hajash*, to get intelligence of the *Koreish*, consisting of no more than nine men, intercepted, and plundered, a caravan belonging to that tribe; and, after having killed one, took two of the escorte prisoners, in the action. One of these was called *Nasir Ebn Waja*. *Nakbla* is a valley, or place, situated between *Al Tâyeef* and *Mecca*, if *Abu'lfeda's* geographical description of *Arabia* in this point be exact. This small advantage animated the *Moslems*, and induced the prophet to think that he should gain as much reputation by his arms as his revelations <sup>y</sup>.

Gains the battle  
of Bedr.

BUT what the most established *Mohammed's* affairs, at this juncture, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of *Bedr*, which was fought in the second year of the *Hejra*, and is so famous in the *Mohammedan* history. Of this remarkable action, as well as some of the most material circumstances preceding and attending it, the *Moslem* writers have handed down to us the following particulars. The prophet having been informed by his spies, that *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb* escorted a caravan of the *Koreish*, then on its return from *Syria*, with a guard of only thirty or forty men, resolved to advance at the head of a small detachment of his troops, to intercept it. To this he was excited by the riches of the caravan, which consisted of a large quantity of valuable merchandize, the produce of the country it came from, carried on the backs of a thousand camels. He first, therefore, sent out a party to reconnoitre it, with orders to post themselves in some place convenient for an ambuscade, where they might remain undiscovered by the enemy. But *Abu Sofiân* having notice of *Mohammed's* motions, immediately dispatched a courier to *Mecca*, with advice of his arrival on the frontiers of *Hejâz*, and of the designs of the *Moslems*; requesting his countrymen, at the same time, to send him speedy succours, that he might be able to defend the caravan. Upon which, *Abu Jahl*, and all the principal men of the city, except *Abu Labeb*, marched to his assistance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. *Mohammed* had no sooner received advice of this, than he drew together all his forces, which amounted to no more than three hundred and thirteen men, with which he advanced against the enemy. In the mean time he took care to leave a proper garrison in *Medina*, to defend it in case of any disaster, and made *Omar Ebn Omm Ma'tum* governor of the place, during his absence. In his army he had seventy-seven *Mobâjerîn*, on whom he seemed chiefly to depend; the rest being *Ansârs*, with whom he was supplied by the tribes of *Khazraj* and *Aws*. He first encamped at *Safrâ*, a port of the *Red Sea* above *Al Jâr*, another port about three days journey distant from *Medina*. Here he soon received intelligence, that the caravan he was in quest of, together with the escorte that attended it, was arrived at *Bedr*; and that the body of troops from *Mecca* was making forced marches to join *Abu Sofiân*. As he was encamped on the plain of *Dâferân*, to the right of *Safrâ*, and advantageously situated between two hills, the enemy could not easily have forced his camp, had they been disposed to attack him; and therefore here he could with safety, in conjunction with his officers, form a plan of the future operations. Which being done, he advanced into the neighbourhood of *Bedr*, and pitched his tents at a small distance from the enemy. But before this was done, he had had the precaution to choose a spot of ground to encamp on, which was nearer a well of water than that which had been before occupied for the same purpose by the forces of *Abu Jahl* and *Abu Sofiân* <sup>z</sup>.

THINGS had not been long in this situation before *Mohammed* ordered his men to march directly against the enemy; and, on the seventeenth of the month *Ramadân*, early in the morning, the army of the *Koreish* likewise appeared on the heights in the neighbourhood of *Bedr*. Before the beginning of the battle, *Otha Ebn Rabîa*, *Shaïba Ebn Rabia*, and *Al Walid Ebn Otha*, on the side of the *Koreish*, and *Obeidab Ebn Al Hâreth*, *Hamza*, and *Ali*, on the side of the *Moslems*, engaged in single combat; in which the three former were slain. This greatly animated the *Moslems*, and as much dejected the *Koreish*, who now seemed to

<sup>x</sup> AL JANNAB. & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. PRID. ubi sup. p. 53. <sup>y</sup> AL JANNAB. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MASUDI, in lib. *Al-Athârât*, apud ISM. Abu'lfed. ibid. Vide etiam ejusdem Abu'lfed. descript. Arab. p. 55. <sup>z</sup> ELMACIN. p. 5. ISM. ABU'LFED de vit. Moham. c. xxvii. p. 56—51. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, viii, xxxii, &c. AL BOKHARI in *Sonna*. AL JANNAB. p. 86, 87, 88, &c. EBN ISHAK, SHARIF AL EDRISI, HOTTINGER, hist. Oriental. lib. ii. c. 4.



a apprehend that victory would declare against them. In the mean time, *Mohammed* taking advantage of this lucky event, offered up his prayers to God with great fervency and vehemence; and then, feigning himself in a trance, pretended that God had promised him certain victory. After which, throwing a handful of dust towards the enemy, he said, *May the faces of them be confounded*; and then exhorting his men to behave valiantly, he commanded them to fall upon the *Koreish*. Upon which they charged them with such bravery, that they soon put them to flight; having killed seventy of the principal of them on the spot, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen men. Amongst the slain were *Hântala Ebn Abu Sofiân*, *Obeidab Ebn Said*, *Zama'a Ebn Al Aswad*, *Abu'l Bakhtara Ebn Heshâm*, *Nawfal Ebn Khowailed*, *Omaïr Ebn Othmân*, *Masûd Ebn Ommiyah*,  
b *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar*, *Monba Ebn Al Habâj*, *Al As Ebn Monba*, *Bania Ebn Al Habâj*, and *Abu Jahl*. Amongst the prisoners were *Al Abbâs*, the prophet's uncle, *Okail Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and *Nawfal Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Abd'al Motalléb*. The dead bodies *Mohammed* ordered to be thrown into the well *Bedr*, which gave name to the place where the battle was fought, and originally belonged to an *Arab* so called. Having refreshed his troops, he quitted his camp on the sea-coast near mount *Radwa*, and returned to *Safirâ*, three days after the action<sup>a</sup>.

AL BEIDAWI relates, that the *Meccans*, who marched to the assistance of the caravan, having advanced as far as *Johfâ*, were there met by a messenger from *Abu Sofiân*, to acquaint them that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return  
c home. Upon which, adds he, *Abu Jahl*, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his companions, as well as of their readiness to assist their friends, swore that they would not return till they had been at *Bedr*, had there drank wine, entertained those who should be present, and diverted themselves with singing women. The event of which bravado proved fatal to them; several of the principal of the *Koreish*, as has been here observed, and *Abu Jahl* in particular, losing their lives in the expedition<sup>b</sup>.

WE are farther told by the *Moslem* writers, that *Mohammed* had no sooner received advice of *Abu Jahl's* approach, than *Gabriel* descended from heaven, with a promise that he should either take the caravan, or beat the succours; whereupon he consulted with his companions which of the two he should attack. Some of them were for setting upon the  
d caravan, saying, that they were not prepared to fight such a body of troops as *Abu Jahl* had with him: but this proposal was rejected by *Mohammed*, as the caravan was at a considerable distance, by the sea-side; whereas *Abu Jahl* was just upon them. This, however, did not satisfy the others, till, by the interposition of *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Saad Ebn Obadah*, and *Mokdâd Ebn Amru*, they acquiesced to the prophet's opinion. *Mokdâd*, in particular, assured the prophet, that they were all ready to obey his orders on all occasions. At which *Mohammed* smiled and applied himself to the *Ansârs*, who promised to follow him wherever he pleased, tho' it were into the sea. Upon which the prophet ordered them to attack the succours, assuring them of the victory; which, tho' it might seem not so considerable in itself, was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and  
e success. Nay, it had such an immediate effect, that it caused both him and his followers to be treated with the highest respect by the *Najâshi*, who had received a particular account of it; and, in its consequences, was of vast importance to the *Moslems*. For it not only paved the way to the erection of the *Moslem* empire; then soon to commence, but may likewise be considered as a remote foundation of the present *Ottoman* power. It cannot, therefore, appear surprising, notwithstanding this has been treated with such contempt by *Marracci*, that the victory at *Bedr* should be so famous in the *Arabian* history, and more than once represented in the *Korân* as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said by the *Mohammedans*, consisted in three things. 1. *Mohammed*, by the direction of the angel *Gabriel*, took a handful of gravel, and threw it towards the enemy in the attack;  
f saying, *May their faces be confounded*; whereupon they immediately turned their backs; and fled. For the prophet pretends to be told in the *Korân*, that not he, but God, by the ministry of his angel, threw the gravel towards the unbelievers. 2. The *Moslem* troops seemed to the infidels to be twice as numerous as themselves, which greatly discouraged them. 3. God sent down to their assistance first a thousand, and afterwards three thousand, angels, led by *Gabriel*, mounted on his horse *Haizûm*; and, according to the *Korân*, these celestial auxiliaries did all the execution, tho' *Mohammed's* troops could not perceive them. They rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, having on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders. In fine, according to these visionary writers, they first struck the *Koreish* with terror, throwing  
g them into such a panic that they could never recover themselves, and then immediately

<sup>a</sup> Idem Ibid. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAM. l. iii. GREGI AEU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 163. PRID. life of Mahomet, p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> AL BEIDAWI.



dispatched them. This is the account given of the battle of *Bedr*, so fatal in its consequences to the *Koreish*, by the *Moslem* commentators and historians <sup>c</sup>.

Mohammed  
settles the di-  
vision of the  
spoils taken  
at Bedr;

NORWITHSTANDING this defeat, *Abu Sofiân* made a tolerable good retreat, and conducted the greatest part of the caravan safe to *Mecca*. This something chagrined the *Moslems*, tho' they found great spoils on the field of battle, part of the caravan falling into their hands. These, however, had like to have proved fatal to the victors themselves, as they could not agree about a division of them. The *Ansârs*, as having taking the *Mobâjerîn* into their protection, after they had been expelled their native city, insisted upon being rewarded with the largest share of them; which the *Mobâjerîn*, as they had been the prophet's original companions, and greatly distinguished themselves in the action, would by no means allow. This is *Hottinger's* representation of the case, but the commentators <sup>b</sup> on the *Korân* place the affair in another light: they relate, that the disputes about the division of the spoils taken at the battle of *Bedr* happened between the old men, who had staid under the ensigns, and the young men, who had fought; the latter insisting they ought to have the whole, and the former, that they deserved a share. Be this as it will, 'tis agreed on all hands, that these disputes ran so high, that *Mohammed*, in order to put an end to the contention, pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty amongst them equally, having first taken therefrom a fifth part for the purposes mentioned in the eighth chapter of the *Korân*. Which chapter, say the *Moslems*, was revealed to compose matters between the contending parties, and conciliate the affections of both of them to the prophet, at this critical juncture. So that, to avoid all intestine broils and <sup>c</sup> dissensions, and every species of mutiny, the division of the spoils on all future similar occasions, is intirely settled, by *Mohammed's* decision after the battle of *Bedr*, which was founded upon the eighth chapter of the *Korân*, and is as follows: A fifth part is to be appropriated to the service of God, and the use of his prophet, his kindred, the orphans, the poor and the traveller; and the other four fifths are to be equally divided amongst those who shall be present at the action. But with regard to the distribution of the first fifth, the *Mohammedan* doctors are not absolutely agreed. Nor did, indeed, the pretended apostle, in his life time, always strictly adhere to the rule he himself had laid down, and which, with respect to his followers, he intended should be of perpetual force and obligation. For, by virtue of the divine commission, he pretended to have received, to distribute the spoil <sup>d</sup> among the soldiers at his own discretion, he took himself to be authorized, on extraordinary occasions, to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the spoil of the tribe of *Hawâzen*, taken at the battle of *Honein*, which he bestowed by way of present on the *Meccans* only, passing by those of *Medina*, and highly distinguishing the principal *Korashites*, that he might ingratiate himself with them, after he had become master of their city. He was likewise allowed, in the expedition against those of *Al Nadîr*, to take the whole booty to himself, and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition, but the whole army went on foot; and this became thenceforward a law: the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry only, should be considered as the more immediate gift of God, and <sup>e</sup> therefore properly left to the disposition of his apostle. But, for a farther account of this, and the other institutions of the *Korân* in civil affairs, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned Mr. *Sale*, who will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>d</sup>.

and arrives  
at Medina.

BUT to return to our history—On *Monday*, the 20th of *Ramadân*, the *Moslem* army decamped from *Bedr*, and returned to the port of *Safrâ*. Here the prophet took a review of his forces, and found that he had lost only six *Mobâjerîn*, and eight *Ansârs*, in the expedition. These the *Moslems* look upon as martyrs, and as such they are celebrated by *Abu'lfeda*. Soon after *Mohammed's* arrival at *Safrâ*, he ordered *Ali* to strike off the head of *Al Nodar Ebn Al Hâreth*, who seems to have been taken prisoner at the battle of *Bedr*, and was one of the prophet's most implacable enemies. *Al Nodar*, *Abu Sofiân*, *Al Walîd*, <sup>f</sup> *Otha*, *Abu Jabl*, and their comrades, who are all pointed at in the *Korân*, went one day to hear *Mohammed* repeat some of the verses of that book; and *Nodar* being afterwards asked what he said, answered, with an oath, that he knew not; only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them. The same person is likewise said to have brought with him from *Persia* the romance of *Rostam* and *Isfandiyar*, the two heroes of that country, recited it in the assemblies of the *Koreish*, and highly extolled the power and splendor of the ancient *Persian* kings, preferring their stories to those

<sup>c</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iii, viii, &c. AL BEIDAWI, AL WAKEDI, & AL NAISABURI, apud Abu Zeid Seid in lib. *Splendor*. ut & ipse ABU ZEID SEID, ibid. ASSOHAÏLI, LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in vit. Moham. p. 23. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. c. xxvii. p. 56—60. JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c. <sup>d</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. viii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, HOTTINGER. ubi sup. AHMED EBN YAHYA, ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. p. 99, 118, &c. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 54. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. vi. p. 144.



- a of *Ad* and *Thamud*, *David* and *Solomon*, and the rest which are told in the *Korân*. Such flights as these could not fail to render him extremely disagreeable to *Mohammed*, and were undoubtedly the cause of his death. *Okba Ebn Abu Moait* had likewise the same punishment inflicted upon him. This person, at the instigation of *Obba Ebn Kbalf*, set his foot on *Mohammed*'s neck, and spit in his face in the public hall, where he found the prophet sitting; whereupon *Mohammed* told him, that if ever he met him out of *Mecca*, he would cut off his head. And he was as good as his word; for *Okba*, being now taken prisoner at the battle of *Bedr*, had his head struck off by *Ali*, at the prophet's command. After these executions, the army continued its march to *Medina*, where the prophet was received in triumph, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. But the public joy was not
- b a little interrupted by the death of *Rakiab*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, who was first married to *Otha Ebn Abu Labeb*, who repudiated her a little before he declared himself an enemy, in conjunction with his father, to the prophet; after which *Othmân* took her to wife, and had by her a son, named *Abd'allab*. *Rakiab* fled with her husband *Othmân* first into *Ethiopia*, and afterwards to *Medina*, where she died when her father *Mohammed* was at *Bedr*. Her son *Abd'allab* was destroyed by a cock, that put out one of his eyes, in the fourth year of the *Hejra*, when he was about six years of age. She was *Mohammed*'s third daughter by *Khadijah*, as we learn from *Al Kodai*. The prophet, in nineteen days, the whole time he was absent from *Medina*, finished the *Bedr* expedition; which is the more to be wondered at, as he had not above two horses and seventy camels in his
- c army.

- THE *Koreish*, in order to be revenged of *Mohammed* for the late defeat at *Bedr*, resolved to send an embassy to the *Najâshi*, to desire him to put into their hands the *Moslem* refugees, who had taken sanctuary in *Ethiopia*. This we learn from *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Bâki*; who likewise informs us, that the people of *Mecca* lost the whole caravan escorted to *Bedr* by *Abu Sofiân*. This loss, together with the bad success that attended their arms in the first engagement between their troops and those of the *Moslems*, made them despair of putting a stop to the progress of *Islamism*, without the assistance of some neighbouring power. In pursuance, therefore, of the resolution they had taken, they sent *Amru Ebn Al As* and *Abd'allab Ebn Abu Rabia* their ambassadors to the *Najâshi*, with skins or furs, the produce of their country, and other rich presents for that prince, and the lords of his court, to engage them the more effectually in their interest. Upon their arrival in *Ethiopia*, they distributed their presents to the best advantage, and obtained an audience of the *Najâshi*; but could not prevail upon him to deliver up the *Moslem* fugitives at his court into their hands, to be carried to *Mecca*, and punished there. The ambassadors, in order to carry their point, accused the *Moslem* refugees of speaking disrespectfully of *Jesus*, and his mother *MARY*; but the force of this accusation was eluded by *Jaafar*, the principal of them, when he produced the nineteenth chapter of the *Korân*, intitled, *MARY*, to the *Najâshi*, which, our author pretends, demonstrated the falsity of it. In fine, continues *Ebn Abd'al Bâki*, the *Ethiopian* monarch receiving at that time a courier from *Mohammed*, with advice of the great victory he had obtained over his enemies at *Bedr*, was so far from complying with the request of the *Koreish*, that he returned their presents, ordered their ambassadors to depart out of his dominions, and took *Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, with the other *Moslems*, who had been obliged to seek for shelter at his court, into his more immediate protection.
- d
- e

- f WE must beg leave to observe here, tho' it be by way of digression, that, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Bâki*, when the *Najâshi* received a formal relation from *Mohammed* of the defeat of the *Koreish*, he sent for *Jaafar*, and his companions, and told them that their prophet had gained a signal victory at *Bedr*; adding, that he had served one *Saïd*, of the *Banu Dhamra*, in the capacity of a shepherd, formerly there, and that he knew the place to abound with a plant called *Erâk*. From which curious particulars, in conjunction with the preceding paragraph, especially that part of it relating to *Jesus*, and his mother *MARY*, we may infer, that this prince had been formerly expelled his dominions, and obliged to follow the business of a shepherd, for a subsistence, in the province of *Hejâz*; that he had never intirely renounced the *Christian* religion, or embraced *Islamism*, notwithstanding what we find advanced to the contrary by *Ebn Abd'al Bâki*, and other *Arabian* authors; that the valley of *Bedr* was famous for a celebrated plant that it produced; and, finally, that the *Moslem* writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, and consequently not to be depended upon, when they assert so early an introduction of *Islamism* into *Ethiopia*.

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxvii. p. 60. AL JANNAB. EBN. ISHAK, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vi, viii, xxxi. &c. AL BEIDAWI, AL KODAI in hist. gen. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. p. 332—334, & p. 362. <sup>f</sup> ABU'L

MAALA ALAEDDIN MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI in lib. de excellent. Habessinor. par. ii. c. 2. <sup>f</sup> Ibidem

ibid. ASSOHAILI. Vide etiam GAGN. not. in Abu'lfed. c. xxvii. p. 57. & la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iii.

c. 5. p. 334—341.



Mohammed  
disperses the  
Banu Solaïm  
and the Banu  
Ghatfan.

MOHAMMED having received advice, about seven days after his return to *Medina*, that the *Banu Solaïm*, and the *Banu Ghatfan*, had assembled a considerable body of troops near a well called *Karkaret Al Codr*, on the road frequented by the *Arabs* bordering upon *Irak*; in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, where they committed some disorders, he was resolved to drive them from thence. For this purpose, he put himself at the head of two hundred men, and having constituted *Ebn Omm Maclum* governor of the town in his absence, advanced towards the said well; but the pagan *Arabs*, being apprized of his intention to surprise them, dispersed themselves at his approach. This happened in the beginning of the month *Shawâl*. However, he made himself master of several head of cattle, that they left behind them, and carried them off in triumph to *Medina* <sup>h</sup>.

The war of  
Al Sawik.

THE prophet spent the remainder of the month *Shawâl*, and all that of *Dhu'l-kacda*, with a youth he had taken prisoner in the last expedition, named *Saïir*; whom, after embracing *Islamism*, he had made his shepherd. But, in the following month, which was that of *Dhu'l-hajja*, *Abu Sofân*, who had sworn never to use either women or perfumes, till he had had another battle with *Mohammed*, set out from *Mecca* with a body of two hundred horse. He took his route through the country of the *Nadrites*, advanced to a post within three miles of *Medina*, and from thence sent a small party to a village called *Oraïdb*, which set fire to a barn, and burnt a man in it who was winnowing of wheat. From thence they made an excursion to the very walls of *Medina*, where they met with an *Ansar*, and another person with him, both of whom they put to the sword. *Mohammed*, being informed of this insult, moved immediately, with a detachment of horse, towards *Abu Sofân*; who, receiving intelligence of his march, fled with so much precipitation, that his men were obliged to leave behind them, on the road, all the sacks of meal, or flower, that they brought with them for their subsistence. He, therefore, contented himself with alarming the country through which he passed, and pillaging such as he suspected of favouring the designs of the prophet. From the preceding circumstance, this short expedition of *Abu Sofân* was stiled by the *Arabs* the war of AL SAWIK, or THE MEAL; alluding to the sacks abandoned by the *Meccans* at the approach of the *Moslems* <sup>i</sup>.

The Arabs  
defeat the  
Persians.

WE are told by *Abu'l-feda*, that a great battle was fought this year, that is, the second of the *Hejra*, between the *Arabs*, under the conduct of *Beqr Ebn Wâyel*, and the *Persians*, commanded by *Al Hâmeraz*, *Khosrû Parvîz*'s general, in the plain of *Dhû Kâr*; which, after an hour's dispute, ended in the defeat of the *Persian* army. *Dhû Kâr* is situated between *Medina* and *Bosra*, or *Bostra*, on the confines of *Syria*, at a small distance from *Hira*, the seat of the *Arab* kings surnamed *Al Mondar*; of whom we have already given a particular account in our ancient history of the *Arabs*. *Khosrû* having put one of these princes to death, commanded his successor to send him all the arms and military accoutrements of his predecessor *Al Nooman*. But *Ayâs Ebn Kobaisa*, for so was the reigning king of *Hira* called, or rather *Hana Ebn Masûd*, refusing to obey his orders, the *Persian* monarch sent an army against him; which was routed and put to flight by *Ayâs*'s forces at the place above-mentioned. Mr. *Gagnier* endeavours to shew that *Abu'l-feda* is inconsistent with himself, when he places this action, in which *Al Hâmeraz*, the *Persian* general, was killed, and a great number of the *Arab* auxiliaries with him, in the second year of the *Hejra* <sup>k</sup>.

Ommeya Ebn  
Abi'l-salt dies,

ABOUT this time died *Ommeya Ebn Abi'l-salt*, one of the principal of the infidel *Koreish*. The *Mohammedans* pretend, that, by reading the Scriptures, he found God would then send a prophet; and had the vanity to believe that he himself was the man. *Mohammed*'s declaration, therefore, of his mission gave him great uneasiness; nor would he believe on him, as they affirm, through envy. Having undertaken a journey to *Syria*, he passed by *Bedr*; when, by *Mohammed*'s order, the dead bodies, and, amongst the rest, those of *Olba* and *Shaïba*, his cousin-germans, were thrown into the pit above-mentioned. This so deeply affected him, that he is said to have cut off his camel's ears with his sword; and, through envy and grief, to have expired on the spot <sup>\*</sup>.

as also Oth-  
mân Ebn  
Matûn.

THIS year also died *Othmân Ebn Matûn*, who was converted, say the commentators, to *Moslemism* by the following verse of the *Korân*: "Verily God commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving up to kindred what shall be necessary; and he forbiddeth wickedness, iniquity, and oppression: he admonisheth you that you may remember." Which verse, according to them, contains the whole of our duty, with regard to what is either to be performed or avoided by us. This conversion rendered *Othmân* so famous, that his death is reckoned by *Abu'l-feda* amongst the remarkable events of the second year of the *Hejra* <sup>l</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 62. AL JANNAB. p. 96.

Idem ibid.

<sup>k</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED.

de vit. Moham. c. xxx. p. 62. Vide etiam ABU'LFED. hist. general. sect. 4. & JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'l-fed. ubi sup.

<sup>\*</sup> ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. p. 63. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR, &c.

<sup>l</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 62. AL BEIDAWI. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvi.

MOHAMMED,



- a MOHAMMED, soon after his establishment at *Medina*, entered into a treaty of alliance with the *Jews* of that place ; by which he granted them the enjoyment of all their privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. But a little above two years after the conclusion of this treaty, the *Arab* writers tell us, that the *Jews* violated it, on the following occasion. One of the *Banu Kāinokā*, a *Jewish* tribe settled at *Medina*, offering some indecency to an *Arab* woman, was killed by a *Moslem*, who was an eye-witness of the action. This so incensed the *Jews*, that they immediately surrounded the *Moslem*, and cut him in pieces ; upon which a great tumult ensued, the *Moslems* pouring in from all parts, to revenge their companion's death. However, the prophet himself interposing, for the present, prevented all disorders that might otherwise have been committed ; but refused to let the *Jews*
- b enjoy the advantages they were intitled to by the late treaty, unless they would renounce their religion, and embrace *Islamism*. This proposal they absolutely rejected ; and therefore he resolved to make war upon them in form. So that having trusted the government of the city of *Medina* with *Bashir Ebn Abd'al Mondar*, he besieged the *Jews* in their forts and retrenchments, during the space of fifteen days ; at the end of which they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The prophet being now master of their persons, ordered all the *Jews*, to the number of seven hundred men, among which were three hundred armed with cuirasses, to be put to the sword ; but *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Solul*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*, an infidel *Arab*, of great authority in *Medina*, interceded for them, as his confederates, and prevailed upon *Mohammed* to convert their destined punishment into perpetual
- c banishment. They were, therefore, immediately sent to the city of *Adbraât* in *Syria*, in consequence of this determination, there to remain in a perpetual state of exile ; by which means all their riches and valuable effects came into the hands of the *Moslems*. Amongst the beautiful arms they left behind them, there were three bows, three lances, two cuirasses and three swords, that the prophet took for his own use. One of the cuirasses, say some of the *Moslems*, *David* had on, when he slew the giant *Goliath* ; though the Scripture positively declares, that he was then unarmed, having laid aside the armour that *Saul* had given him. By changing the intended excision of the *Jews* into perpetual banishment, *Mohammed* gratified both his avarice and ambition. His avarice, as this made him master of all the properties of that people ; and his ambition, at the same time, as it enabled him
- d to oblige one of the most powerful infidel *Arabs* in *Medina*, and consequently not a little to extend his influence in that city. However, the bloody design he had formed, and from the execution of which he was, with no small difficulty, diverted by the interposition of *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Solul*, to omit an infinity of other instances to the same purpose that occur, is a sufficient proof of the barbarous and inhuman disposition of this most infamous impostor<sup>m</sup>.

OUR readers will here observe, that we have placed the war between *Mohammed* and the *Banu Kāinokā* in the third year of the *Hejra*, tho', according to *Abu'lfeda*, it happened in the second. But as *Ebn Amīd*, or *Elmacinus*, *Al Tabari*, *Al Kodai*, *Al Jannūbi*, and, in fine, almost all the other *Moslem* historians, have asserted that war to have been begun, carried

e on, and concluded, in the month of *Shawāl*, and the third year of the *Hejra*, we have thought proper to prefer their united authority, in this point, to that of *Abu'lfeda* ; especially as so many remarkable events happened in the preceding year, that it seems more natural to refer this to that wherein it has been fixed by the former historians<sup>n</sup>.

- In the month of *Sbaabān*, this year, the prophet espoused *Hafsa*, the daughter of *Omar*, and espoused who was the widow of *Hobeish Ebn Khodāfa*, the *Sahamite*. She had for her dowry four hundred *dirhems*, and lived with her new husband eight years. Her death happened in the month of *Sbaabān*, and the year of the *Hejra* 45, in the *Khalifat* of *Mou'wiyah*, being then about sixty years of age. She was a woman of a fine shape, and has been greatly celebrated by the *Moslem* historians for her singular abstinence. It was to the custody of *Hafsa* that
- f *Abu Becr*, the first *Khalif*, or successor of *Mohammed*, committed the transcript of the *Korān*, which he had completed by the addition of a great number of passages, that were preserved by *Mohammed*'s followers, and collected not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, that they were kept between two boards, or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. *Othmān*, the third *Khalif*, caused a great number of copies to be taken from this transcript, and dispersed them over all the provinces of the empire ; suppressing, at the same time, by an order, the other transcripts that did not in all points agree with this of *Hafsa*. But of this we shall hereafter give a more particular account, when we come to treat of the general design, the peculiarities, and different editions, of the *Korān*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 61. AL JANNAB. EBN ISHAK, ELMACIN. lib. i. c. 1. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 61. <sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GEORG. EBN AMID, sive ELMACIN. ubi sup. AL TABAR. AL KODAI, AL JANNAB. &c. <sup>o</sup> EBN AMID in vit. Abu Bec. ISM. ABU'LFED. in vita Abu Bec.



The Moslems  
plunder a rich  
caravan of the  
Koreish.

THE *Koreish*, after the late defeat, in order to avoid *Mohammed's* parties, resolved not to pass by *Bedr*, which had proved so fatal to them, but to take another route for the future with their caravans. In pursuance of this resolution, the famous *Abu Sofiân*, at the head of a *Meccan* caravan, took a compass, in his next journey to *Syria*, to the east of the province of *Irâk*. The merchants, at this time guarded by *Abu Sofiân*, carried with them a large sum of money, which rendered the caravan they formed more valuable than any of the preceding. Of this *Mohammed* was soon informed by his spies; and, upon his receiving the news, he immediately dispatched *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, with 500 horse, to attack the *Meccan* troops under the command of *Abu Sofiân*. *Zeid* executed his orders so well, that he came up with the enemy at *Al Karda*, in the province of *Najd*; and, after defeating the escorte, made himself master of the caravan. With the riches of which he returned triumphantly to *Medina*; and the prophet, in conformity to his late injunction, took the fifth part of the money acquired on this occasion, consisting of 20,000, or, as others say, 25,000, *dirhems*, for his own use, and distributed the rest amongst the troops employed in the expedition <sup>p</sup>.

Caab Ebn  
Ashraf assas-  
inated by Mo-  
hammed's or-  
der.

IN the third year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, a Jew, was assassinated. This unhappy man was pointed at in the third chapter of the *Korân*. Being an inveterate enemy of *Mohammed*, after the battle of *Bedr*, he went to *Mecca*, and there, to excite the *Koreish* to revenge themselves, made and recited verses, lamenting the death of those who were slain in that battle, and reflecting very severely on *Mohammed*. Afterwards he returned to *Medina*, and had the boldness to repeat them publicly there also. This so exceedingly provoked *Mohammed*, that he proscribed him, and sent a party of men to kill him; and he was at last slain by *Mohammed Ebn Moslema*, the *Ansar* of the tribe of *Aws*, who circumvented him, in the year we are now upon. *Salkân Ebn Salama*, another Moslem, greatly contributed to the success of this enterprize, by amusing the Jew with some stories relating to the prophet, and afterwards insensibly drawing him to the place where *Mohammed Ebn Moslema* waited for him. Dr. *Prideaux* has confounded this *Caab* with another very different person of the same name, a famous poet, who was no Jew, but the son of *Zohair*, a pagan Arab. In consequence of this mistake, the Doctor wrongly affirms *Caab* the Jew to have prevented, by his future submission, the execution of *Mohammed's* bloody design. In the month of *Ramadân*, this same year, *Mohammed's* daughter *Fâtima* bore her husband *Ali* a son, to whom he gave the name of *Al Hasan* <sup>q</sup>.

The battle of  
Ohod.

THE *Koreish*, to revenge their loss at *Bedr*, the next year, being the third of the *Hejra*, assembled an army of 3,000 men, amongst whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb*, attended by his wife *Henda Bint Otba*, and sat down at *Dhû'lholeifa*, a village about six miles from *Medina*. *Mohammed* being much inferior in number to the enemy, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there. This was also the sentiment of *Abd'allah Ebn Abu Solûl*, and some others. But afterwards the advice of the majority of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1,000 men, or, as some will have it, 1,050, or, according to others, 900 only, of whom 200 were cuirassiers; but he had no more than one horse, belonging to *Abu Barda*, besides his own, in his whole army. He distributed three standards amongst his troops, one of which was assigned to the soldiers of the tribe of *Aws*, another to those of the tribe of *Khazraj*, and the third to the *Mohâjerîn*. The grand standard was carried before the prophet by *Mosaab Ebn Omaïr*. With these forces *Mohammed* formed a camp in a village near *Ohod*, a mountain about four miles to the north of *Medina*, which he contrived to have on his back; and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed 50 archers, the flower of his troops, in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. On the other hand, the army of the *Koreish* was drawn up in the form of a crescent, and made a tolerable good appearance. The right wing was commanded by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, the left by *Acrema Ebn Abu Jabl*, and the center by *Abu Sofiân*. The corps de reserve was headed by the heroine *Henda Bint Otba*, *Abu Sofiân's* wife, accompanied by fifteen other matrons, acting the part of drummers, and lamenting the fate of their countrymen slain at *Bedr*, in order to animate the troops that attended them. And *Henda*, in particular, cried out with all her might, *Courage, you brave sons of Abd'al Dâr, Courage, fall on with all your swords*. The *Meccan* forces consisted of some volunteers belonging to the tribe of *Koreish*, and a considerable body of *Arabs*, with which the people of *Mecca* were supplied by the tribe of *Kenâna*, and the inhabitants of the province of *Tchama*. Both armies now facing each other, expected the signal to be given in order to begin the attack <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 101.

<sup>q</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 64. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 102. AL BEIDAWI, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 59, 60.

<sup>r</sup> EBN AMID, lib. i. c. i. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 163. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. f. xxxi. p. 64—66. SHARIF AL EDRISI, vulg. geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 5. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 67. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. AL BOKHARI, AL JANNAB. p. 106, 107, &c. JALLALO'DDIN, PRID. ubi sup.



a THE *Moslems* seeing things in this situation, by *Mohammed's* command, fell upon the enemy with such fury that they were not able to stand the shock, but immediately began to give way in the center. *Ali*, or, according to *Abu'lfeda*, *Hamza*, slew *Arta*, the enemies great standard-bearer; which struck them with such terror that they were thrown into confusion, and soon betook themselves to flight, falling foul upon their own corps de reserve. So that the *Moslem* troops had undoubtedly the advantage, notwithstanding their vast inferiority in point of number, in the beginning of the action<sup>a</sup>.

b BUT the *Moslem* archers posted in the rear, elated with this first instance of success, and carried away with the avidity of plunder, afterwards left their ranks for the sake of pillage, and quitted the post that had been assigned them. Seeing the enemy fly, contrary to *Mohammed's* express orders, they so dispersed themselves, that *Abd'allah Ebn Jobair*, their captain, tho' he made the utmost efforts to oblige them to keep their ranks, could not prevail upon ten men out of fifty to stand firm by him. Whereupon *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, perceiving *Mohammed's* army to be greatly exposed, as being left intirely unsupported, and destitute of its principal defence, by the dispersion of the archers, immediately made a movement with his cavalry, and attacked the enemies rear with such bravery that he turned the fortune of the day. Not content with putting the troops posted there into disorder, he cried out with a loud voice, *MOHAMMED is slain*: which had such an effect upon the *Moslems*, that they soon took to their heels; nor could the prophet himself, notwithstanding all his endeavours, ever afterwards rally them. He therefore found himself obliged to abandon the field of battle, and was very near losing his life in the action; being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, which occasioned his two fore-teeth to drop out. He likewise received a contusion in his upper lip, and had even been killed upon the spot, had not *Telba*, one of his companions, *Abu Becr's* nephew, received a blow that was levelled at him. *Telba* received, on this occasion, a wound in his hand, which deprived him of the use of some of his fingers ever after. Of the *Moslems* 70 were slain, amongst whom were *Hamza Ebn Abd'al Motaleb*, *Mohammed's* uncle, and *Mosaab Ebn Omair*, his standard-bearer, who was mortally wounded by *Ebn Kamia*, the *Laithite*, and 22 of the *Koreish*. Amongst the wounded, on *Mohammed's* side, there were found *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*; but as soon as they understood that the prophet was safe, for *Ebn Kamia* had given out, when he slew his standard-bearer, that he had killed him; they returned to the charge with a considerable body, and, after an obstinate dispute, carried off *Mohammed* to a neighbouring village. This battle, so fatal to the *Mohammedans*, was fought on Saturday, the seventh day of the month *Sharwâl*, in the third year of the *Hejra*<sup>b</sup>.

c THE good retreat made by *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, so intimidated the troops of *Abu Sofiân*, that they did not pursue the flying enemy, but contented themselves with remaining masters of the field of battle. *Abu Sofiân* made no farther advantage of his success, than to give *Mohammed* a challenge to meet him the next year at *Bedr*; which the prophet accepted. Some of the *Moslem* writers inform us, that as the *Koreish* were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the *Mohammedans*, and began to think of going back to *Medina* for that purpose; but were prevented by a sudden consternation, or panic fear, which God sent upon them. In the mean time *Mohammed*, being informed of their intention, assembled all those who had stood by him in the field of battle, and advanced at the head of them to meet the enemy as far as *Hamrâ Al Asad*, about eight miles from *Medina*. But receiving advice afterwards that they had changed their resolution, he returned to *Medina*; and the *Koreish* continued their march home. However, they seem to have exulted not a little on the field of battle; *Abu Sofiân*, with part of *Hamza's* head fixed on the top or point of a lance, crying aloud, O *HOBAL*, thou art now exalted. It may not be improper here to remark, that there were no less than 360 idols, equalling in number the days of the *Arabian* year, in and about the *Caab* of *Mecca*; the chief of whom was this *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* into *Arabia* by *Amru Ebn Lokai*, who pretended it would procure them rain when they wanted it. It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the *Koreish* repaired it with one of gold. He held in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, such as the *Arabs* used in divination. But for a full and ample account of the idolatry of the *Arabs*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the ancient history of that nation, and to our future relation of the principal transactions of the eighth year of the *Hejra*<sup>c</sup>.

d AFTER *Abu Sofiân's* return to *Mecca*, he desired a truce with the *Moslems*; which was granted him by the prophet. In the mean time, *Mohammed* caused the body of *Hamza Ebn*

A truce between Mohammed and Abu Sofiân.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. AL BERAI apud AL Bokhâr. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed ubi sup. p. 64—69.

<sup>b</sup> ABU'LFED.

Al Kor. MOHAM. AL JANNAB. GREG. ABUL-FAR. AL Bokhâr. ubi sup. AL BEIDAWI, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 359—363. Vide etiam EBN AMID, ubi sup. Disputat. Christian. c. 5. GREG. ABUL-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 185. <sup>c</sup> AL BEIDAWI, AL JANNAB. p. 111. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 68. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 95. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, SAPIO'DDIN. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 63. & Universal. Hist. vol. xviii. c. xxi. p. 378—390. Lond. 1748.



*Abd'al Motalleb* to be interred, after having decently covered it with a black cloak. Some authors relate, that the *Koreish* abused the dead body of *Hamza*, by taking out his bowels, cutting off his ears and nose; which when *Mohammed* saw, he swore that if God granted him success, he would retaliate those cruelties on seventy of the *Koreish*; but he was afterwards, as the same writers infer from the *Korân*, expressly forbidden by God to put his design in execution. According to *Abu'l feda*, *Mohammed* prayed for the repose of every *Moslem's* soul who fell in the battle of *Obod*; which demonstrates, continues this author, that *Abu Hanîfa* was in the right, when he asserted the expediency of prayers for the martyrs; tho' the famous *Al Shâfeï*, a *Moslem* doctor celebrated for his knowledge in all parts of learning, was of a different opinion. The blow at *Obod* had liked to have proved the total ruin of *Mohammed's* affairs, and put an end to all his towering projects. For some of his followers pretended, that if he had been really a prophet sent by God, he could not have received such an overthrow from the infidel *Koreish*; and others were rendered furious by the loss of their friends and relations, who had been slain in the late engagement. But the more effectually to still the murmurs of the former, he attributed the defeat at *Obod* to the sins of some of the *Moslems*, who bore a share in that unfortunate action; and, to pacify the latter, he represented to them, that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God; and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith, and were consequently translated to the regions of eternal bliss. Which last doctrine *Mohammed* made great use of in the *Korân*; the latter part of the third chapter of which book he pretended was communicated to him to raise the drooping courage of his followers, after the defeat at *Obod*, for the advancement of his designs. For by the assistance of this, he encouraged his adherents to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them, that all their caution would not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment. By the same means he likewise deterred them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, as setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the just judgment of God, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy. Nor has this doctrine of God's absolute decree and predestination of both good and evil ceased generally to prevail among the *Mohammedans* ever since the time of their prophet; tho' it must be owned, that some of their most celebrated divines, looking upon the notion of such absolute election and reprobation as derogatory to the goodness and justice of God, and even as making him the author of sin, have not scrupled to maintain the contrary opinion \*.

Mohammed  
harraſſes the  
Aſadites;

Soon after the commencement of the fourth year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed*, received intelligence, that *Taliba* and *Salama*, two chiefs of the *Aſadites*, had drawn together a body of men, in order to make an incursion upon the territory of *Medina*. He therefore detached fifty men, under the command of *Abu Salama Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Makhzumite*, to repress the courses of these robbers. *Abu Salama* taking *Walid Ebn Nozeira*, the *Tayite*, with him for his guide, soon entered the district of the *Aſadites*, where he committed great depredations; carrying off their shepherds, cattle, &c. without opposition. Some of the former, however, making their escape, informed their masters of what had happened; who thereupon immediately abandoned their habitations, of which the *Moslems* made themselves masters; and having thoroughly pillaged the country, returned loaded with spoil to *Medina*. This the prophet, after he had rewarded the guide for his fidelity, and reserved a fifth part for his own use, in conformity to what he had enjoined in the *Korân*, distributed amongst the persons concerned in the expedition; and it was so considerable, that seven camels, and a great number of sheep, fell to every man's share. This party was absent from *Medina* only ten days \*.

and aſſaſſinates  
Soſiân Ebn  
Khâled.

ABOUT the same time *Mohammed* was informed, that *Soſiân Ebn Khâled*, the *Hodbeilite*, was making preparations to attack him; he therefore gave *Abd'allah Ebn Onaïs*, surnamed *Dhu'l Mahdbrat*, that is, a man fit for any enterprize, a commission to assassinate him. This *Abd'allah* happily executed in the month of *Al Moharram*, at a place called *Batu Arna*, in the valley of *Orsa*; which so pleased *Mohammed*, that, when *Abd'allah* imparted the news of it to him, he gave him, in token of friendship, the cane he had in his hand; which *Abd'allah* ever afterwards carried about with him, and had it interred with him after his death \*.

He ſends miſſionaries to the towns of Edhl and Al Kâra;

IN the month of *Safar*, the same year, deputies arrived at *Medina* from the towns of *Edhl* and *Al Kâra*; who, in the names of their principals, requested *Mohammed* to send some missionaries, to instruct them in the principles of the new religion. He therefore ordered the following six missionaries to attend him home: *Thâbet Ebn Abu'l Aſlah*, *Khobaïb Ebn*

\* ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 68. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, EBN KHALECAN. Vide etiam POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 294. 295, & alibi. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. f. xcvi. et alibi. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RICAUT'S hist. of the present state of the Ottoman empire, book ii. c. 3. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 6:.

\* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 113. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 114.



a *Ada, Morthad Ebn Abu Morthad, the Anwite, Khâled Al Bokeir, the Laiibite, Zeid Ebn Al Dathnata, and Abd'allah Ebn Târek.* Out of these he selected *Morthad Ebn Abu Morthad* to preside over the rest, and consequently appointed him the superior of the mission <sup>2</sup>.

UPON their arrival at a place called *Al Raji*, a fountain belonging to the *Hodheilites*, the deputies fell upon the *Moslems*, whom *Mohammed* had sent with them; to instruct their countrymen, and killed three of them upon the spot, making at the same time the other three prisoners. One of these last they afterwards stoned to death; because he attempted to make his escape. The other two they sold to the *Koreish*, who put them to death soon after their arrival at *Mecca* <sup>a</sup>.

IN the same month of *Safar*, the prophet sent *Al Mondar Ebn Omar*, with seventy missionaries, amongst whom was *Amer Ebn Fokeira*, *Abu Becr's* servant, to the province of *Najd*. As soon as they arrived at *Bir Ma'ûna*, a place about four days journey distant from *Medina*, they sent the prophet's letter, directed to *Amer Ebn Al Toseil*, who presided over the *Arabs* of *Najd*, to that prince; who slew the messenger that brought it, and then marched with a body of troops against the missionaries. These he soon came up with, and put all of them to the sword, except *Caab Ebn Zeid*, who afterwards fell in the battle of *the ditch*. After this, *Mohammed* formed a design to assassinate his inveterate and most implacable enemy *Abu Sofiân*; but *Anru Ebn Ommeya*, the *Dhamrite*, the person employed on this occasion, was discovered before he could carry it into execution. By such barbarous and inhuman means did the pretended prophet, or rather the infamous impostor, attempt to propagate his religion; when he found that milder methods proved ineffectual <sup>b</sup>.

THE next expedition undertaken by *Mohammed* was that against the *Jews* of the tribe of *Al Nadir*, who dwelt in *Medina*, and when *Mohammed* fled thither from *Mecca*, promised him to stand neuter between him and his opponents, and concluded a treaty with him to that purpose. When he had gained the battle of *Bedr*, they confessed that he was the prophet described in the law: but, upon his receiving the disgrace at *Obod*, they changed their note; and *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, with forty horse, went and made a league with *Abu Sofiân*, which they confirmed by oath. Upon this, *Mohammed* got *Caab* dispatched, and, in the fourth year of the *Hejra*, set forward against *Al Nadir*, and besieged them in their fortrefs, which stood about three miles from *Medina*, for six days; at the end of which they capitulated, and were allowed to depart, on condition that they should intirely quit that place. They marched out accordingly with drums beating; &c. some of them retiring into *Syria*, and others to *Kbaibar* and *Hira*. The commentators on the *Korân* pretend that the fifty-ninth chapter of that book was revealed from heaven on occasion of this war. 'Tis remarkable, that *Mohammed* took the whole booty to himself, and disposed of it as he pleased after the *Jews* evacuated the territory of *Medina*, because no horses or camels were made use of in this expedition; the reason of which has been already assigned. It ought to be observed here, that the prophet divided the spoil amongst the *Mohâjerîn* almost solely, none of the *Ansârs* being allowed to partake of it, except *Sahal Ebn Hasfa* and *Abu Dabana*, who were persons of uncommon merit and integrity, tho' reduced to a necessitous condition. The *Banu Nadir* defended their fortrefs with great bravery, repulsing the besiegers in several attacks, in hopes that they should be succoured by the troops under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Abu Solûl*, of the tribe of *Kbazraj*; but he could not arrive soon enough with his forces to oblige the *Moslems* to raise the siege <sup>c</sup>.

ABOUT this time, according to *Abu'lfeda*, that passage of the *Korân*, prohibiting the use of wine, and all inebriating liquors, as well as all games of chance, was revealed to *Mohammed*. Both these practices seem to have been forbidden for the same reasons, viz. to prevent quarrels and disturbances; as also any neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performances of religious duties. And, indeed, these are assigned as the true reasons of the prohibition in the *Korân*. Had either an indifferency with regard to religion, or any animosities amongst the professors of *Islamism*, at that time, prevailed, the pretended prophet must then have infallibly fallen a sacrifice to the fury of his enraged and implacable enemies; or rather to his own avarice, barbarity, and insatiable ambition. Nay, we are told by some good authors, that several of the leaders of the *Moslems*, being heated with wine, and deeply engaged at play, did, at this time, actually quarrel amongst themselves; which was near proving fatal to the impostor. And this, in reality, seems to have been the immediate cause of the negative precept now before us; tho' Mr. Sale, in opposition to some good authors, with his usual candour, more than insinuates the contrary. So unwilling is he to see any thing crafty or self-interested in his hero's conduct, even tho' by this manifest partiality, in some respect, he seems to weaken the authority of the *Korân* <sup>d</sup>.

BE

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. 33. p. 69. ABU HOREIRA, AL BOKHAR. in Son. ut et ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxxiv. p. 70. AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 70. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xxxv. p. 71.

ABU SALID AL NAISABURIENS, AL WAKEDI, ABU ZEID. in lib. splendor. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii. & f. lix. AL JANNAB. JALLALO'DDIN, EBN AMID, AL EE.DAWI, GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 102. <sup>e</sup> ISM.

ABU'LFED.



The Moham-  
medans at  
present abstain  
from inebriat-  
ing liquors.

BE this as it will, the drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is more than once forbidden in the *Korân*. Some indeed have imagined that excess therein is only prohibited; and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book. But the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or a greater, is absolutely unlawful. Nay, the more conscientious *Mohammedans* are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, that they hold it criminal not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of that liquor. *Spanheim* and *Reland* have observed, from a MS. of *Levinus Warnerus*, formerly in the public library at *Leyden*, but now not to be met with there, that the ancient *Arabs* abstained from wine before the birth of *Mohammed* <sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed  
surprises a  
party of the  
Ghatfânites.

IN the month called the *former Jomâda*, this year, *Mohammed* marched with a body of 400 men, or, as others say, 700, into the province of *Najd*. This expedition he undertook against the *Banu Mohareb* and *Tha'alba*, of the tribe of *Ghatfân*; a body of whom he surprised at a place called *Dbât Al Rekâ*, that is, *the place of infatuation*; because they fled at his approach with as much precipitation as if they had been infatuated. About the same time the prophet narrowly escaped being assassinated by one of the *Banu Mohareb*, according to *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Jannâbi* <sup>b</sup>.

The second ex-  
pedition of  
Bedr.

IN the month of *Sbaabân*, *Mohammed* marched at the head of a body of infantry to *Bedr*, there to meet *Abu Sofiân*, and the *Koreish*, according to their challenge the preceding year. *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* carried the standard before him, and arrived with him at *Bedr*, where they staid eight days, in expectation of seeing *Abu Sofiân*. On the other hand, that commander advanced with the *Koreish* forces as far as *Asha Al Tarîk*, on the road to *Bedr*; but when he arrived there, his heart failed him, and he returned home without facing the prophet. Others say, that he reached *Makhaba*, in the territory of *Thohrân* and *Osfân*; but did not judge it proper to proceed to the place of appointment. *Mohammed* imputed the cowardice of the *Koreish* troops, on this occasion, to their being struck with a terror from God. This expedition the *Arabian* histories call the *second*, or *lesser expedition of Bedr* <sup>c</sup>.

A second son  
born to Ali.

ACCORDING to *Al Kodai* and *Al Jannâbi*, as cited by Mr. *Gagnier*, *Mohammed* contracted an engagement with *Zeinab* and *Omm Salma* this year; tho' others are of a different opinion. This year also *Ali* had a second son born, whom he named *Al Hosein*. With regard to the prophet's wives, our readers may expect a fuller account of them hereafter <sup>d</sup>.

Mohammed  
possesses himself  
of Dawmat  
Al Jandal.

SOON after the commencement of the fifth year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* marched against a body of wild *Arabs*, seated on the confines of *Syria*, who infested the roads to such a degree, pillaging all the passengers they met with, and committing so many violences in the neighbouring parts of *Arabia*, that commerce suffered greatly from their depredations. Having formed a corps of 1,000 men, he advanced to *Dawmat Al Jandal*, a town belonging to these *Arabs*, which they abandoned at his approach. Having carried off many of their shepherds, and head of cattle, he possessed himself of the town; where he staid some days, to repose himself and his troops. Then he returned to *Medina*, enriched with the enemy's spoils, and extremely pleased with the success of the expedition <sup>e</sup>.

The war of  
the ditch.

BUT in the month of *Shawâl*, this same year, that is, the fifth of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* and his followers were all threatened with utter destruction. The *Koreish* and the tribe of *Ghatfân*, in conjunction with the *Jews* of *Al Nadîr* and *Koreidha*, assembled an army of 12,000 men, with which they formed the siege of *Medina*. On the enemies approach, *Mohammed*, by the advice of *Salmân the Persian*, ordered a deep ditch or intrenchment to be dug round *Medina*, for the security of the city, and went out to defend it with 3,000 men. In the mean time, the pagan *Arabs*, under the command of *Yusef*, the brother of *Abu Sofiân*, drew near to the intrenchment with all their forces. The *Ghatfânites* pitched on the east side of the town, on the higher part of the valley; and the *Koreish* on the west side, on the lower part of the same valley. Both sides remained in their respective camps near a month, without any other acts of hostility than shooting of arrows, and slinging of stones; which produced no great effect. During this interval, many illustrious miracles were wrought, or, rather, many prodigies happened, according to the *Moslem* writers; all which *Mohammed's* adherents interpreted in favour of the prophet. The *Koreish* army, before they took post near the intrenchment that covered the town, incamped at *Rawna*, between *Jarf* <sup>f</sup>.

ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 72. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. v. 219, & f. v. v. 99. JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL KODAI, POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 157. Fortalit. fidei, lib. vi. conf. 5. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom p. 62—64. SALE's prelim. discours. sect. v. p. 122—127. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup. f. v.

<sup>c</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup. f. ii. & f. v. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 696. SMITH. de morib. & instit. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 28, &c. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse. tom. ii. p. 212. SPANHEM. & LEVIN. WARNER, apud Hadr. Reland. de relig. Moham. p. 269, 270, 271, ut & ipse RELAND. ibid. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. p. 72.

<sup>d</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 72. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 119.

<sup>e</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 121. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xxxvii. p. 73.

<sup>f</sup> AL KODAI, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 124. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>1</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 122.



a and *Regaba*, about two miles from *Medina*, where they formed a plan of the military operations; but performed nothing worth relating, either there or before *Medina*, during the time above-mentioned. But at last, say some of the *Arab* writers, God sent a piercing cold east wind, which benumbed the limbs of the confederates, blew the dust in their faces, extinguished their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horses in disorder. The angels at the same time, continue our authors, cried, ALLAH ACBAR, GOD IS GREAT, round about their camp; whereupon *Toleiba Ebn Kbowailed*, the *Asadite*, said aloud, Mohammed is going to attack you with incantments; wherefore provide for your safety by flight. This so affected the enemy, that the *Koreish* first, and afterwards the *Ghatfimites*, broke up the siege, and returned home. Which retreat was also not a little owing to the dissensions  
b among the confederate forces; the raising and fomenting whereof the *Mohammedans* also ascribe to God; but others, to the crafty conduct of the impostor, who found means to corrupt the leading men in the enemies camp. Immediately after which, *Amru Ebn Abdül*, one of the principal men of the *Koreish*, and an exceeding good horseman, say these last, rode up to *Mohammed's* trenches, and challenged the best man in the *Moslem* army to fight him in single combat. *Ali*, the prophet's nephew, accepted the challenge, and slew both him and another that came to his assistance. After which, those who had been corrupted by *Mohammed's* agents, so soured a considerable part of their forces, that they instantly deserted their camp, and put themselves in march for *Mecca*; which obliged all the rest to do the like. Thus was the pretended prophet happily extricated out of the greatest difficulties in which perhaps he had ever been involved<sup>k</sup>.

EARLY the next morning *Hodeifa Ebn Yamîn*, one of *Mohammed's* spies, arrived from the enemies camp with the news of their precipitate retreat; which so pleased the prophet, that he took him into his more particular confidence, and ever afterwards treated him with uncommon marks of distinction. To him, in conjunction with *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who was afterwards *Khalîf*, or, as *Al Fannâbi* styles him, the *Emir*, or emperor of the faithful, he communicated in secret the mysteries and heavenly revelations that were imparted to him; and particularly those that related to the true meaning of several passages in the *Korân*. It is related, that when *Mohammed* heard that his enemies were retired, he said, I have obtained success by means of the east wind, and Ad perished by the west wind. The *Arab* writers term  
d this expedition the war *Al Khandak*, or *Al Abzâb*, that is, of the ditch, or of the nations; the former of which appellations alludes to the ditch or intrenchment *Mohammed* caused to be dug round *Medina*, for the security of the place, and the latter, to the number of *Arab* tribes, or petty nations, that entered into a confederacy against him<sup>l</sup>.

THE next morning, after the confederate forces had decamped, *Mohammed* and his troops quitting the intrenchment, returned to *Medina*, and, laying down their arms, began to refresh themselves after their fatigue. Upon which the angel *Gabriel* came to the prophet, as he pretended, having formed a resolution to extirpate the *Koreidhites*, and asked him whether he had suffered his people to lay down their arms, when the angels had not laid down theirs; ordering him, at the same time, to go immediately against the *Koreidhites*, and  
e assuring him that himself would lead the way. *Mohammed*, in obedience to the divine command, having caused public proclamation to be made, that every one should pray that afternoon for success against the sons of *Koreidha*, settled the plan of the military operations with *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and appointed *Ebn Omm Maetum* commandant of *Medina*, set forward on the expedition without loss of time. He first took post at a place called *Dhâ Enâ*, where he was joined by the remainder of his troops, and then continued his march to the fortress of the *Koreidhites*. This he besieged in form, and pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that, though the place seemed impregnable, he obliged the garison to capitulate at the end of twenty-five days; tho' some affirm that he spent the whole month of *Dbu'kaada* in carrying on his approaches. Be that as it will, the *Koreidhites*, not daring to trust to *Mohammed's* mercy, surrendered at the discretion of *Saad Ebn Moâdh*; hoping that he, being the prince of the tribe of *Aws*, their old friends and confederates, would have some regard for them. But they found themselves disappointed in their expectations. For, *Saad* being greatly incensed at their breach of faith, they having, at the incessant persuasion of *Caab Ebn Asad*, a principal man amongst them, perfidiously gone over to the *Koreish* in the war of the ditch, tho' they were then in league with *Mohammed*, had begged of God that he might not die of the wound he had received in that war, till he saw vengeance taken on the *Koreidhites*. He therefore adjudged, that the men should be put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and their goods be divided amongst the *Moslems*. Which sentence when *Mohammed* heard, he cried out, that *Saad* had pronounced the sentence of God; and, in consequence of this decision, ordered the men, to the number of 6 or 700, amongst  
f

News of the enemies retreat brought by *Hodeifa Ebn Yamîn*.

*Mohammed cuts off the tribe of Koreidha.*

<sup>k</sup> ABU'LEFD. ubi sup. c. xxxviii. p. 73. FEN AMID, & GREG. ABU'LE-FAR. ubi sup. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 124, &c. AL KOR. MOHAM. c. xxxiii. AL BEIDAWI, EFN ISHAK. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ISM ABU'LEFD. ubi sup. c. xxxix. p. 73. ABU ZEID SEID, in lib. Splendor.



whom were *Hoyai Ebn Akbtah*, a great enemy of *Mohammed's*, and *Caab Ebn Asad*, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of their tribe, to be immediately massacred. The women and children also were carried into captivity. Their immoveable possessions *Mohammed* gave to the *Mohajerin*; saying, that the *Ansars* were in their own houses, but that the others were destitute of habitations. The moveables were divided amongst his followers; but he remitted the fifth part, which was usual to be taken in other cases. The *Moslems* attribute the good success they met with in this war to the assistance of the angel *Gabriel*, who, according to his promise, conducted *Mohammed's* army to the scene of action. They pretend, that *Mohammed*, a little before his arrival at the fortress of the *Koreidbites*, asking some of his men whether any body had passed by them, they answered, that *Dohya Ebn Kholcifa*, the *Calbite*, had just passed by them: to which he replied, *that person was the angel Gabriel, who is sent to the sons of Koreidha, to shake their castles, and to strike their hearts with fear and consternation.* We must not omit observing, that *Saad's* wound, which had been skinned over, opening again, he expired soon after judgment had been given against the *Koreidbites*; nor that the *Moslems* lost only six men in the war of *the ditch*, and no more than one in the expedition against the *Banu Koreidha*, which was undertaken in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and the fifth year of the *Hejra*<sup>m</sup>.

The great barbarity and impiety of Mohammed.

THE spoils of the *Koreidbites* consisted principally of 300 cuirasses, 1,000 lances, and 1,500 pikes, besides other moveables and utensils, which the prophet distributed amongst his troops. As for the prisoners, they were conducted into the province of *Najd* by *Saad Ebn Zeid*, the *Ansar*, who was ordered either to sell them, or change them for horses and arms. But before they were sent away, the prophet took out of them a young lady, called *Rihana Bint Amru*, the most charming and beautiful of all the female captives, whom, with some difficulty, he prevailed upon to become a *Mohammedan*, and retained her afterwards for his own use. About this time, *Mohammed* formed a design to assassinate a Jew, called *Salim Ebn Abu'l Hakik*, who, after the war of *the ditch*, retired to *Khaibar*; which, by the assistance of *Abd'allah Ebn Atik*, and four other ruffians of the tribe of *Khazraj*, he was enabled to carry into execution. By such horrid facts as this, and the inhuman butchery of the *Banu Koreidha*, which is most impiously celebrated in the *Koran* as the immediate effect of the divine omnipotence, did *Mohammed* endeavour to propagate amongst the *Arabs* his new religion; a religion worthy of the father of lies, who was himself from the beginning a murderer, of the barbarous means, and most shocking delusions, made use of to introduce it; and, lastly, of that infernal wretch, permitted by Providence, for the sins of the *Christian* world, to be the immediate instrument of the propagation and extension of it<sup>n</sup>!

Mohammed takes Zeinab to wife.

BEFORE we conclude our relation of the transactions of this remarkable year, our readers will expect a short account of *Mohammed's* marriage with *Zeinab*, which happened towards the close of it; especially as that affair shews the impostor, whose life we are now writing, to have been as much addicted to sensuality, on some occasions, as he was on others to cruelty. *Zeinab*, then, or *Zenobia*, was the daughter of *Jabash*, and wife of *Zeid*, *Mohammed's* freed-man, who was of the tribe of *Calb*, a branch of the *Khodaites*, descended from *Hamyar*, the son of *Saba*. The mother of *Zeinab*, it is said was *Anima*, the daughter of *Abd'al Motaleb*, and *Mohammed's* aunt. *Zeid* being taken in his childhood by a party of wild *Arabs*, of the *Banu Al Ka'in*, was bought by *Mohammed*, or, according to others, by his wife *Khadijah*, before she married him. Some years after, his father, *Hareth Ebn Shorheil Ebn Abd'al Ozza Ebn Amru Al Ka'is*, being informed that his son was at *Mecca*, took a journey thither, and offered a considerable sum of money for his ransom. But *Zeid* declaring that he would not leave his master, *Mohammed* took him by the hand, and led him to the black stone of the *Caaba*, where he publicly adopted him for his son, and constituted him his heir. From this time *Zeid* was called the son of *Mohammed*; with which his father acquiesced, and returned home well satisfied. After the publication of *Islamism*, the prophet gave him to wife *Zeinab*, the daughter of *Jabash*, with whom he lived happily several years. But *Mohammed* at last going to his house on some affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally cast his eyes on *Zeinab*, who was then in a dress which discovered her beauty to advantage, and was so smitten at the sight, that he could not forbear crying out, *God be praised, who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaseth!* He made no other discovery of his passion at that time, but immediately retired<sup>v</sup>.

HOWEVER, *Zeinab* did not want penetration enough to discover that she made a conquest of *Mohammed*. Nor did she fail to acquaint her husband with what had happened, on his return home. Whereupon *Zeid*, after mature reflection, resolved to part with her, in favour of his benefactor. He therefore gave out publicly, that he did not retain any manner of affection for *Zeinab*; he even endeavoured to conceive a sort of aversion for

<sup>m</sup> ABU'LFED, ubi sup. c. xxxix. p. 77—80. AL JANNAB. p. 130, 137, &c. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup. EBN ISHAK, AL BOGHARI in Sonna.

<sup>n</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup.

<sup>v</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup. AL JANNAB. p. 194, &c. AL BEIDAWI. JALLALO'DDIN.

her,



- a her, and to heighten this in proportion as he perceived the love of the prophet to increase. In fine, he informed *Mohammed* of the resolution he had taken; who, apprehending the scandal it might raise, offered to dissuade him from it, and endeavoured to stifle the flames which inwardly consumed him. But, at length, his love for her being authorized by a pretended revelation, which is contained in the thirty-third chapter of the *Korân*, he acquiesced; and, after the term of her divorce was expired, finding himself at full liberty to satisfy his passion, he affianced himself to her. This was soon succeeded by marriage, and that by enjoyment. Nothing could exceed the splendour and magnificence of the nuptial banquet given by the prophet on this happy occasion, to which an infinite number of both sexes were invited. All the most costly viands that could be procured, all the more rare and exquisite fruits that *Arabia* and the neighbouring countries produced, all the most elegant dainties that the *Arabs* were capable of furnishing him with, then made their appearance upon the prophet's table. Nor was there wanting either plenty, or variety, of the most delicious liquors. But, notwithstanding this superb festin, and the vast numbers of people who came to facilitate *Mohammed* on the day it was prepared, this marriage gave great offence to many of his followers. For the relation between him and *Zeid*, tho' only fictitious, created an impediment of marriage among the old *Arabs* within the prohibited degrees, in the same manner as if it had been real; and therefore *Mohammed's* taking his adopted son's wife, could not but give great uneasiness to many even of the *Moslems* themselves. However, in order to remove all ill impressions conceived against him on this account, c he took upon him to abolish an established custom, as he did on this occasion, by an express declaration in the *Korân*, and even to introduce God himself as authorizing an illegal action; than which a more profane and impious measure, for the gratification of a turbulent and unruly passion, could not well have been devised <sup>p</sup>.

THE next year, that is, the sixth of the *Hejra*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, the prophet sent *Mohammed Ebn Salama* with a party of 30 horse against a small detachment of the *Banu Becr Ebn Kelâb*, who had posted themselves at *Al Dbaria*, a place about seven days journey from *Medina*, on the road from *Mecca* to *Bosra*. *Mohammed* departed from *Medina* on the tenth day of the aforesaid month, and marched with so much diligence, that he surprised the enemy, before they had any notice of his approach. Some of them f he killed upon the spot, took *Themâma* their commander prisoner, and put the rest to flight. The booty he acquired on this occasion consisted of 50 camels, and 3,000 sheep, with which he returned in triumph to *Medina*. These the prophet distributed amongst the men concerned in the late action, after he had reserved a fifth part of them for himself. *Mohammed Ebn Salama*, with his men, spent only nine days in this expedition <sup>q</sup>.

UPON *Themâma's* declaring himself a *Moslem*, he had his liberty given him by the prophet, and immediately returned to the people over whom he presided. In return for *Mohammed's* kindness to him, he made incursions upon the *Koreish*, and frequently intercepted their convoys of corn that came from the province of *Tamâma*. These hostilities reduced the *Koreish* to such streights for want of provisions, that they sent a deputation to the prophet, to desire him to have pity upon them, and put a stop to *Themâma's* depredations. This, says *Al Jannâbi*, he generously did, by writing to that chief to this effect: *Preserve my people, and let their convoys pass without interruption*. Which order was punctually obeyed for the future by *Themâma* <sup>r</sup>.

IN the month of the former *Jomâda* this year, the prophet undertook an expedition against the *Banu Labiân*, to revenge the wrongs they had done to the inhabitants of *Raji*. In order the more effectually to surprise them, he made a feint as tho' he would have passed towards the borders of *Syria*; but immediately afterwards making a counter-march, he came suddenly upon them. However, he found them upon their guard, and intrenched upon the heights, to which they had fled upon the first rumour of his march. Finding that he d could not attack them, without too much exposing his troops, he advanced to *Osfan* at the head of 200 horse, to alarm the people of *Mecca*; which having done, he returned without any loss home to *Medina* <sup>s</sup>.

A Few days after his arrival at *Medina*, *Osna Ebn Hesan*, the *Farârite*, with a party of the *Banu Ghatfân*, chiefly horse, carried off some of the prophet's camels, that were passing through the territory of *Ghâba*. One of the *Banu Ghatfân*, that attended them, they also put to the sword. Of which *Mohammed* having notice given him by *Amru Ebn Al Actwa*, the *Assamite*, he immediately detached a party of horse in pursuit of the plunderers; who soon coming up with them, killed all that made any resistance, put the rest to flight, and brought off some of the camels that the *Ghatfânites* had seized <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. iv. c. 3. p. 416—422.

JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 139.

<sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xl. p. 80.

ubi sup. p. 140. EB AMID, GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup.

A. JANNAB. ubi sup.

<sup>s</sup> AL

AL JANNAB.

<sup>t</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xli. p. 80.



The expedition  
of Dhu Kard.

SOME time after, the prophet set out from *Medina*, having before constituted *Saad Ebn Abâda* commandant of the place in his absence, at the head of 500 men, or, as others say, 700, and took post at *Dhu Kard*, about two days journey distant from *Medina*, on the road to *Khaibar*. Here he was joined by another body of the *Moslem* forces, which enabled him to make an incursion upon the enemies territory, to retake the remainder of his own camels, and to disperse a considerable party of the infidel *Arabs*, that pretended to oppose him. He also pillaged the adjacent country, and carried off such a number of camels, that he regaled his forces with them, killing one camel for every hundred men. After which he returned to *Medina*, having before left in it 300 men, under the command of *Saad*, for the defence of the place<sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed  
makes an in-  
cursion into the  
country of the  
Banu Asad.

AFTERWARDS the prophet sent *Acasba Ebn Mobasen*, the *Asadite*, to make a course upon the territory of *Ghemar Marzuk*, a well or fountain belonging to the *Banu Asad*, two days journey from *Keid*, a station of the *Moslem* pilgrims who visit *Mecca*. *Acasba* had only with him 40 men; and yet the enemy fled at the first rumour of his march. However, the *Moslems* entered the infidels country, and carried off 200 camels. But this advantage was more than ballanced by the loss of a small detachment of ten men, under the conduct of *Mohammed Ebn Salama*, which was cut to pieces by 100 men of the *Banu Thaalûa*, who surrounded them at *Dhu'l Kasa*, about twenty-four miles from *Medina*. To revenge which affront, the prophet detached *Abu Obeida Ebn Al Jarab*, with forty men, to make an irruption into the enemies country; which he did with so much success, that he obliged a body of them, who waited his approach, to fly into the mountains. They fled with so much precipitation, that *Abu Obeida* could only make one prisoner, who regained his liberty, by declaring himself a *Moslem*<sup>b</sup>.

He seizes a  
rich caravan,  
and sends an  
agent to Con-  
stantinople.

IN the month of the former *Jomâda*, the same year, *Mohammed* being apprized that a rich caravan of the *Koreish* was on its return from *Syria*, he sent *Zeid Ebn Hâretha* with 70 men to attack it. *Zeid*, in pursuance of his orders, advanced to *Al Ais*, four days journey from *Medina*; where lying in ambuscade, as soon as the caravan came up, he rushed out upon it, and made himself master of it, without the loss of a man. He also seized upon a large sum of money, which belonged to *Safwân Ebn Ommeyya*, and made some of the escorte prisoners; amongst which was *Abu'l As*, whom he released, at the request of *Zeinab*, and restored all the effects taken from him. About the same time, the prophet likewise sent *Dobya Ebn Kholeifa*, the *Calbite*, his principal factor, in the quality of agent, to *Constantinople*, to obtain the emperor *Heraclius's* permission to trade with his subjects; which that prince immediately granted him. On his return home, he was plundered by *Al Honeid Ebn Ardh*, the *Dobaite*, and his son *Udh*, in the valley of *Hesma*, belonging to the *Jodhamites*. But the *Dhobaibites*, a considerable family, the issue of the *Rafa'a Ebn Zeid*, the *Jodhamite*, obliged *Al Honeid* to restore every thing he had taken from *Dobya*. After which, the latter continued his journey, without interruption, to *Medina*; and, upon his arrival there, acquainted the prophet with what had happened. This so incensed him, that he sent *Zeid Ebn Hâretha* with a detachment of 500 men against *Al Honeid Ebn Ardh*; who coming up with them early in the morning, defeated his troops, put *Al Honeid* and his son, together with several of their men, to the sword, and dispersed the rest. The *Moslems* also carried off the enemies wives and children, to the number of 200, and all their cattle. But *Mohammed* restored every thing that his men had taken, at the desire of the *Râfaïtes*, who had been extremely civil to *Dobya*, and likewise behaved with great generosity to the prophet's troops<sup>c</sup>.

Puts eight of  
the Orâinites  
to a cruel  
death.

SOON after this last expedition, eight of the *Orâinites* came to *Medina*, and embraced *Islamism*. Here they resided for some time; but finding that the air did not agree with them, they retired into the country where the prophet kept his cattle; and, by his prescription, drank the milk and the urine of his camels, for a disorder they laboured under, which restored them to their former health. In return for this kindness, they murdered his shepherd, and then seized upon the camels. The prophet being informed of this double crime, detached *Carze Ebn Jâber*, the *Febrite*, with a troop of horse, in pursuit of the robbers; who coming up with them before sun-set, brought them in chains to *Medina*. Upon which, *Mohammed* ordered their hands and their feet to be cut off, their eyes to be put out with a red hot iron, and their bodies to be fixed to a cross, where they miserably expired. A flagrant instance this of the savage and inhuman disposition of the pretended prophet, and consequently a demonstrative proof, exclusive of an infinity of others which might be produced, that his religion could not come from God<sup>d</sup>!

He attempts to  
convert some of  
the Christian  
Arabs.

IN this same year, that is, the sixth of the *Hejra*, the prophet resolved to make an attempt to bring some of the *Christian Arabs* over to the *Mohammedan* religion; however, in this attempt, he seemed determined at first not to employ force, but to have recourse only<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.  
p. 146.

<sup>b</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 144, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.



- a to methods of persuasion. For which purpose he appointed *Abd'al Rahmán Ebn Awf* superior of this pacific mission; and sent him in that quality to the *Banu Calb*, who inhabited the city of *Dawmat Al Jandal*, where *Mohammed* had been the preceding year. Here *Abd'al Rahmán* staid three days, and invited the citizens to embrace *Islamism*. His preaching had such an effect upon their prince, named *Asbag Ebn Amru*, the *Calbite*, who was a *Christian*, that he professed himself a *Moslem*; and the greatest part of his subjects followed his example. Those who chose to persevere in their old religion were excused, upon their paying a tribute, in conformity to the *Mohammedan* custom. *Abd'al Rahmán* espoused *Asbag's* daughter; who, after her husband's return to *Medina*, was brought to bed of a son, whom his father named *Abd'allah Al Asgar*. He became afterwards one of the great doctors of the *Mohammedan* law in the city of *Medina*, and was of the number of the *Al Tabcites*, or of those who immediately succeeded the first companions of the prophet. But of these we shall probably have occasion to speak more fully hereafter <sup>2</sup>.

In the mean time *Mohammed* received advice, that the *Banu Saad*, who inhabited the town and territory of *Fadac*, situated between *Khaibar* and *Cúfa*, had assembled a body of troops, in order to assist the *Jews* of *Khaibar*. He was no sooner apprized of this than he ordered *Ali Ebn Abu Táleb* to march at the head of 100 men, and disperse them. *Ali* executed his orders with great bravery; and, after he had put the enemy to flight, carried off 500 camels and 1,000 sheep. The flower of these he sent to the prophet, for his own use, and distributed the rest amongst his own troops. After which he returned to *Medina*, without meeting with a single enemy to impede his march <sup>2</sup>.

- In the month of *Sbaabân*, the same year, the *Banu Al Mostalek*, a powerful tribe of the *Arabs*, descended from *Cablân*, the son of *Saba*, the son of *Yashhab*, the son of *Yârab*, the son of *Kabtân*, the son of *Eber*, the son of *Salab*, the son of *Arphaxad*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, formed a considerable corps, in order to make war upon the *Moslems*. They were commanded by their prince *Al Hâreth Ebn Abu Dharâr*, the father of the beautiful *Joweira*, who was afterwards married to the prophet. Of this *Mohammed* being informed, he assembled a body of infantry, composed of the pagan *Arabs*, and a troop of 30 horse, consisting of 10 *Mohâjerîn* and 20 *Ansârs*; with which, attended by his two wives, *Ayesha* and *Omni Salma*, he marched against the enemy. After several movements, and a formal declaration of war, that preceded them, on the part of the *Moslems*, the two armies faced each other in the plain of *Al Moreisi*, so called from a fountain or well of the same name, belonging to the district of *Kodeid*, about five miles from the sea, and twenty-four from *Osfân*. The prince *Al Hâreth* advancing, at the head of a detachment, to reconnoitre the *Moslem* army, was slain by an arrow, before the beginning of the action; which, however, did not discourage his troops. For they immediately, notwithstanding this disaster, ranged themselves in order of battle, and the prophet, on his part, did the same. For an hour, the two armies engaged only by discharges of arrows; but, at last, the prophet having given the signal for the *Moslems* to advance, they fell upon the enemy sword in hand with such bravery, that they killed ten upon the spot, and forced all the rest to cry out for quarter, and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. This victory was so complete, that it would have appeared incredible, had it not been attested, as the *Moslems* pretend, by an ancient tradition; according to which, the angel *Gabriel* mounted on a bay horse, and dressed in white, greatly distinguished himself in the action. In the distribution of prisoners, *Joweira* fell to the lot of *Thâbet Ebn Kais*; of whom she was purchased by *Mohammed*, who took her to wife. This produced a sort of alliance between him and the *Mostalekites*, which was of considerable service to him. In consideration of that marriage, he released an hundred of the *Mostalekite* chiefs, who had been taken prisoners; and afterwards favoured that tribe on all occasions. The number of prisoners, including men, women, and children, taken in the battle of *Al Moreisi*, amounted to 200. Besides the captives, 5,000 sheep, and 1,000 camels, as also all the arms and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of the victors <sup>b</sup>.

THE loss the *Moslems* sustained in the late action was very inconsiderable; only *Heshâm*, of the *Banu Leith Ebn Becr*, falling in the field of battle; and he was killed by an *Ansâr*, who took him for an infidel, by mistake. However, his brother *Mekîas*, an idolater, coming from *Mecca*, pretended to embrace *Islamism*, that he might have an opportunity of revenging *Heshâm's* death; which, after he had done, by destroying the murderer, he returned home, and relapsed to his former idolatry. This so exasperated *Mohammed*, that, after the reduction of *Mecca*, he caused him to be put to death in cold blood. About this time, a dispute arose between *Jahja*, the *Ghafârite*, and *Sonân*, the *Jabanite*, which had like

<sup>2</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 147, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xlii. p.

80—82. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 150, &c. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. lxiii. v. 1—8, &c. GOL. lex. Arab. in *Al Mortafi*, &c. AL WAKEDI apud AL NAÏFABUR. ut & ipse NAÏFABUR. ibid. JALLALO'DDIN, BEN AMID. & GRIG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42.



to have produced fatal effects, as it was near involving in a quarrel the *Anfârs* and the *Mohâjerîn*. But *Mohammed* behaved with so much address to both parties, that he composed all differences between them, and prevented the effusion of blood that might otherwise have ensued <sup>c</sup>.

Gabriel assists  
the Moslems.

ACCORDING to *Al Wâkedi*, the *Moslem* troops appeared to *Joweira* to be much more numerous than they really were, before the beginning of the action; which the *Mohammedans* consider as a miracle exhibited in favour of their prophet. The same author also relates, that the angel *Gabriel* appeared in a white habit, mounted upon such a horse as had never before been seen, the moment *Mohammed* gave the signal of battle to his troops <sup>d</sup>.

The prophet  
marries  
Joweira.

IMMEDIATELY after the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, he celebrated his nuptials with *Joweira*; who, according to *Al Jannâbi*, had before been married to one of her cousin-germans. She was a lady of such wit and beauty, that *Mohammed*, notwithstanding the number of wives he already enjoyed, found it impossible to resist her charms; and therefore he resolved to marry her. She lived with him five, and survived him forty-five years, dying in the fifty-sixth year of the *Hejra*. After her death, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was commandant of *Medina* for the *Khalîf Moawiyah*, performed the funeral service at the time of her interment. She died at the age of sixty-three years; so that she must have been only thirteen years old at the battle of *Moreisi*, immediately after which the prophet espoused her. There are several traditions that go under her name in the pieces of *Al Bokhârî*, of *Moslem*, and others, which we have not time at present to touch upon <sup>e</sup>.

Ayesha  
accused of  
adultery.

DURING the preceding expedition an accident happened, that caused great inquietude to *Mohammed*, and no small uneasiness in his family. When the prophet entered upon any war, it was usual, before he began his march, for his wives to cast lots, to know which of them should attend him into the field. At this time the lot fell upon *Ayesha*; and she accordingly accompanied him in the expedition. The army being on its return home, and removing by night, *Ayesha*, on the road, not far from *Medina*, alighted from her camel, and stepped aside, on a private occasion. But, before she remounted her beast, perceiving she had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of *Dbafâr*, she went back to look for it. In the mean time, her attendants taking it for granted, that she was got into her pavilion, or little tent surrounded with curtains, wherein women are carried in the east, set it again on the camel, and carried it away. When she returned to the road, and found her camel gone, she walked to the next station of the army, but met with no living soul there. Upon which she resolved to take her repose in that place; imagining, that, when she was missed, some would be sent back to fetch her. In a little time, therefore, she fell asleep, and remained there all night. But early in the morning, *Safwân Ebn Al Moattel*, one of *Mohammed's* general officers, who had staid behind to rest himself, coming by, and perceiving some body asleep, went to see who it was, and immediately knew her to be *Ayesha*. Upon which, he waked her, by twice pronouncing with a low voice these words, *We are God's, and unto him we must return*. *Ayesha* then immediately covered herself with her veil; and *Safwân*, after he had dismounted his camel, set her thereon, walked on foot, and conducted her safely to the army, which they rejoined about noon, though greatly fatigued. This is the substance of *Ayesha's* relation of the whole affair, which has been transmitted down to us, amongst many other pretended authentic traditions in the *Sonna*, by *Al Bokhârî* <sup>f</sup>.

THIS accident made a great noise, and had like to have proved the ruin of *Ayesha*. For *Mestab Ebn Athâtha*, *Hasân Ebn Thâbet*, *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Solûl*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*, and *Omm Hafsa Bint Hajash*, being greatly surprised at the circumstances of the affair, loudly exclaimed against *Ayesha*, and directly accused her of adultery with *Safwân*. But the person *Ayesha* the most bitterly complained of, as he who the most cruelly pushed the accusation, gave it the most malicious turn, and coloured his story in the most artificial manner, in fine, who the most laboured the point, in order to chagrin the prophet, was *Abd'allah*. Nor did *Mohammed* himself know what to think of the affair, when he reflected upon all the circumstances of it, so suspicious and well-grounded did they appear to him. Neither could he get rid of his perplexity, nor stop the mouths of the censorious, notwithstanding his wife's protestations of her innocence. However, considering that if this accusation was generally believed, it might be looked upon by many of his enemies, who were then very numerous in *Arabia*, as an aspersion upon his own character, and contribute to the diminution of his authority; he took upon him, about a month after, to disculpate his wife, and intirely clear her reputation, by a pretended revelation from heaven, which is contained in the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*. This effectually silenced all her accusers, by declaring the accusation to be unjust, and brought down infamy upon them. <sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup.  
NAISABUR. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> AL WAKEDI apud Al Naïfabur. ubi sup. ut & ipse AL

<sup>e</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 150.

<sup>f</sup> AL BOKHARI in *Sonna*. AL BEIDAWI,

JALLALO'DDIN, ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xliii. p. 82—84. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiv.



- a For one of them, by *Mohammed's* order, was severely whipped, having had eighty stripes given him, in conformity to what we find enjoined in this very chapter of the *Korân*. But as for *Abd'allah Ebn Obba*, tho' more obnoxious than any of the rest, and more hated by *Aysha*, he had so much power and interest amongst the *Arabs*, that the pretended prophet did not at this time think fit to inflict any punishment upon him <sup>e</sup>.

- WE shall conclude what we have to say of the preceding war, with observing, that whilst the *Moslems* were engaged in it, *Mohammed* pretended to an order from heaven for the injunction of the *Tayamom*, or purification by rubbing, which is performed with dust, sand, or gravel, and supplies the place of the *Wodû*, called by the *Persians* *Abdest*, or ordinary ablution, in common cases, when no water is to be had. For the *Moslem* army b having been obliged to traverse dry sandy deserts, in this war, in order to keep up some appearance of cleanliness and decency amongst his troops, the prophet found it necessary to publish such an injunction. This *Mohammed* seems to have borrowed either of the *Jews*, or the pagan *Arabs*, who, long before his time, used such lustrations. But of this, and other positive precepts or institutions of the *Korân*, relating to faith and religious duties, we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter <sup>h</sup>.

- IN the sixth year of the *Hejra*, and the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, the prophet set out with 1,400 men to visit the temple of *Mecca*; not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. This is what we find given out by the *Moslem* writers; but that his views were not quite so pacific as they pretend, seems to appear from hence, that he summoned the tribes of *Aslam*, *Jobeinab*, *Mozeinab*, and *Ghifâr*, who, with the troops he commanded, would have formed a very considerable force, to attend him in this expedition. But they excusing themselves, by saying their families must suffer in their absence, and would be robbed of the little they had, staid behind; which probably induced the prophet to lay aside all outward appearances of an invasion; tho' even this might be with a view to attempt something by surprize. However, the *Koreish* were jealous, and not without good reason, as appears from the whole tenour of his conduct, of the prophet's designs; so that when he came to *Al Hodeibiya*, a place situated partly within, and partly without, the sacred territory, they sent to let him know, that they would not permit him to enter *Mecca*, unless he forced his way. Whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all d took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city. Of which the *Koreish* being informed by *Arwa Ebn Masûd*, whom they had dispatched to *Mohammed*, to acquaint him that they had put on their leopards skins, and sworn that he should never make a peaceable entry into *Mecca*; they began to alter their note, and even to sue for peace. *Mohammed*, therefore, sent *Othman Ebn Affân* to facilitate an accommodation; but, instead of listening to his proposals, they imprisoned him, and a report ran at first that he was slain. In the mean time, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, eighty *Meccans* came privately to *Mohammed's* camp, with an intent to surprize some of his men, or rather, as should seem, to reconnoitre the force he had with him; but they were taken and brought before the prophet, who pardoned them, and ordered them to be set at liberty. Hereupon the *Koreish* e sent *Sobail Ebn Amru*, and some others, to treat of peace; who were very stiff in wording the treaty that they afterwards concluded with *Mohammed*. For when the prophet ordered *Ali* to begin with the form, *In the name of the most merciful God*, they objected to it, and insisted, that he should begin with this, *In thy name, O God*; which *Mohammed* submitted to, and proceeded to dictate, *These are the conditions on which Mohammed the apostle of God has made peace with those of Mecca*: to this *Sobail* again objected, saying, *If we had acknowledged thee to be the apostle of God, we had not given thee any opposition*. Whereupon *Mohammed* commanded *Ali* to write, as *Sobail* desired, *These are the conditions which Mohammed the son of Abd'allah, &c.* This so disgusted the *Moslems*, that they were upon the point of breaking off the treaty. However, they at last acquiesced in what had been f done; being prevented, say the *Arab* writers, by God, from pursuing violent measures; who appeased and calmed their minds, as is intimated by the *Korân*. The terms of this pacification were, that there should be a truce for ten years; that any person might enter into a league with *Mohammed*, or with the *Koreish*, as he should think fit; and that *Mohammed* should have the liberty to visit the temple of *Mecca* the next year, for three days. After the signing of the treaty, the prophet remained about twenty days at *Al Hodeibiya*, and then the *Moslem* army decamped from that place, in order to begin its march for *Medina*; where it arrived in the month of *Dbu'lhajja*. We must not omit observing, that, according to *Al Beidarwi*, some hostilities were committed in this expedition; since this author assures us, that *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, whom *Mohammed* sent with

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. liv. iv. c. 7.

<sup>h</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 83. Al

Kor. MOHAM. f. v. v. 7, & alibi. COD. BERACHOTH. c. ii. in Gemar. fol. 15. 1. POC. not. miscel. ad portam Mosi, p. 356. 389, &c. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Moham. lib. i. c. 8. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 198. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 150.



a detachment against the *Koreish*, drove a body of 500 men, under the conduct of *Acerma* <sup>a</sup> *Ebn Abi Jabl*, who had advanced to *Al Hodeibiya*, to surprize the *Moslems*, back into the interior part of *Mecca*. But as this action has been passed over in silence by *Abu'lfeda*, whom we consider as an *Arab* historian of the best authority, we leave our readers to believe as much, or as little, of it as they please <sup>i</sup>.

*The spontaneous inauguration.* THE oath of fealty above-mentioned, or, as it is stiled by the *Arabs*, the spontaneous inauguration, is taken notice of in the *Korân*. During this ceremony the prophet sat under a tree, called by the *Arabs* *Hodbâ*, from whence the place where *Mohammed* encamped received its appellation, which some suppose to have been an *Egyptian* thorn, and others a kind of lote-tree. The word *Hodbâ* properly signifies, in *Arabic*, *crooked*, *bent*, *vaulted*, &c. and seems to have been applied to this tree, because its boughs were crooked, and extended <sup>b</sup> in the form of a bow, for the sake of a more convenient shade. *Al Makin*, or *Elmacinus*, remarks, that, after this event, it soon died, and was at last carried away by an inundation of waters <sup>k</sup>.

*The expedition against Omm Forka ;* BESIDES the expedition of *Al Hodeibiya*, several other transactions, less interesting and important, have been mentioned, as happening this year, by *Al Jannâbi*, tho' passed over in silence by *Abu'lfeda* ; some of which we shall beg leave here just to touch upon. *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, one of *Mohammed's* generals, was attacked on his return from *Syria*, where he had been on affairs of commerce, and plundered of many valuable effects, by a party of the *Banu Fazara*, as he passed through the territory of *Wadi'l Kora*, a town about seven days journey from *Medina*. As this district belonged to *Omm Forka*, the wife of *Malec* <sup>c</sup> *Ebn Hodeifa Ebn Bedr*, who held her residence in a fortified castle near *Wadi'l Kora*, *Zeid*, after his arrival at *Medina*, obtained of the prophet a body of troops, with which he soon invested that castle, and carried it by assault ; killing part of the garison, and making the rest prisoners of war. *Kais Ebn Mojasser*, the commandant, he loaded with irons, put *Omm Forka* herself to a cruel death, carried off with him all that lady's riches, which were immense, together with her daughter, then very young, and such a vast quantity of booty, that for the loss he had before sustained he made himself ample amends in this expedition <sup>l</sup>.

*and against the Banu Ghatfân.* IN the month *Shawâl*, the prophet received advice, that the *Banu Ghatfân*, in conjunction with some *Arab* tribes, had assembled a body of troops, in order to commit hostilities <sup>d</sup> against him. His spies at the same time informed him, that the *Jews* of *Khaibar* had reinforced that body ; and that they had chosen for their chief one *Osair Ebn Râzen*, a turbulent and ambitious fellow, in the room of *Salâm Ebn Abu'l Hakik*, whom he had caused to be assassinated the year before by some of the tribe of *Khazraj*. In order to get rid of this dangerous enemy, as well as all apprehensions on the part of the *Banu Ghatfân*, *Mohammed* sent a party of 30 men, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha*, towards *Khaibar*, to draw him into an ambuscade, and then destroy him. This *Abd'allah* at last effected, after having cut to pieces the escorte, consisting of 30 men, that attended him. *Osair* himself was killed by *Abd'allah Ebn Onais*, with a sword that he had hid under his garment for that purpose. The action happened at *Korka*, a place not far from *Khaibar* ; <sup>e</sup> after which *Ebn Rawâha* returned to *Medina*, without the loss of a single man on this occasion <sup>m</sup>.

*Zeid Ebn Hâretha makes an incursion upon the territory of Madian.* AT the same time, the prophet sent *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, with a detachment of his troops, to make an incursion upon the territory of *Madian*. This tract belongs to *Syria*, being posite to *Gaza*, and is mentioned both in the *Mosaic* history and the *Korân*. *Abu'lfeda* represents *Madian*, or *Midian*, as a ruined village on the coast of the *Red Sea*, about six days journey from *Tabûc*. It was formerly a city of *Hejâz*, and the habitation of a tribe of the same name. The ancient inhabitants were the descendants of *Midian*, the son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who afterwards, as it seems, coalesced with the *Ismaelites* ; *Moses* naming the same merchants who sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Ismaelites*, and in <sup>f</sup> another *Midianites*. This city, which stood to the south-east of mount *Sinai*, is doubtless the same with the *Modiana* of *Ptolemy*. There are eight stations between it and the frontiers of *Egypt*. What was remaining of it in *Mohammed's* time, was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars, and it remains desolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to shew the well whence *Moses* watered *Jethro's* flocks. *Zeid* being arrived at this place, met with a body of *Arabs*, that came from *Naba*, a town situated on the sea *Al Kolzom*, whom he immediately attacked. His men behaved with so much bravery on this occasion, that they soon dispersed them, killed some, and brought many prisoners to

<sup>i</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 84—87. AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AL BEIDAWI, 'AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 155—164. AL TABAR. JALLALO'DDIN, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xlvii. EBN AMID. <sup>k</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup. EBN AMID. five AL MAKIN, ubi sup. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 66. <sup>l</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 152. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. p. 153.



- a *Medina*. They also carried off a vast number of women and children, whom they sold for slaves, and a very considerable booty that they acquired in this expedition <sup>a</sup>.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions in which *Mohammed* was concerned <sup>The great respect shown</sup> this year, it may not be improper, to shew the inconceivable veneration and respect the <sup>Mohammed</sup> *Moslems* by this time had for their prophet, to mention the relation which *Arwa Ebn Mas'ud*, the *Thakifite*, whom the *Koreish* sent with an actual defiance to *Mohammed's* camp at *Al* <sup>by his followers.</sup> *Hodhibiya*, gave the *Meccans*, at his return, of their behaviour. He said he had been at

- b the courts both of the *Roman* emperor and of the king of *Persia*, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as *Mohammed* was by his companions. For whenever he made the ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and caught the water that he had used; and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great superstition. This account had probably a considerable effect upon the *Koreish*, as it gave them sufficiently to understand with what ardour the prophet's followers would fight for him; and therefore, in all likelihood, did not a little contribute to the pacification that ensued <sup>c</sup>.

- IN the seventh year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* began to think of propagating his religion <sup>Mohammed</sup> beyond the bounds of *Arabia*, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes, with <sup>invites sovereign</sup> letters to invite them to *Mohammedism*. But before he wrote these letters, he ordered a <sup>princes</sup> silver seal to be made, on which were engraved, in three lines, the following words, MOHAM- <sup>to embrace</sup> MED THE APOSTLE OF GOD. This seal, he believed, would procure the letters to which <sup>his religion.</sup> it was affixed a more favourable and easy reception at the courts of those princes whose conversion he intended first to attempt. Nor was this project without some success. *Khosrû Parvîz*, then king of *Persia*, the first monarch to whom he wrote, received the prophet's letter from the prince of *Babrein*, to whom *Abd'allah Ebn Hodhâfa* had delivered it for that purpose. But when, upon the interpreter's reading it, he found that *Mohammed* had placed his own name before that of *Khosrû*, he fell into a violent passion, tore the letter to pieces, and sent away the messenger very abruptly; which when *Mohammed* heard, he said, *God shall tear his kingdom, in the same manner that he has torn my letter*. Soon after a messenger came to the prophet from *Badhân*, king of *Yaman*, who was a dependant on the *Persians*, to acquaint him, that he had orders to send him, an audacious slave, to *Khosrû*. *Mohammed* put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him by *Gabriel* that night, that *Khosrû* was slain by his son *Shirûyeh*, about seven o'clock the evening before. To which he thought fit to add, "Go and carry this news to *Badhân*, your master." He also farther assured him, says *Al Jannâbi*, that he was not at all afraid of the *Persians*, as he was very well assured, that his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of *Khosrû*; and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace *Mohammedism*. The messenger being returned, *Badhân*, in a few days, received a letter from *Shirûyeh*, informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon *Badhân* turned *Mohammedan*, and all the *Persians* with him followed his example. Of this *Badhân* sent the prophet news by an express; and, in consideration of such eminent service, he was afterwards continued viceroy of *Yaman* to his death, which happened about four months before that of *Mohammed* <sup>d</sup>.

- THE messenger, or minister, the prophet sent to the emperor *Heraclius*, was *Dohya Ebn Kholcifa*, the *Calbite*; who found that prince at *Hems*, or *Emesa*, according to *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, in *Syria*. *Dohya*, being introduced by the governor of *Bostra*, presented the letter he had brought with him to the emperor, who, says the same author, treated it with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Dohya* carried with him many rich presents from *Heraclius* to his master at *Medina*; which, however is not extremely probable. *Abmed Ebn Yusef* has handed down to us a copy of the letter, said to be brought by *Dohya* to the emperor; but as it by no means <sup>e</sup> appears to be genuine, having been omitted by *Abu'lfeda*, our readers will not expect an insertion of it here <sup>f</sup>.

ANOTHER author, however, asserts, that *Dohya* only delivered the prophet's letter to the governor of *Bostra*, as *Abd'allah Ebn Hodhâfa* had the former to the prince of *Babrein*, who presented it to *Heraclius*. *Al Jannâbi* pretends, that the emperor would have professed the new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 154. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vii. v. 86, &c. ABU'LFED. geogr. Arab. p. 42, 47. GEN. xxv. 2. xxxvii. 36. xxxix. 1. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 143. SHARIF AL EDRISI, p. 109. <sup>o</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xlv. p. 85.

<sup>p</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xlv. p. 92—95. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 165, 166. EBN AMID. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 419. AL BOKHAR. in Sonna. AL NAISABUR. Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 65. Vide etiam ABU'LFED. in vit. Parviz. & JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. p. 93, 94.

<sup>q</sup> AHMED EBN YUSEF, in hist. gen. sect. liv. c. 9. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 94. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 154. <sup>r</sup> ABU SOFIAN apud Abu Zeid Seid Abd'al Rahmân, in lib. Splendor. ut & ipse ABU ZEID SEID ABD'AL RAHMÂN. ibid. AL JANNAB. ubi sup.



THE third person *Mohammed* invited to the profession of *Islamism*, was *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*, or, as he styled himself, prince of the *Copts*. He had been sent to *Egypt* by the emperor *Heraclius*, in quality of intendant of the imposts there. He was of the *Jacobite* communion, and therefore hated the *Greeks*; but durst not declare this openly. From the time that the *Persians* had besieged *Constantinople*, he had stopped the revenues of *Egypt*, and for that reason was afraid of falling into the hands of *Heraclius*. *Mohammed* sent to him *Hâteb Ebn Abu Balta'a*, who delivered his letter, conceived in the same terms as that before dispatched to the emperor. *Mokawkas* received *Hâteb* with great respect; and, after he had read the prophet's letter, applied it with the utmost reverence to his breast, and then put it into an ivory box, where he kept his signet. He also ordered his secretary to write an answer to it in *Greek*, which was afterwards translated into *Arabic*. Of this *Ebn Yusef* b has likewise preserved a copy in his general history, which no one versed in *Oriental* literature will allow to be genuine. In the year of the *Hegra* 19, when *Egypt* was subdued by the *Khalif Omar*, he, with his *Copts*, perfidiously deserted the *Greeks*, and concluded a treaty with *Amrû Ebn Al As*, the *Khalif's* lieutenant; by virtue of which, upon payment of tribute, he was permitted to profess the *Christian* religion. He died in the *Jacobite* persuasion, and, before his death, desired that his body might be interred in the church of St. *John* at *Alexandria*. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that he gave *Hâteb* four gems of great value for *Mohammed*, and two *Coptic* girls, one of which brought the prophet a son, named *Ibrahim*; as also a mule called *Daldal*, and an ass, whose name was *Le'fir* <sup>a</sup>.

THE fourth prince invited by *Mohammed* to declare himself a *Moslem*, was the *Najâshi*, c or king, of *Ethiopia*, named *Ashama*, or *Arzama*, to whom he wrote a much longer epistle than any of the former. This prince, according to the *Arab* writers, received the prophet's letter with marks of the most profound reverence, submission, and humility. As soon as it was brought him, he put it to his eyes, descended from his throne, and sat down upon the bare ground. Then, say they, he professed *Islamism* a second time, put the letter up in an ivory box, and ordered an answer to be drawn up in the most obliging and submissive terms. But neither the copies of the letters here mentioned, preserved by *Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, nor the relation of the *Najâshi's* pretended conversion, nor, in short, any accounts of the propagation of *Mohammedism*, in these early times of it, in *Ethiopia*, as has already been observed, can at all be depended upon <sup>d</sup>.

HE also wrote a letter of the like purport, in the fifth place, to *Al Hâreth Ebn Abi Shamer*, king of *Ghassân*, whose territories extended to the frontiers of *Syria*. The person employed by him on this occasion was *Shajâ Ebn Wabeh*, the *Ajâdite*. After the letter had been read to *Al Hâreth*, he returned for answer, that he would go to *Mohammed* himself; which when the prophet heard, he said, *May his kingdom perish*. As the prince here mentioned was surnamed *Ebn Abi Shamer*, as well as the first of his predecessors, we may infer from thence, that the surname applied to him here was common to all the kings of *Ghassân* <sup>e</sup>.

THE sixth prince to whom *Mohammed* applied was *Hawdha Ebn Ali*, king of *Tamâma*, who received the prophet's letter from his minister, *Soleit Ebn Anra*. *Hawdha* was a *Christian*, and having some time before professed *Islamism*, had lately returned to his former faith. He threatened to make war upon the prophet, and gave out, that he had associated with him in his pretended apostolic function the false prophet *Moseilama*. This so irritated *Mohammed*, that he cursed him; upon which, say the *Moslem* writers, he died soon after <sup>f</sup>.

THE seventh and last letter he wrote was carried to *Al Mundar Ebn Sâwa*, king of *Babrein*, by *Al Ola*, the *Hadbramite*. This prince, upon the receipt of it, embraced *Mohammedism*, and all the *Arabs* of that country followed his example. He afterwards gained a signal victory over the *Persians*. As to the embassy sent to *Al Hâreth Ebn Abd Cshil*, one of the kings of *Hamyar*, in which *Al Mohâjer Ebn Abu Ommeyy* was employed, and the answer returned by that prince to *Mohammed*, which some place here, these have likewise f been by others referred to the beginning of the tenth year of the *Hegra* <sup>g</sup>.

Mohammed bewitched.

SOME of the *Moslem* authors pretend, that, about this time, *Mohammed* was bewitched by *Lobeid Ebn Al Asam*, a *Jew*, with the assistance of his daughters, who were extremely well versed in the magic art, by tying eleven knots on a cord, which they hid in a well, called *Dharwân*. Whereupon *Mohammed* falling ill, God revealed the 113th and 114th chapters of the *Korân*; and *Gabriel* acquainted him with the use he was to make of them, and of the place where the cord was hidden. Then the prophet, according to the directions the angel gave him, sent *Ali* to fetch the cord; and the same being brought, he repeated the two chapters

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. AHMED EEN YUSEF, & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. EBN BATHIK, aliàs EUTYCHIUS, hist. tom. ii. p. 302. edit. Pocock. <sup>b</sup> MOHAM. EBN ABD'AL BAKI in lib. de excellent. Nabesimor.

par. ii. c. 2. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 95, 96. BAGRAWI, AL WAKADI. &c. apud Moham. Abd'ul Bak. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 97. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED.

ubi sup. Vid. etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. sec. liv. v. c. 4. p. 42.



a over it, and at every verse (for they consist of eleven) a knot was loosed, till, on finishing the last words, he was entirely freed from the charm. 'Tis probable this fiction was invented by *Mohammed*, to render the *Jews*, who were then his most implacable enemies, the more odious to his followers. For he seems to have made this pretended conduct of *Lolaid*, as may be inferred from what Mr. *Gagnier* observes, a pretext for coming to an open rupture with the *Jews* of *Khaibar* <sup>1</sup>.

About the middle of the month *Al Mobarram*, in the seventh year of the *Hijra*, *Mohammed* having drawn together a body of 1,400 foot, and 200 horse, began his march for *Khaibar*. He was attended by his wife *Omm Salma* in this expedition. The *Jews*, notwithstanding the great losses they had lately sustained, were grown very numerous there. They had retrenched and fortified themselves in several castles or forts, that were rendered almost impregnable; and therefore thought themselves in no danger of being attacked by the *Muslims*. However, *Mohammed* had before so animated his troops, that they thought themselves certain of success. He gave out the preceding year, before he set out for *Al Hodeibiya*, that he seemed, in a dream, to enter *Mecca* at the head of his companions, with their heads shaven, and their hair cut. This dream being imparted by the prophet to his followers, it occasioned a great deal of joy amongst them; they supposing it would be fulfilled the same year. But when they saw the truce concluded, which frustrated their expectations for that time, they were deeply concerned. Whereupon a passage of the forty-eighth chapter of the *Koran* was pretended to be revealed for their consolation, confirming the vision, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when *Mohammed* performed the visitation distinguished in the *Koran* by the addition of *Al Kadda*, or *completion*, because he then completed the visitation of the former year. For the *Koreish* then did not permit him to enter *Mecca*; so that he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself, at *Al Hodeibiya*; and it was then that his companions had the promise of their being made amends for their mis-  
 b had retrenched and fortified themselves in several castles or forts, that were rendered almost impregnable; and therefore thought themselves in no danger of being attacked by the *Muslims*. However, *Mohammed* had before so animated his troops, that they thought themselves certain of success. He gave out the preceding year, before he set out for *Al Hodeibiya*, that he seemed, in a dream, to enter *Mecca* at the head of his companions, with their heads shaven, and their hair cut. This dream being imparted by the prophet to his followers, it occasioned a great deal of joy amongst them; they supposing it would be fulfilled the same year. But when they saw the truce concluded, which frustrated their expectations for that time, they were deeply concerned. Whereupon a passage of the forty-eighth chapter of the *Koran* was pretended to be revealed for their consolation, confirming the vision, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when *Mohammed* performed the visitation distinguished in the *Koran* by the addition of *Al Kadda*, or *completion*, because he then completed the visitation of the former year. For the *Koreish* then did not permit him to enter *Mecca*; so that he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself, at *Al Hodeibiya*; and it was then that his companions had the promise of their being made amends for their mis-  
 c sisting at that time of the plunder of *Mecca*, by giving them that of *Khaibar* in lieu thereof. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that they should attend the prophet with so much courage and alacrity in this expedition <sup>2</sup>.

As *Khaibar*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was but six stations, or, as *Sharif Al Edrisi* will have it, only four, from *Medina*, *Mohammed* soon arrived before the town with all his forces. The place itself was extremely strong, as the name sufficiently implies, קָבָר, *Cabar*, denoting, in *Hebrew*, great, strong, robust, &c. from whence it seems much more natural to deduce it, than from קָבֵר, *Chaber*, a companion, confederate, &c. as M. *D'Herbelot* supposes, on account of the emigration of the *Nadirites* and *Koreidhites*, who were confederates, to *Khaibar*. For to this notion two very material objections may be offered: in the first place, the remains of the *Jewish* tribe of *Koreidha*, almost extirpated by *Mohammed*, as has been already observed, did not retire to *Khaibar*, till after the war of the ditch; and, secondly, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, this was a town of great antiquity, and *Khaibar* its original name; since he assures us, that *Moses* took the city of *Khaibar* from the *Amalekites* immediately after his passage of the *Red Sea*. Which if we admit, it can by no means appear  
 d probable, that the name of *Khaibar*, used so many ages before, was derived from an accident that happened in the time of *Mohammed*. Nor was the place only strong in itself, but likewise fortified with four or five castles, according to *Abu'lfeda*, or nine at least, if we will believe *Al Jannabi*, and others, that seemed to render it almost impregnable. Some part of the adjacent country abounds with palm-trees, and is capable of cultivation. *Khaibar* was the seat of the *Banu Anzab*, descended from *Maad*, or *Moad*, the son of *Ainan*, and stood to the north-east of *Medina*. As the language of the ancient *Amalekites* was very nearly related to the *Hebrew*, if not altogether the same with it, there can be no impropriety in deducing the name of this town from an *Hebrew* original. The *Arabic* word corresponding with the *Hebrew* name *Cabar*, or *Khaibar*, is *Hesh*, or *Hish*, bearing no manner of resemblance in sound to *Khaibar*; which is an additional proof in support of our  
 e present opinion <sup>3</sup>.

*MOHAMMED* having taken post before the town, made the proper dispositions for laying *Mohammed* siege to the castles; the reduction of which he knew would make him absolute master of the place. The *Jews* of *Khaibar*, having not had the least intelligence of his march, were struck with terror, when they understood that his troops were advanced to *Mansela*, a post in a stony tract at a small distance from *Khaibar*; for till then they were absolute strangers to his motions. The first castle he attacked was called *Naem*, which he carried sword in  
 f

<sup>1</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. c. cxiii, cxiv. AL BEIDAWI, AL JALLALO'DDIN, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 166, &c. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. c. v, p. 43—49. <sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 84—87. <sup>3</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 163. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABU'L RABI, in lib. Splendor. ABU'LFED. in descript. Arab. p. 43, & in gen. hist. par. i. cap. de Amalecit. FEN AMID, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient in voc. Khaibar, p. 983. ABU'LFED. in vit. Moham. p. 8—92. AL JANNAB. ubi sup.



hand, without meeting with any opposition. This first instance of success encouraged the prophet to besiege in form the citadel of *Khaibar*, named *Al Kamus*, a place so strong by its situation, being built upon a rock, that it was almost inaccessible. The Jewish garrison here was commanded by *Kenâna Ebn al Rabi*, the richest and most powerful person of the whole nation, who was dignified with the title of *king of the Jews*. As the greatest part of the treasure belonging to the people of *Khaibar* was deposited in this place, *Kenâna* had caused it lately to be strengthened by many additional works, which seemed to render it impregnable. Notwithstanding which, *Mohammed* opened trenches before it; and, after battering the wall some days with his rams, and other military engines, he made a breach therein, that enabled him to give several assaults to the place, in which he was vigorously repulsed by the besieged. Nay, tho' by reiterated attacks he endeavoured to carry the citadel, they were always attended with ill success. Since, therefore, the prophet often narrowly escaped being killed, by too much exposing his person, in order to animate his men, and the siege was drawn out to an unforeseen length, by the gallant behaviour of the besieged, he resolved to give a little relaxation to his troops, and therefore discontinued the attacks for one or two days <sup>b</sup>.

DURING this interval, *Abu Becr*, being desirous of distinguishing himself, mounted the breach, and was followed by some of his brave companions; but they were driven from thence with loss. *Omar* also made a more vigorous effort to storm the castle *Al Kamus*; but without effect, he likewise being constrained to retire. But the next morning *Ali*, who had laboured under a disorder in his eyes, of which he is said to have been cured by applying some of the prophet's spittle to them, advanced at the head of a choice detachment to the attack; and having, in single combat, slain *Marhab*, a giant of an enormous size, and the champion of *Khaibar*, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, carried the place by assault. Some of the Moslem authors pretend, that, in the heat of the pursuit, after he had driven the enemy from the breach, *Ali* tore one of the castle gates off the hinges, and used it for a shield, his own having before been struck out of his hand by a Jew that encountered him, tho' it was so heavy that eight lusty men could not lift it up from the ground. But this seems to be an Arab hyperbole, meriting little regard. *Marhab*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was the lord of the castle *Al Kamus*; from whence we may infer, that it was either his proper seat, or else that he commanded the garrison in it. The last of which notions is repugnant to what we find advanced by all *Al Jannâbi*, who makes *Marhab* to have acted under the orders of *Kenâna*, as has been already observed. Be that as it will, we are assured, that *Ali* cleft his head in two with the famous sword *Dbu'l-Fakâr*, or the piercing, given him by *Mohammed* for this purpose, when scarce any other weapon would have done execution; his head being secured by a weighty helmet, lined with a double turbant. Amongst the female captives taken on this occasion, *Abu'lfeda* reckons the beautiful *Safya Bint Hoyai Ebn Akhtab*, whom the prophet took to wife, having presented her with her liberty for a dower. We are informed by *Al Beidarwi*, that this *Safia Bint Hoyai Ebn Akhtab* once came to her husband, and complained that the women said to her, O thou Jewess, the daughter of a Jew and a Jewess: to which he answered, *Canst thou not say Aaron is my father, Moses is my uncle, and Mohammed is my husband?* Part of the treasures, deposited in the citadel, fell into *Mohammed's* hands; tho', rather than discover the rest, *Kenâna* suffered the most exquisite torture, and at last death itself, with a most surprising constancy, or rather an obstinacy peculiar to that nation to which he belonged <sup>c</sup>.

and the castle  
of Al Afab  
Ebn Moâd.

AFTER this, the prophet caused the castle of *Al Afab Ebn Moâd*, called *Nata'a*, to be first invested, and then formally besieged. The Moslem troops had scarce reached the place, when some workmen came out of the town with spades, pick-axes, baskets, and other instruments, in order to finish a certain part of the fortifications, who had like to have fallen into the hands of one of *Mohammed's* detachments. But as soon as they perceived the Moslems, they gave the alarm, by crying out, *Mohammed is here with all his army*; and then immediately retired within their retrenchments, leaving their tools behind them, that they might make the greater haste. Upon which, *Mohammed*, in his turn, said aloud, ALLAH ACBAR, GOD IS GREAT; adding, *Khaibar shall be desolate; and since our enemies themselves have supplied us with tools, one of these mornings shall prove fatal to those who first gave the alarm*. In short, he considered the acquisition of these tools as a sure presage of their ruining and destroying the city <sup>d</sup>.

HOWEVER, as the Jews of *Khaibar* had cut down 400 palm-trees, and ruined all the flat country for some miles round the fortress, the Moslems found themselves reduced to great straits for want of provisions. But at last they surmounted all difficulties, and entered the palace, where they met with a vast quantity of corn, dates, oil, honey, flesh, &

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 87, 88. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 172. EBN ISHAK. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. & EBN ISHAK, ubi sup. AL BOKHARI in SONNA. Aut. lib. dist. MO'ALEM AL TANZIL. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. ubi sup. p. 53—56. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup.



a &c. as also an infinite number of sheep, oxen, asses, military engines, and arms of all kinds. To which *Al Wakedi* adds a large camel's hide, or skin, filled with collars, necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings, buckles, &c. all of gold, besides emeralds and golden seals in great abundance. In fine, if *Abu'lfeda* merits any regard, this fort, or castle, of *Al Asab Ebn Moâd* was as well replenished with corn and other provisions, all which came into the possession of the *Moslems*, as any other in the district of *Khaibar* <sup>c</sup>.

We must not omit informing our readers, that, after the reduction of *Al Kamus*, during *He is poisoned* the prophet's residence there, he was poisoned by *Zeinab Bint Al Hâreth*, the sister of *Mar- by Zeinab* *hab*, who had been slain in single combat by *Ali*; which horrid fact she committed, in order *Bint Hâreth.* to revenge her brother's death. The manner of her effecting this was, by communicating  
b some poison to a shoulder of mutton, which, upon inquiry, she was told by his domestics, *Mohammed* loved better than any other part of the sheep; or, as *Abu'lfeda* seems to intimate, by dressing a shoulder of a sheep that had itself been poisoned. Having invited the prophet to supper, she set this joint roasted before him and his companions; one of whom, named *Basbar Ebn Al Bara*, eating heartily of it, was almost instantly seized with convulsions, and expired upon the spot. Nor did *Mohammed* himself, tho' he escaped for the present, by spitting some of the meat out of his mouth, survive this disaster much above three years. Some writers pretend, that the shoulder of mutton spoke to *Mohammed*, and discovered itself to be poisoned; but this is too absurd to merit any regard. The prophet having ordered the whole carcass to be burnt, demanded of *Zeinab* what could induce her to perpetrate so black a crime; to whom she is said to have made the following answer: "I  
c " thought if you had been really a prophet, you would have easily discovered the poison; and if not, that it would have delivered us from your tyranny." However, some relate, that *Mohammed* pardoned her; tho' others affirm, that he delivered her up to the parents of *Basbar*, who put her to death; which seems more agreeable to the bloody and vindictive disposition of the impostor. Be that as it will, we are told by some *Moslem* writers, that when *Basbar's* mother visited him in his last sickness, he said to her, *O mother of Basbar, the poison of Khaibar, so fatal to your son, has not ceased to visit me from time to time ever since I received it; but now the veins of my heart are broke and dissolved by the violence of it* <sup>d</sup>.

d AFTER the reduction of the preceding castles, *Mohammed* easily made himself master of *The other castles of Khaibar* all the rest; the principal of which were *Kala'at Al Zobeir*, *Hesn Obba*, *Hesn Al Barâ*, *Al Watib*, and *Al Salâlem*. The garisons of the two last of which finding themselves not *surrender to him.* in a condition to defend the places long, and being threatened with inevitable destruction, surrendered upon the first summons to *Mohammed*, at discretion <sup>e</sup>.

THE town of *Khaibar* itself being now destitute of its chief supports, was incapable of *He makes himself master at last of the city itself.* standing a long siege; and therefore, at the end of ten days, it was forced to capitulate; after which *Ali* took possession of it. The terms of the capitulation were, that the inhabitants of *Khaibar* should continue to cultivate their lands, as heretofore; that their present effects and the future produce of their lands should be divided between them and the *Moslems*; and  
e that the prophet should have the liberty of transplanting them whenever he pleased. By virtue of which capitulation, the *Jews* of *Khaibar* remained in the peaceable possession of their country several years; but at last they were expelled from thence in the *Khalifat* of *Omar* (I), who obliged them to depart out of *Arabia*, and assigned them, as an equivalent for their land, an equal extent of territory in *Syria* <sup>f</sup>.

AT the same time that *Khaibar* surrendered, the citizens of *Fadac* likewise opened their *Fadac and Wadi'l Korâ* gates, and made their submission to the prophet. In consideration of which submission, *he* allowed them a moiety both of their lands and effects. That moiety assigned the *Moslems* *likewise submit to him.* the prophet took to himself, in conformity to the law contained in the fifty-ninth chapter of the *Korân*, no cavalry having been made use of in the reduction of that place. As  
f for the spoils taken at *Khaibar*, *Mohammed* distributed part of them amongst the troops employed in the expedition; assigning to every foot-soldier a single portion, and to every horseman a double one. From *Khaibar* the prophet marched to *Wâdi'l*

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. EBN ISHAK, & AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 92. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 174. EBN ISHAK, EBN AL ATHIR, EBN FARES, AL KODAI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 189. <sup>e</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 91. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 173. EBN AMID, hist. Sar. p. 8. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 163.

(I) The *Khalif* recollecting, that one of *Mohammed's* last orders to the *Ansârs* was, not to tolerate any false religion in *Arabia*, he came to a resolution to expel the *Jews* of *Khaibar* from that country, in compliance with that command. At least this was the pretext

he made use of, for the vindication of his conduct, on that occasion; which undoubtedly had the desired effect, and satisfied the minds of all his *Moslem* subjects, as to the justice and legality of it (33).



*Korâ*, a Jewish town, about two days journey from thence, towards the borders of Syria; which he took after a few days siege, and then returned to *Medina*. Soon after his arrival there, he met with *Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and his companions, who, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, had fled into *Ethiopia*. As *Mohammed* had before wrote to the *Najâshi* to send them back to *Medina*, this interview was very agreeable to him; inasmuch, that, at the first sight of them, he said, *I cannot determine whether I am better pleased with the return of Jaafar, or the expedition to Khaibar*. That expedition was finished in a month's time, the town surrendering in the month of *Safar*, ten days of which were spent in the siege of the citadel. About this time, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, and *Abu'lfeda*, the prophet espoused by proxy *Omm Habîba*, the daughter of *Abu Sofiân*, in *Ethiopia*, her cousin *Khâled Ebn Seid Ebn Al As Ebn Ommeya* personating *Mohammed* on this occasion. The *Najâshi* himself, if we will believe *Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, performed the ceremony of the espousals, and then pronounced an oration; the substance of which is given us by that author. He moreover made the lady a present of 400 *dinêrs*, for a dower, out of the profound esteem and veneration that he had long entertained for the prophet; the news of which being brought to *Abu Sofiân*, he could not forbear saying, *This stallion, meaning Mohammed, will never be bridled*. *Omm Habîba* was then about thirty years of age, and lived three years and some months with *Mohammed*. She died at *Medina* in the 42d, or the 43d, year of the *Hejra*, and the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*; and, after her death, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* said the usual prayers for her at her interment. Some authors, however, relate, that she died in *Syria*. *Sbarafeddin Ali*, *Timur Begh's* historian, says he saw her tomb, together with that of *Omm Salma*, at *Damascus*; and, in his life of that prince, he has inserted a description of them. When *Mohammed* espoused her, she was a widow, having before been married to *Abd'allah Ebn Jahash*, who died at the court of the *Najâshi*. Before his death, he became a convert to the *Christian* faith; which is of itself a sufficient proof, exclusive of the arguments already offered, that *Islamism* was not then, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the *Moslem* writers, the prevailing religion in *Ethiopia*<sup>h</sup>.

Mohammed divides the spoil taken at Khaibar;

THE Jewish war being thus happily terminated, *Mohammed* divided the spoils taken at *Khaibar*, and some of the neighbouring towns, into thirty-six equal portions; half of which he applied partly to his own use, and partly towards defraying the expence of the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which he was to perform the approaching *Dhu'lkaada*, by virtue of the treaty concluded at *Al Hodeibiya* with the *Koreish*. The other half he distributed amongst the troops employed in the expedition, and the refugees lately arrived from *Ethiopia*. The latter he put upon the same foot with the former, out of regard to his new spouse *Omm Habîba Bint Abu Sofiân*. As for the spoils of *Fadac*, that is to say, half of the effects of the inhabitants, and half of the revenue of their possessions, of these he made no division at all, but considered them intirely as his own property; no *Moslem* horse having advanced against that city, the people of which he brought solely by his own address to a capitulation<sup>i</sup>.

and celebrates his nuptials with Safiya Bint Hoyai.

WE must not forget to acquaint our readers, that *Mohammed* celebrated his nuptials with *Safiya Bint Hoyai* at a place called *Al Sabbâ*, where he encamped in his march to *Medina*. This marriage he also consummated the following night in his pavilion, and the next day he provided a sumptuous entertainment; where, amongst other elegant dishes, was served up one called *Al Hais*, composed of dates, honey, and whipt cream, all mixed together. He invited none to this banquet but his most intimate friends, who then all had the honour to dine with him. *Safiya* lived with the prophet three years and some months; and at last died either in the fiftieth, or fifty-second, year of the *Hejra*<sup>k</sup>.

He reduces Yetama.

IT must be observed here, that, in the expedition to *Khaibar*, *Mohammed* made a considerable city, inhabited by *Jews*, tributary to him, that has not been mentioned by *Abu'lfeda*. The name of this city was *Yetama*. Its Inhabitants being struck with terror, when they were informed that *Mohammed* had defeated a considerable body of the Jewish forces near *Wadi'l Korâ*, and made himself master of that place in four days time after he had opened trenches before it, sent deputies to him to desire peace, offering at the same time to pay him an annual tribute. This offer the prophet accepted, and then began his march for *Medina*. The *Moslems* are said not to have lost above twenty men in the whole foregoing expedition<sup>l</sup>.

Omar makes an incursion upon the territory of the Hawanites.

Soon after the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, he sent *Omar* with a party of 30 men to make an incursion upon the territory of the *Hawanites*, who seem to have committed some hostilities against the *Moslems*. *Omar*, at the head of his men, advanced to *Torba*, a place

<sup>h</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi supra. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. lix. EBN HAWKAL, SHARIF L EDRI, ABU'LFED. descript. Arab. p. 43. MOHAM. EBN ABD'AL BAKI, ubi sup. par. ii. c. 3. & alibi. SHARAFEDDIN ALI in vit. Timur Begh, lib. v. c. 26. p. 333. AL BEIDAWI, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 85. Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 330, 331.

<sup>i</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi supra. AL BEIDAWI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. lix.

<sup>k</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 170. Disputat. Christian. c. 6.

<sup>l</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 177, 178.



a within the dependencies of *Mecca*, inhabited by the *Banu Hawan*. But the enemy fled with so much precipitation at his approach, that he could not come up with them <sup>m</sup>.

IN the month of *Skaabân*, *Abu Becr* marched with a detachment against the *Banu Kelâb*, <sup>marches against the Banu Kelâb, as does Bashar Ebn Saad against the Banu Morrah.</sup> seated in the district of *Fazara*; and took his measures so well, that he surprised a body of them. Of these he killed some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight <sup>n</sup>.

IN the same month, *Bashar Ebn Saad*, the *Anjâr*, set out from *Medina* with 30 men to attack the *Banu Morrah*, in the territory of *Fadac*; but falling into an ambuscade, he was forced to retire, with the loss of the greatest part of his men <sup>o</sup>.

b IN the month of *Ramadân*, the prophet sent *Gâleb Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Leitbite*, with 130 men, to *Monia*, in the territory of *Najd*, about thirty-six parasangs from *Medina*. This expedition was undertaken against the *Banu Awâl*, who had incurred the prophet's displeasure. *Gâleb* made an irruption into their habitations, killed some of the principal of them, carried off a great number of their camels and sheep, and then returned to *Medina*, without the loss of a single man on this occasion <sup>p</sup>. <sup>Gâleb Ebn Abd'allah undertakes an expedition against the Banu Awâl.</sup>

BASHAR EBN SAAD, the *Anjâr*, made another incursion, more lucky than his former, into the kingdom of *Yaman*, and the county of *Jabâr*, with 300 men. This happened in the month of *Shawâl*. Being informed, that a body of the enemy were upon the point of making an irruption into the territory of *Medina*, he advanced to attack them; but they retired at his approach. He, therefore, ravaged the country through which he moved, and seized upon many of their camels. He also took two prisoners, who both, at the prophet's request, embraced the *Mohammedan* religion <sup>q</sup>. <sup>Bashar Ebn Saad makes an incursion into the kingdom of Yaman.</sup>

c ABOUT this time, *Mohammed* wrote a letter to *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, the last king of *Ghassân*, who reigned at *Tadmor*, and invited him to embrace *Islamism*. That prince, upon this invitation, became a *Moslem*; and, in answer to his letter, assured the prophet of the reality of his conversion. He persisted for some time in the profession of the new religion; but having struck a certain *Fazarite* at *Mecca*, whither he was come to perform the pilgrimage commanded in the *Korân*, who had affronted him, he was ordered by the *Khalif Omar* either to ask pardon of the *Fazarite* for the offence, or to suffer himself to be treated in the same manner; which so disgusted him, that he returned to his former faith, and retired to *Constantinople*. This year died *Shirûyeh*, or *Syroes*, king of *Persia*, who had massacred his father *Khosrû Parvîz*, as has been already observed, and sixteen brothers. He was a prince of most abandoned morals, and guilty of the most execrable crimes. Being attacked by various maladies, he expired in exquisite torture, after six months reign <sup>r</sup>. <sup>king of Ghassân, turns Mohammedan, and afterwards relapses to Christianity.</sup>

d WE are told by some of the *Moslem* writers, whose authority, therefore, in the point before us, is unexceptionable, that, before the conclusion of this year, their holy prophet was guilty of fornication; tho' this enormity has been palliated, if not indirectly vindicated, with his usual candour and piety, by Mr. Sale. *Mohammed* was so charmed with the beauty of *Mary*, a girl of *Coptic* extraction, who, together with three other female slaves, and an eunuch named *Maîudh*, had been sent him as a present by *Al Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*, that he was tempted to lie with her; tho' he had before expressly forbidden fornication in the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*. As this was done on the day which was due to *Ayesha*, or to *Hafsa*, and, as some say, on *Hafsa's* own bed, while she was absent at her father *Omar's*; it soon came to both those ladies knowledge, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by *Mohammed* to keep it concealed. Nay, some relate, that *Hafsa* caught the prophet and his maid, if not in the fact, yet at least upon the bed together. This she took extremely ill, and reproached her husband so sharply, that, to pacify her, he promised, with an oath, never to touch *Mary* again; and, in order to sooth her vanity, and to induce her to keep the whole affair a secret, foretold to her, as a piece of news, that *Abu Becr* and *Omar* should succeed him in the government of his people. *Hafsa*, however, could not conceal this from *Ayesha*, with whom she lived in strict friendship, but acquainted her with the whole matter. Whereupon the prophet, perceiving probably by *Ayesha's* behaviour, or rather that of her father *Abu Becr*, to whom she had discovered her husband's incontinence, and of *Omar*, to whom his daughter *Hafsa* had made great complaints upon the same subject, that his secret had been discovered, upbraided the latter with her betraying him; telling her, that God had revealed it to him. He, therefore, for her indiscretion, not only divorced her, but separated himself from all his other wives for a whole month; which time he spent in amorous diversions with *Mary*; and this in direct contradiction to the *Korân*, and in open violation of the oath he had taken to *Hafsa*. However, dreading, as 'tis probable, the resentment of *Omar*, in a short time, he took *Hafsa* again, by the direction, as he gave out, of the angel *Gabriel*, who commended her for her frequent fasting, and other exercises of devotion; assuring him likewise, that she should be one of his wives in paradise. To free

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. p. 180.  
JANNAB. ubi sup.

<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>q</sup> AL

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. Vide etiam Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 77, 78.



himself from the obligation of his promise and oath to *Hafsa*, he pretended, that the sixty-sixth chapter of the *Korân* was revealed, which allows the *Moslems* the dissolution of their oaths. In order, therefore, totally to abandon himself to his sensuality, the pretended prophet makes God to deliver a contradictory revelation, and to permit a practice than which nothing can be more inconsistent with the moral fitnesses of things, or more shocking and pernicious to human society; and consequently endeavours, as much as in him lies, notwithstanding his assertion of the unity of the Divine Nature, the great fundamental article of faith of the *Moslems*, to overturn the foundations of all natural as well as revealed religion <sup>a</sup>.

He performs  
the sacred vi-  
sitation called  
Al Kadâ.

IN the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, this same year, *Mohammed* performed the sacred visitation called *Al Kadâ*, or *the completion*. This was distinguished by the addition of *Al Kadâ*, <sup>b</sup> because *Mohammed* then completed the visitation of the former year, when the *Koreish* not permitting him to enter *Mecca*, he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself, in order to correspond with his dream, at *Al Hedcibiya*. All the people who had accompanied the prophet the last year, attended him on the present occasion, together with seventy camels, designed for victims upon their arrival at *Caaba*. They had also an hundred horses, and moreover carried with them a large quantity of arms. They came first to *Dbu'lholeifa*, six miles from *Medina*, where they solemnly vowed to observe all the rites and ceremonies of the sacred visitation. From thence they advanced to *Batn Tajaj*, some few miles distant from *Mecca*, where the prophet deposited all his baggage and arms, and left *Aws Ebn Kbuf*, with 200 men, to guard them. Before he reached that city, most of the *Koreish* retired to <sup>c</sup> the summits of the neighbouring mountains; so that it was in a manner deserted by its inhabitants; only some few of them remaining upon the top of the town-hall, or council-house, to observe the prophet's procession, and the motions of the *Moslems* <sup>d</sup>.

MOHAMMED having ascended the hill of *Cadâ*, which was part of the mountain called *Al Hajun*, where the heights of *Mecca* begin, and afterwards entered the plain of the little pebbles, mounted his camel, named *Kafwa*, and began his solemn march, or procession, towards the city. He was surrounded on all sides by the *Moslems*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha* marched before him on foot, holding the bridle of his camel. This *Abd'allah* and *Omar* insulted the *Koreish*, and menaced them, at their entry into the city, without the least provocation given; which shewed the ferity of their disposition. *Mohammed*, being arrived at *Mecca*, immediately visited the temple, and entered upon the prescribed ceremonies. After which, he came to the corner where the black stone is fixed, which he kissed with great devotion. From thence he and his companions proceeded to compass the *Caaba*; which they did seven times, using a short quick pace the three first, and a grave ordinary one on the four last. This, it is said, was ordered by *Mohammed*, that his followers might shew themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of *Medina* had rendered them weak; and, at the same time, to spare his men, who were already pretty much fatigued. Which custom, in some measure, prevails even at this day; tho' the pilgrims are not obliged to use the aforesaid quick pace every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at certain particular seasons. So often as the *Moslems* passed by the black stone, they either kissed it, after the example of their prophet, or touched it with their hand, and kissed that; which is likewise the present practice of the *Mohammedans*. The seven circuits round the *Caaba* being finished, *Mohammed* ordered *Belâl*, his crier, to give notice of the time of prayer without the *Caaba*; which being likewise done, the prophet mounted his camel, and ran seven times between the mountains of *Safâ* and *Merwâ*, partly with a slow pace, and partly running, for the reasons above assigned. This ceremony his followers at first made a scruple of performing, because there were on those mountains two idols, named *Asâf* and *Nayelab*, to which the *Koreish* used to pay a superstitious veneration. But, in order to remove this scruple, the prophet pretended that, at this juncture, God revealed to him the following passage of the *Korân*: "Moreover, <sup>e</sup> *Safa* and *Merwa* are two of the monuments of God: whoever, therefore, goeth on <sup>f</sup> *the pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca*, or visiteth it, it shall be no crime in him, if he compass them both." This ceremony is said to be as ancient as the time of *Hagar*, the mother of *Ishmael*. Lastly, he sacrificed the camels, brought with him for that purpose, in the valley of *Mina*, and the *Moslems* shaved their heads, according to custom; which having done, the prophet sent some of his men to relieve the troops composing the

<sup>a</sup> JALLALO'DDIN, AHMED EBN YAHYA, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvii, xxiv, lxvi. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 165. JOANNES ANDREAS, c. 8. BELLONIUS, l. iii. c. 8. RICHARDI confutat. c. 12. CANTACUZEN. orat. ii. f. 8. GUADAGN. tract. ii. c. 10. sect. 2. FORTALIT. FID. lib. iv. conf. 2. SALE's notes on the Kor. c. 66. p. 456, 457. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xlvii. p. 97, 98, 99. AL BOKHARI in Sonna. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 182, &c. JALLALO'DDIN, EBN AL ATHIR, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. v. 160. Vide etiam BOBOV. de peregr. Meccan, p. 11, &c. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 440, &c. PITT's account of the religion, &c. of the Mohammedans, p. 92, &c. HADR. RELAND. de rel. Moham. p. 113, &c.



- a detachment left at *Batu Yajaj*, to guard the arms and baggage. This gave them likewise an opportunity of coming to *Mecca*, and performing their devotions there. All which being finished, the prophet, after four days residence in *Mecca*, retired to *Shorf*. Here he consummated his marriage with *Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth*, the *Helâlite*, the widow of *Raham Ebn Abda'l Ozza*, whom he had before espoused at *Mecca*, when he was in the habit of a pilgrim there; God having granted him, as he pretended, the peculiar privilege of doing this, or, in other words, of breaking through those rules and customs held as sacred by the other *Arabs*, and even recommended as such by himself to all his followers. His uncle *Al Abbâs* performed the nuptial ceremony. This *Maimûna* was the last of *Mohammed's* wives, according to *Al Jannâbi*, and survived all the rest. When she was taken ill at *Mecca*, she was, at her own request, carried to *Shorf*, because the prophet had, as she said, foretold that she should not depart this life in the former place. Here, therefore, she died in a pavilion erected under that tree under which *Mohammed* first lay with her. Her tomb was still remaining in the sixteenth century, having been visited by *Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyad Hasan Al Jannâbi*, the *Arab* historian, in his return to *Medina* from *Mecca*, where he had been to pay his devotions at the tomb of the impostor, in the year of the *Hejra* 963, which answers nearly to the year of our LORD 1556<sup>a</sup>.

- THE eighth year of the *Hejra* was ushered in by the conversion of *Khâled Ebn Walid*, *Three of the most considerable persons among the Koreish embrace Islamism.* *Amru Ebn Al As*, the *Sabamite*, and *Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abda'l Dâr*, the three most considerable persons amongst the *Koreish*, who, soon after the prophet's departure from *Mecca*, left that place, and arrived at *Medina*, where they made public profession of *Mohammedism*. This proved a great accession of power to the impostor, and soon enabled him to make himself master of the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*. For *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* was one of the greatest warriors of his time; having put to flight *Mohammed's* rear, which occasioned the defeat of all his forces, at the battle of *Obod*; *Amru* was the ambassador sent by the *Koreish* to the *Najâshi*, to demand the *Moslem* fugitives who had taken refuge in *Ethiopia*, and a man of very considerable abilities; and as for *Othmân Ebn Telha*, he was the guardian, or intendant, of the *Caaba*, and consequently a person of the most extensive influence of any in *Arabia*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that, after these had declared themselves in his favour, he should soon find himself in a condition to give laws to the *Koreish*, and of course to raise himself to the supreme government of his country<sup>w</sup>.

- IN the month of *Safar* this year, the eighth of the *Hejra*, *Gâleb Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Leithite*, one of *Mohammed's* commanders, made two very successful incursions. In the first of which, he plundered the *Banu Al Malah*, a very considerable *Arab* family seated at *Al Ca-dia*; and, in the second, he took vengeance of the *Banu Morrah* at *Fadac*, for the massacre of *Basbar's* companions, in the month of *Shaabân*, the preceding year. He no sooner arrived at *Fadac*, with a body of 200 men, than the enemy made a vigorous sally upon him; but they were repulsed with so much bravery, that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and all the rest taken prisoners. After the action, the *Moslems* pillaged the adjacent district, and brought off with them a considerable number of camels to *Medina*<sup>x</sup>.

- WE are told by *Al Jannâbi*, that, about this time, the prophet caused a chair, or pulpit, to be built for him by a *Greek* carpenter, called *Nakum*, who was domestic to a *Christian* lady, named *Ayesha*. This he ascended by three steps, the highest of which he sat upon, and placed his feet upon the second, when he preached, as he constantly did, to the people. After his decease, *Abu Becr* sat on the second step, and put his feet upon the third. Afterwards *Omar* sat upon the lowest step, and placed his feet upon the ground. When *Othmân* was *Khalif*, he did the same, during the first years of his reign; but afterwards he thought fit to seat himself on the highest step, as *Mohammed* had done, to the end of his *Khalifat*. *Moâwiyah* raised this pulpit to six steps, and none of his successors ever altered it. *Othmân* was the first who covered it with tapestry; of which a certain woman having stripped it, she had her hands cut off, in conformity to an injunction of the *Korân*. In the fiftieth year of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* had an intention to remove this pulpit to *Damascus*. But the very moment this was attempted, as some of the *Moslems* pretend, there happened a most surprising solar eclipse; which, together with the remonstrances made by *Abu Horeira*, induced the *Khalif* to desist from his design. Before the construction of this pulpit, the prophet, immediately after his arrival at *Medina*, officiated on a piece of a beam, or the trunk of a palm-tree driven into the ground, on the top of which he leaned, when he preached to the people. The first time *Mohammed* ascended the new machine, a dismal sound came from this trunk, that represented the lowing or bellowing of a camel, and seemed to express the grief of the beam for its being deserted by the prophet. This, says

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. sec. liv. v. c. 10. p. 78—83. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. p. 97, 98, 99. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 184, &c.

<sup>w</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. xlviii. p. 99, 100. EBN ISHAK in lib. Splendor. ABU'L RABI apud AL Wâked, in relat. ut & ipse AL WAKED. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 188.



*Al Ghazali*, so affected him, that he immediately came down out of the pulpit, embraced a the trunk, caressing it, and giving it the most endearing language, till he had brought it to good humour <sup>y</sup>.

WE must not omit informing our readers, that Dr. *Prideaux* seems to be mistaken, when he asserts, that *Mohammed* ordered this pulpit to be made by the advice of one of his wives; that circumstance not being attested, or even mentioned, by any of the *Eastern* writers. But this mistake, if it be really such, may perhaps be accounted for, by observing, that the carpenter, who framed this machine, was a domestic of one *Ayesha*, a *Christian* lady, whom our author seems to have confounded with *Ayesha*, the wife of *Mohammed*. For had this domestic belonged to the latter lady, or been in any manner concerned with her, it would have been natural enough to suppose, that she persuaded the prophet to make b use of him on the preceding occasion, and even at first to have suggested the expediency of such a machine to him. The identity, therefore, of names here has probably introduced a confusion of two different persons, and consequently induced the Doctor to publish an assertion that has not the least shadow of authority, either *Christian* or *Mohammedan*, to support it <sup>z</sup>.

The Moslems  
continue their  
incursions.

IN the month called the former *Rabi*, *Shaja Ebn Wabab* plundered the *Banu Amer*, and carried off many of their camels. But *Caab Ebn Omar*, the *Ghafarite*, did not meet with the same success, in that month, on a similar occasion. Having advanced, at the head of a small detachment, as far as *Dhat Al Talâh*, situate behind *Dhat Al Kora*, he was attacked by a superior force. However, he defended himself with so much bravery, that c he fought his way through the enemy, and at last made his escape, grievously wounded, tho' all his men were cut to pieces in the action <sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed's  
ambassador  
assassinated.

BUT, notwithstanding this, the eighth year of the *Hejra* was a very fortunate one to *Mohammed*. In the beginning of it, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered *Syria*, and other countries, and the latter *Egypt*, became converts to *Islamism*, as has been already observed. Soon after which remarkable event, the prophet received advice, that the ambassador he had sent to the governor of *Bosra*, on the same errand as those who went to the princes above-mentioned, was assassinated by *Amru Ebn Shorheil*, an *Arab* of the tribe of *Ghassân*, who was commandant of the place for the emperor *Heraclius*, at *Mûta*, a town in the territory of *Balkâ*, d in *Syria*, about three days journey eastward from *Jerusalem*. The prophet was sensibly touched with this tragical accident, and resolved to be revenged of the governor of *Mûta*, for the affront offered him, and the loss he had sustained, by the death of his ambassador. For this purpose, he assembled an army of 3,000 men, all chosen troops, and gave the command of it to *Zeid Ebn Al Hâretha*, his freed-man, with orders to advance to *Mûta*, the place where the murder of *Al Hâreth Ebn Omair*, the *Azdite*, *Mohammed's* ambassador, was committed, without delay. This brought on a general action between the *Christian* and *Moslem* forces, which ended in the defeat of the former, notwithstanding the vast disparity of numbers, as will soon more fully appear <sup>b</sup>.

Zeid, Mo-  
hammed's ge-  
neral, begins  
his march for  
Mûta ;

ZEID, having received his instructions, began his march for *Mûta*; but being apprized e that the emperor's army, composed of *Greeks* and auxiliary *Arabs*, amounting to 100,000 effective men, was likewise on its march to attack him, he thought proper to halt. In a council of war held on this occasion, it was at first proposed to send to the prophet for a reinforcement, to enable them to make head against so formidable a power, to which their diminutive forces bore no manner of proportion. But at last, by the persuasion of *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba*, it was carried, that they should march directly against the enemy, and engage them, notwithstanding their inferiority in point of numbers. As they were to fight for their religion, and every thing dear to them lay now at stake, they were determined either to conquer or die <sup>c</sup>.

and advances  
to that place.

IN the mean time the *Greeks* advanced to *Amshâref*, a town on the confines of the terri- f tory of *Balka*, with a full resolution to offer the *Moslems* battle. But the latter, in pursuance of the prophet's orders, pushed their march with so much vigour, that they penetrated to *Mûta*, before the enemy reached that place, and immediately made the proper dispositions for an engagement <sup>d</sup>.

The battle of  
Mûta.

THE imperial army being likewise arrived at *Mûta*, the battle immediately began. *Zeid*, who carried the standard of *Islamism*, and fought in the first ranks, was killed in the beginning of the action; as was also *Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who succeeded him in his post. *Abd'allah Ebn Rawâba*, who took upon him the command of the *Moslem* forces after the

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. AL GHAZALI apud Pocockium in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 188, ut & ipse Pocock, ibid. EEN AMID. hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 7. EUTYCHIUS, tom. ii. p. 360. GREG. ABU'L FAR. p. 104. <sup>z</sup> PRID. life of Mahom. p. 70. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 187. <sup>a</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 188. AL MOGHOLTAI. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 100, 101. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 190. SHARIF AL EDRISI. <sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup.



- a death of *Jaafar*, fell next; which occasioned such a consternation amongst the *Moslem* troops, that they instantly betook themselves to flight. However, *Kháled Ebn Al Walid*, who succeeded to the command, rallying the fugitives, returned with the bravest of them to the charge, and fell with such fury upon a body of the enemy, that he broke them, and had cut them all to pieces, had not the approach of the night favoured their retreat. The next day, say the *Mohammedan* writers, *Kháled*, like a skilful warrior, made several movements with his army, in order to amuse the *Greeks*. He commanded the vanguard and the right wing to change places with the rear, and the left, at the same time contracting some of his ranks, and dilating others of them, in such a manner as to make his troops appear much more numerous to the enemy than they really were. This disposition, continue the
- b same authors, had the desired effect; insomuch that the *Greeks*, being persuaded that the *Moslems* had received a strong reinforcement the preceding night, could not be prevailed upon to stand their ground, but fled with so much precipitation that they could never afterwards be rallied. *Kháled*, therefore, pursuing them with his victorious troops, made a great carnage of them, possessed himself of their camp, and carried away with him abundance of rich spoil. When a particular account of this action, of the success of which *Al Bokhári* pretends he was apprized by revelation, was brought to *Mohammed*, he was so transported with joy, that he gave *Kháled* the honourable title of *Seif Min Soyáf Allah*, one of the swords of God<sup>c</sup>.

- THAT the advantage gained by the *Moslems* on this occasion has been greatly amplified *The advantage gained in this action much amplified by the Arabs.*
- c by their historians, we have little reason to doubt. The very genius of the *Arabs*, especially of the hot-headed enthusiasts amongst them, so inclinable to fiction and romance, particularly in relations of this nature, is of itself a sufficient proof of it. But this is likewise farther evinced by the testimony of *Theophanes*, a *Christian* chronographer of good authority, who represents the battle of *Múta*, or, according to him, *Mothus*, as an action of no great importance, neither in itself nor its consequences, either to the *Moslems* or the *Greeks*. He only intimates, that the former lost three *Emirs* in it; and that *Kháled*, the fourth, made his escape; that the *Christian* army consisted only of a body of troops, drawn together in haste, solely with a view to make a sudden incursion upon the *Arab* territories. Nor is it in any degree probable, that 3,000 undisciplined barbarians should overthrow an
- d army of 100,000 men, a considerable part of which, at least, must have consisted of regular troops. However, that the *Arabs*, in their own opinion, if not in fact and reality, had the advantage in this action, seems to be allowed by *Theophanes*, when he tells us, that *Kháled*, the surviving *Emir*, was honoured with the appellation of the *Sword of God*, in agreement with what has been advanced by the *Moslem* writers; and that the *Arabs*, when inured to war, and improved by military discipline, were more than a match for the *Greeks*, will hereafter appear, in our history of the empire of that people, under *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmán*, the three first *Khalífs*, or immediate successors of *Mohammed*<sup>e</sup>.

- WITH regard to the *Moslem* worthies who fell in the battle of *Múta*, we shall only beg *Character of the worthies killed in the preceding battle.*
- e leave to observe, that the loss of them more than balanced the advantage gained in that action. *Jaafar Ebn Abu Táleb* had always persisted, without the least variation, in his fidelity to the prophet, and had been very instrumental in bringing the *Najáshi* into his measures, during his residence in *Ethiopia*. *Zeid Ebn Háretha*, *Mohammed*'s freed-man, and adopted son, had an uncommon affection for him, and was a person of great conduct and bravery, as appeared from his behaviour in the preceding memorable battle. And as for *Abd'allah Ebn Rawába*, that he was a man of determined courage and resolution, besides an excellent military genius, and consequently such a one as *Mohammed* could not at that time very well spare, may be inferred from the advice he gave the *Moslems* before they advanced to *Múta*. That town stood opposite to *Al Carac*, or, as it was afterwards called by the *Christian* historians, *Crac de Montréal*, one of the strongest fortresses in those parts,
- f and not a little celebrated in the times of the *Crusades*. The battle, that rendered *Múta* famous to succeeding ages, was fought, according to *Abu'lfeda*, in the month of the former *Jomáda*, and the eighth year of the *Hejra*<sup>f</sup>.

In the following month, the prophet received advice, that the *Kodaites*, having assembled *Mohammed*'s a considerable body of troops, were upon the point of making an irruption into the territory *troops obtain an advantage over the Kodaites.* of *Medina*. Against these robbers he sent *Amru Ebn Al As* with a detachment of 430 men, 400 of whom were foot, and 30 horse; but being informed that they were not strong enough to face the enemy, he sent them a reinforcement of 200 men, under the command of *Abu Obeidab*. This enabled *Amru* to go in quest of the *Kodaites*, and to attack them at *Dhat Al Soláfel*; where, after a very brisk action, he intirely defeated them, and put several of them to the sword. In the month of *Rajeb*, the prophet perceiving that the *Koreish* were

<sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL BOKHARI in Sonna.

<sup>e</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 278, 279. Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429. AL BOKHARI in Sonna.

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL BOKHARI in Sonna, EBN AMID in continuat. historiar. ejus inedit.



inclinable to come to a rupture with him, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with them, ordered *Abu Obediah Ebn Jarab* to march towards the sea-coast, with a body of 300 men, to observe their motions. Here *Abu Obediah* staid so long, without being able to undertake any thing, that his provisions failed him; insomuch that he was forced to live upon the leaves of trees, which proved very pernicious and destructive to his men. But, at last, they seized upon a sea-monster, that had been thrown upon the shore by the tide, called *Anbur*, and fed upon it fifteen days; by which means they were cured of the ulcers and scorbutic eruptions they had been afflicted with, and had their health perfectly restored <sup>a</sup>.

Another of his parties plunders Kofra, a town of Najd. THE following month, *Abu Kottâda Ebn Rabi*, the *Anfâr*, advanced, at the head of a party of only 15 men, to *Kofra*, a town of the province of *Najd*. Having entered the place without opposition, he slew some of the principal inhabitants, took others of them prisoners, and brought away with him 100 camels, and 1,000 sheep, after having spent fifteen days in the expedition <sup>b</sup>.

The Koreish violate the treaty. ON the twenty-first day of the month *Ramadân*, this year, *Mohammed* took the city of *Mecca*; the citizens whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of *Becr*, who were confederates of the *Koreish*, attacking those of *Khozûab*, seated at *Al Wathir* in the plain of *Mecca*, who were allies of *Mohammed*, massacred twenty of them, and afterwards retired, being supported in the action by a party of the *Koreish* themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended; and *Abu Sofian* himself made a journey to *Medina*, on purpose to heal the breach, and renew the truce; but in vain. For *Mohammed*, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him. Whereupon he applied to *Abu Becr*, *Ali*, *Omar*, and *Fâtema*, to intercede for their countrymen with the prophet; but some of these giving him rough answers, and others none at all, he was obliged to remount his camel, and return to *Mecca* as he came <sup>c</sup>.

Mohammed makes preparations to attack them. MOHAMMED immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the *Meccans* while they were unprovided to receive him. But *Hâteb Ebn Abu Baltaa*, one of his hitherto faithful servants, having been bribed by the *Koreish*, attempted to give the people of *Mecca* notice of the impending danger, tho' without effect. For the letter he would have sent to them, on this occasion, by one *Sarah*, a maid servant of the *Hâshemites*, having been intercepted at *Rawdat Al Khâb*, about twelve miles from *Medina*, was brought to *Mohammed*, to whom, as he pretended, the angel *Gabriel* had discovered the whole affair. *Mohammed* afterwards sending for *Hâteb*, asked him how he came to be guilty of such an action? To which he replied, that it was not out of infidelity, or a desire to return to idolatry, but merely to induce the *Koreish* to treat his family, which was still at *Mecca*, with some kindness; adding, that he was well assured his intelligence would be of no service at all to the *Meccans*, because he was well assured God would take vengeance on them. Whereupon *Omar*, who was present, desired the prophet's leave to strike off his head, as a proper reward for his hypocrisy and infidelity. But *Mohammed* received his excuse, and pardoned him, as he greatly distinguished himself at the battle of *Bedr*; however, the prophet thought fit to forbid any such practices for the future. Which having done, he made all the necessary dispositions for immediately entering upon the intended expedition <sup>d</sup>.

Mohammed begins his march for Mecca. ON the tenth day of the month of *Ramadân*, according to *Al Jannâbi*, *Mohammed* began his march for *Mecca*, attended by an army composed of *Mohâjerîn*, *Anfârs*, and other *Arabs*, who had lately become converts to *Islamism*. These last were drawn principally out of the tribes of *Solaim*, *Ghâfar*, *Aflam*, *Mabzen*, *Tamim*, *Khozûa*, and *Asad*, which supplied the prophet with a very formidable body of troops. The *Moslems*, in their march, observed the fast of *Ramadân* till they arrived at *Candîd*, between *Kodaid* and *Osfân*, a place about 70 miles from *Mecca*, and five from the sea, according to *Sharîf Al Edrisî*. But here they were allowed to refresh themselves, that they might be in a better condition to sustain the fatigues of their march, and to look the enemy in the face when they drew near to *Mecca*. At *Kodaid* the prophet also set up his standards, assigning to each tribe its particular colours, and from thence advanced in order of battle to *Mar Al Dhahrân*, four parasangs from *Mecca*, where the whole army encamped. Here the prophet ordered 10,000 fires to be lighted, and committed the defence of the camp to *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, who cut off all communication with the town, insomuch that the *Koreish* could receive no certain advice of their approach. Amongst others, that came from *Mecca* to reconnoitre the *Moslem* camp, *Abu Sofian Ebn Harb*, *Hakim Ebn Hezâm*, and *Bodail Ebn Warka*, fell into *Omar*'s hands, and, being conducted to *Mohammed*, were obliged to embrace *Islamism*, in order to save their lives. Upon a review of his army at this place, the prophet found it to consist of 10,000 effective men <sup>e</sup>.

Makes the proper dispositions. THE first rumour of this expedition had not a little terrified the *Koreish*, though they were not then apprized that the prophet had resolved upon a war; but perceiving now, by <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ubi sup. p. 200.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. l. p. 102, AL JANNAB.

<sup>i</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. li. p. 102, 103. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 201. AL ZAMAKH-SHAR.

<sup>m</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISSI.



a the report of *Abu Sofián*, who had been sent back to them, that the enemy was at their <sup>for attacking</sup> gates, they were thrown into the utmost consternation. Of this *Mohammed* being informed, <sup>that place,</sup> he was determined to take immediate advantage of the confusion that then reigned amongst them. He, therefore, first dispatched *Hakim* and *Bodail* to the *Meccans*, to invite them to take an oath of allegiance to him, and to become converts to his religion; and then made the following disposition of his forces. *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awám* he ordered to advance with a detachment towards the town, on the side of mount *Cadú*. *Saad Ebn Obad*, prince of the tribe of *Khazraj*, marched, by his order, with another detachment, towards the height of *Coda*, which commands the plain of *Mecca*. *Ali* conducted the left wing of the army, composed of the *Ansárs* and *Mohájerín*. The prophet put into his hands the great standard  
b of *Islamism*, with orders to post himself upon mount *Al Hajun*, and to plant the standard there; strictly enjoining him not to stir from thence till he himself arrived, and till a proper signal from *Saad Ebn Obad* should be given him for that purpose. *Kháled* led the right wing, consisting of the *Arabs* lately converted to *Islamism*, with which he was to possess himself of the plain of *Mecca*. *Abu Obeidab Ebn Al Jarab* commanded in the centre, that was occupied by the *corps de bataille*, consisting intirely of infantry. As for the prophet, he placed himself in the rear, from whence he could the most easily dispatch his orders to all the general officers, as occasion should require. He expressly prohibited *Kháled*, and all his other generals, to act offensively, except they were first attacked<sup>a</sup>.

THINGS being in this situation, the army, upon a signal given, immediately put itself <sup>and takes it.</sup> in motion. The prophet mounted his camel with great alacrity, and was that day clothed in red. He stopped at *Dhu Tava*, in order to perform his devotions, and was surrounded by an infinite number of people, who crowded in from all parts to see him. In the mean time, *Al Zobeir* pursued the route assigned him, without meeting with the least opposition; nor did *Saad Ebn Obad*, in his march, discover the faintest traces of an enemy. As for *Ali*, he took possession of the post assigned him without the least effusion of blood; and *Abu Obeidab* seized upon the suburbs, without the loss of a single man. But *Kháled*, in his march to the plain of *Mecca*, met with a large body of the *Koreish*, sustained by the *Banu Becr* and the *Ababishites*, their confederates, whom he immediately attacked; and, after a sharp dispute, dispersed them, putting 28 of them to the sword. Not content with this,  
d he pursued them into the town, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants; which so terrified the rest, that some of them shut themselves up in their houses; others fled to the mountains, others to the sea-coast, and others, lastly, made their escape to *Yaman*, to avoid the fury of that most impious and merciless barbarian, who had now made himself master of their city<sup>b</sup>.

MECCA being thus reduced, *Mohammed* made his public entry into that town, exactly <sup>He makes his</sup> at the time the sun first appeared upon the horizon. He was mounted on his camel <sup>Al public entry</sup> *Kafwa*, having on his right hand *Abu Becr*, on his left *Osaid Ebn Hodhair*, and *Osama Ebn* <sup>into Mecca.</sup> *Zeid* walked behind him. 'Tis said, that, on this occasion, he repeated aloud the whole forty-eighth chapter of the *Korán*, intituled, THE VICTORY, which, as he pretended, was  
e revealed to him two years before the commencement of this expedition<sup>c</sup>.

ACCORDING to one of the *Moslem* doctors, the *Meccans*, at *Mohammed's* approach, thought *Mohammed* fit to surrender at discretion; so that he possessed himself of their city without any effusion <sup>lost only two</sup> of blood; tho' another, of equal authority, asserts, that he took the town by force, and <sup>men in the ex-</sup> exercised great cruelties upon the inhabitants. But neither of these accounts seems to be <sup>pedition of</sup> strictly true, as appears from the preceding narrative. For the *Koreish* seem to have made their submission to him, before they were rendered absolutely incapable of resisting him, tho' *Kháled* put a considerable number of them to the sword. Be that, however, as it will, according to *Abu'lfeda*, he lost only two men on this occasion<sup>d</sup>.

ALL tumults being now appeased, and the public tranquillity restored, *Mohammed* went <sup>Destroys the</sup> seven times in procession round the *Caaba*, touching the corner of the *black stone* with the <sup>idols of the</sup> staff in his hand, as often as he passed by it, with great devotion. Then he entered the <sup>Koreish:</sup> *Caaba*, where observing several idols in the form of angels, and the statues of *Abraham* and *Ishmael*, with the arrows of divination in their hands, he caused them all to be destroyed. He also broke to pieces, with his own hands, a wooden pigeon, that had long been esteemed as one of their deities by the idolatrous *Koreish*. Afterwards entering into the interior part of the *Caaba*, he repeated, with a loud voice, the form used at this day by the *Mohammedans*, ALLAH ACBAR, GOD IS GREAT, &c. turning towards every part of the temple. Then he prayed between the two pillars there, with two inclinations, as well as without the *Caaba*; saying to those that attended him, *This is your Kebla, or the place towards which you are to*

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 104, 105. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 207, 208, &c. AL FIRAUZABAD. in AL Kam.

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 106, 107. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 208, 209. MOSLEM, EBN AMID, lib. i. c. i. AL TABAR. GREG. ABU'LFAR. hist. dynast. p. 164. <sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup.

<sup>d</sup> AL SHAFEI & ABU HANIFA apud ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. li. p. 107. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid.



turn your faces in prayer; and then entering the temple a second time, he preached to the people. He likewise, at this time, purged the *Caaba* of 360 idols, equalling in number the days of the *Arabian* year; the chief of which was that of *Habal*, brought originally out of *Syria*; whose name seems to have been deduced from *חבל*, *Habal*, country. After which, the prophet compassed the *Caaba* again seven times, and then visited the well *Zemzem*, so celebrated among the *Mohammedans*. He also performed the *Wadd*, or ordinary ablution used in common cases, with all the proper ceremonies, and all his followers did the like; which not a little excited the admiration of the idolaters. Then *Ali*, by his order, broke to pieces the great idol of the *Khozaites*, who held the angels to be the daughters of God, placed on the top of the *Caaba*, which was a composition of glass and melted or cast brass. It may not be improper to remark, on this occasion, that *Mohammed* entered the *Caaba* four times after the *Hejra*: first, when he performed the visitation of *Al Kedd*, or the completion; secondly, the day he took *Mecca*; thirdly, the day after that exploit; and, lastly, when he performed the peregrination, or pilgrimage, of *validation*. But the most solemn entry of all was that here described, which happened immediately after the reduction of *Mecca*.

and after-  
wards endea-  
vours to ingra-  
tiate himself  
with them.

THE prophet having thus subdued the *Koreish*, in order to prevent effectually all future commotions, and consequently to render them the more subservient to the accomplishment of his designs, he resolved now to ingratiate himself with them. Sending, therefore, for some of the principal of them, he said, *What treatment do you expect to meet with from me, now I have subdued you?* To which they replied, *None but what is favourable, O generous brother! O son of a generous brother!* Then he dismissed them with these words, *Go your way, you are from this moment a free people.* After this, to preserve peace and tranquility amongst his followers, he pretended, that a passage in the fourth chapter of the *Korán* had been revealed to him, the primary design of which was, to direct him to return the keys of the *Caaba* to *Othmán Ebn Telha*, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place, and not to deliver them to his uncle *Al Abbás*, who, having already the custody of the well *Zemzem*, would fain have had also that of the *Caaba*. The prophet obeying the pretended divine order, *Othmán* was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him entrance, that he immediately professed a second time *Mohammedism*; whereupon the guardianship of the *Caaba* was confirmed to this *Othmán* and his heirs for ever. The day the prophet took *Mecca*, when he entered the temple, he ordered *Belál*, his crier, to get upon the top of the *Caaba* at noon, and to call the people to prayer, from thence, for the first time; which custom has ever since been religiously observed, the criers giving the people notice of prayer from the *Minarets*, or steeples, of the mosques, as well as the top of the *Caaba*, in the same manner, and the very same form of words, at this day.

Some pretended  
proofs of his  
mission.

AT this time, as some of the *Moslem* writers pretend, *Mohammed* gave two or three signal proofs of the reality of his mission, and intercourse with the Supreme Being, by discovering, though at a considerable distance, several secret reflections, thrown out by *Atáb Ebn H'said*, *Al Háreth Ebn Heshám*, *Jameiretka Bint Abu Jabl*, and some of the *Ansárs*, assembled on the hill *Al Safá*, against him. But this being to be considered only as a low and groveling imitation of two or three particulars related of our Saviour in the Gospels, and favouring perfectly of the *Arab* genius, so extremely addicted to fable, romance, and rhodomontade, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it here; especially as, like a thousand other chimæras of the *Mohammedans*, believed by no body but the most bigotted and ignorant part of themselves, it merits not the least attention.

He proscribes  
several of the  
Arabs.

THE day after the taking of *Mecca*, the *Khozaites*, elated with the prophet's success, massacred one *Al Anza*, of the tribe of *Hodhail*, an idolater. Nor did their insolence stop here; one of them, named *Khorash Ebn Ommeya*, killing *Abmar*, a *Moslem*, and a man of great bravery and resolution. This induced *Mohammed* to declare *Mecca* an asylum, and to give out publicly, that he would maintain, to the utmost of his power, the inviolable security of that place. However, after he had been solemnly inaugurated on the hill *Al Safá*, by the people assembled for that purpose, and they all, and particularly *Henda Bint Otba*, the wife of *Abu Sufián*, had taken the oath of allegiance to him, he thought fit to proscribe several persons who had rendered themselves the most obnoxious by their former conduct. The persons so proscribed amounted to no more than six men and four women, according to *Abu'lfeda*; tho', if we will believe *Al Bokhári*, in the *Sonna*, eleven men and six women

\* ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 107, 108. EBN ABBAS apud Al Bokhar. in Son. ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. Lib. SHAFAR' L GARAM, i. e. *Medicin. Morbor.* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 211, 212. ABD'ALLAH EBN OMAR apud Al Bokhar. in Son. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 95, ut & ipse Poc. ibid. EBN AL ATHIR. See also SALE's prelim. disc. p. 20. \* ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 107. Autor. lib. dict. AL ECTEFA, AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 220, 221. \* AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 213. MATT. c. ix. v. 4. LUK. c. ix. v. 46, 47. JOH. c. xvi. v. 30. xxi. 17.



a were excluded out of the general amnesty. As the source is of the highest authority, and the account is so full, we shall beg leave to follow it in this particular, and insert a short account of those unhappy wretches here; tho' only three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing *Islamism*, and one of the women making her choice.

1. THE first man, solemnly proscribed by the prophet, was *Arenas Ebn Al-Jahel*, who fled to the sea-shore, the day *Mohammed* made his public entry into *Mecca*. But *Omar Hekim Ebn Al-Murrah Ebn Hekim*, to whom he had been newly married, procured him his pardon. After which, *Mohammed* conferred upon him, as a mark of his favour, the post of colonel of a regiment of *Hawāzmites*; and he always behaved extremely well in the service. He b was at last killed, fighting valiantly, at the battle of *Yermuk*, in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, after he had received no less than seventy wounds.

2. THE second was *Hebār Ebn Al-Afwād*, who, by repeated ill treatment, had grievously offended the prophet. He had, conscious of his crimes, concealed himself in such a manner, the day *Mecca* was taken, that none of the *Moslems* could find him. However, he afterwards obtained a pardon, by discovering all the marks of a sincere penitent, embracing *Islamism*, and making a double profession of it.

3. THE third person who had incurred the prophet's highest displeasure, was *Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarab*, foster brother to *Othmān Ebn Affān*, who, with great difficulty, procured him a pardon. His crimes were of a very heinous nature. He was, for some c time, the prophet's amanuensis; and, when these words were dictated to him as revealed, viz. *We created man of a purer kind of clay, &c.* cried out, by way of admiration, *Blessed be God, the best Creator!* and being ordered by *Mohammed* to write these words down also, as part of the inspired passage, he began to think himself as great a prophet as his master. Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the *Korān*, according to his own fancy, and even to ridicule *Mohammed*, by declaring every-where, that *he knew not what he said*. Nay, retiring afterwards to *Mecca*, he associated with the *Koreish*, and even at length absolutely apostatized. He had rendered himself so extremely disagreeable to *Mohammed*, that a passage in the sixth chapter of the *Korān* is thought by the commentators to be levelled at him. However, *Othmān*, by his reiterated instances, at last prevailed upon d the prophet to lay aside his resentment, and pardon him; and he was afterwards looked upon as one of the most considerable, the most prudent, and the most honourable, of the *Koreish*. He was a most excellent horseman, and, so extremely fond of horses, that, when he was at the point of death, he repeated the 100th chapter of the *Korān*, intitled, THE WAR-HORSES WHICH RUN SWIFTLY. He died at *Ascalon*, or, as others will have it, at *Ramla*, in *Palestine*, whither he was sent by the *Khalif* *Othmān*, who had made him governor of *Egypt*, in the 36th or the 37th year of the *Hejra*.

4. THE fourth man proscribed was *Mekās Ebn Sabāba*, the *Kendite*, who had killed an *Anṣār*, that had slain his brother, by mistake. He also apostatized, associated with the idolaters, and drank wine. He was at last cut off by *Tamīla Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Leithite*, e one of his companions.

5. THE fifth person doomed to destruction, was *Abd'allah Ebn Khatal*, descended from the *Banu Taim*. He had killed a *Moslem*, associated with two comedians, named *Fariata* and *Koriba*, who had sung satirical verses upon *Mohammed*. For all which crimes the prophet thought fit to proscribe him. Being found in a private part of the *Caaba*, where he lay concealed, on the day *Mecca* was taken, the prophet ordered him to be slain there, in contempt and violation of the privileges of that sacred place. But finding afterwards that this barbarous, as well as impious, action shocked even his own most bloody and abandoned followers, he gave out, that he had a peculiar licence from heaven to violate the immunities of the *Caaba* for one hour only. In this manner did the impostor trample upon f every thing held sacred by the other *Arabs*, and even acknowledged to be so by himself, when it stood in the way of his insatiable ambition; and this, to use his own expression, by forging a lie concerning God, than which nothing can be more superlatively wicked, as he has himself expressly allowed in the sixth chapter of the *Korān*.

6. THE sixth man proscribed, was *Al Howaireth Ebn Nokaid Ebn Wahab Ebn Abd Ebn Kosa*, and consequently a member of the most illustrious tribe of *Koreish*. He had reviled the prophet, and insulted his daughters *Fātema* and *Omm Calthūm*, or, as others will have it, *Zeinab*, who happened at that time to be with child, in the rudest and most outrageous

<sup>u</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 215. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lii. p. 108—111. AL BOKHAR. in Sonna.

<sup>w</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 109. et & Lib. SHARFAO'L GARAM, Aut. lib. SAFWA, AL BOKHAR, ubi sup.

<sup>x</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. <sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 217. AL KOR. MOHAM.

f. vi. AL BEIDAWI. <sup>z</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. Aut. Lib. MOALEMO'L TANZIL, AL JAN-

NAB. ubi sup. p. 219. <sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL BOKHARI, ubi sup. Aut. Lib. SHARFAO'L GARAM, AL JAN-

NAB. ubi sup. p. 216. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vi.



manner. This was a most atrocious and even unpardonable crime; so that Mohammed first a proscribed him, and afterwards ordered *Ali Ebn Abu Talib* to slay him<sup>2</sup>.

7. THE seventh, according to *Al Jaunân*, was *Safwan Ebn Ommeia*, a very rich man, and one who had maltreated the prophet. He was at *Jodda*, when *Mecca* was taken, and, with his valet *Tesar*, upon the point of making his escape to *Tamam*, when *Omar Ebn Wabar* arrived with his pardon from Mohammed. Being a person of great influence and authority, he had his liberty given him, and was even not obliged to turn Mohammedan<sup>3</sup>.

8. THE eighth was *Hareth Ebn Talâta*, who had used Mohammed ill on several occasions. He was dispatched by *Ali*, who cut off his head at the prophet's command<sup>4</sup>.

9. THE ninth was *Caab Ebn Zohair Ebn Abu Salama*, the *Mazenite*, who had been very satirical upon the prophet. The day *Mecca* was taken, he retired, and returned the next year. We shall speak farther of him hereafter<sup>5</sup>.

10. THE tenth was *Wabsha Ebn Harb*, an *Ethiopian*, who had killed *Hamza*, the prophet's uncle, at the battle of *Obod*. He was mortally hated by the *Moslems* for that action. He likewise fled, when *Mecca* was taken, but returned the next year. We shall see what became of him hereafter<sup>6</sup>.

11. THE eleventh man proscribed by Mohammed was *Abd'allah Ebn Zuhara*, one of the most celebrated poets of the *Arabs*. He had ridiculed the prophet, and his companions, in his verses, and excited the idolaters to fall upon them. He also fled, when *Mecca* was taken, apprehending that he should be proscribed. But returning afterwards, and professing *Islamism*, he easily obtained his pardon<sup>7</sup>.

1. OF the women proscribed by Mohammed, the first was *Henda Bint Otba*, the wife of *Abu Sofian*. She had frequently used the prophet ill, and treated the body of *Hamza*, after the above-mentioned *Ethiopian* had dispatched him, with great inhumanity. She was disguised, and covered with a veil, when she appeared before Mohammed; who, notwithstanding her former savage and iniquitous conduct, was prevailed upon to pardon her<sup>8</sup>.

2. THE second was *Parjata*, one of the comedians above-mentioned, who, in their songs and verses, had been very satirical upon the prophet. She was the maid-servant of *Abd'allah Ebn Khatal*, who had been butchered by Mohammed for the same affront. However, she obtained her pardon, by becoming a proselyte to *Islamism*<sup>9</sup>.

3. THE third was *Kariba*, or, as others call her, *Kainata*, the other comedian, employed by *Abd'allah Ebn Khatal*. She was taken, and fixed to a cross, upon which she expired in exquisite torture<sup>10</sup>.

4. THE fourth was another maid-servant of the aforesaid *Abd'allah*, who likewise suffered death<sup>11</sup>.

5. THE fifth was *Sarah*, the maid-servant belonging to the family of *Hâsham*, who had been employed by *Hâteb Ebn Abu Baltaa*, to carry the letter he wrote to the *Koreish*, to inform them of Mohammed's intention to besiege *Mecca*. She was pardoned, and died in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*<sup>12</sup>.

6. THE sixth and last was one *Omm Saad Arnab*, of whom we know nothing more than that she was butchered, for some ill offices done the prophet, that have not been specified by any of the *Moslem* historians<sup>13</sup>.

Mohammed remains fifteen days at Mecca after the surrender of that place.

Mohammed remained at *Mecca*, after the surrender of that place, which happened on Friday the 21st of *Ramadân*, only fifteen days. This short time was spent in regulating the affairs of the government, and sending his generals upon several military expeditions, whose chief objects were the destruction of idolatry, and the extension of his new conquests. As he was wholly taken up with affairs of the highest consequence, he curtailed his prayers, and instead of four formerly in vogue, used now only two inclinations. Having settled every thing to his satisfaction at *Mecca*, he set out from thence on the sixth of the month of *Shawâl*, at the head of his forces, for *Honein*, where he arrived the same day<sup>14</sup>.

He sends Khalid to destroy the idol Al Uzza.

HOWEVER, before his departure from *Mecca*, he detached his most famous general, *Khalid Ebn Walid*, with a body of troops to *Nakbla*, a city about a day's journey from *Mecca*, in the neighbourhood of *Al Tayef*, with orders to destroy the idol *Al Uzza*, made of the trunk of a tree, and adored by the *Bani Kenânah*. *Khalid* executed his orders so effectually, that, after he had pierced *Al Uzza*, or *Al Uzza*, with an arrow discharged at her, as a mark of his respect, for that purpose, he slew two ugly she-demons, or rather two of *Al Uzza's* priestesses, that appeared. The first of these fell out after the arrow

<sup>2</sup> *Abu'l-Fero.* & *Al Bokhari*, c. 10. *Pax Hassan* apud *Aut. Lib. S. 101. C. 12.* *Al Jassaz*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Al Bokhari*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 220. *Abu'l-Fero*, *geogr. Arab.* p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Al Bokhari*, & *Al Jassaz*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 220. *Abu'l-Fero*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 63. *Al Bokhari*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 52. *Al Bokhari*, in *Bonar*.

<sup>5</sup> *Abu'l-Fero*, *geogr. Arab.* p. 52. *Al Bokhari*, in *Bonar*. <sup>6</sup> *Abu'l-Fero*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 110. *Al Bokhari*, & *Al Jassaz*, c. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 103. *Al Bokhari*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 215.

<sup>8</sup> *Abu'l-Fero*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 103. *Al Bokhari*, c. 10. *Idem*, p. 215.



a was discharged, and the other after the idol was burnt, and the temple belonging to it demolished. The adoration of *Al Uzza* was not confined to the *Bani Kendaab*, that goddess having been also worshipped by the *Bani Salim* and the *Kereja* <sup>and Amra</sup>.

At the same time that *Khalid* destroyed the idol *Al Uzza*, *Amru bin Al As* broke to pieces the idol *Sakra*, belonging to the tribe of *Hadhail*, at *Kebat*, about three miles distant from *Mecca*; and *Saad bin Zaid* did the same to *Al Nakh*, an idol of the tribes of *Aws* and *Khazraj*, and the other inhabitants of the district of *Madina*. The former of these idols was supposed to have been older than the deluge, to have been discovered by the devil, and to have had pilgrimages instituted to it; and the latter, that was a large stone, was placed on the top of an eminence not far from the sea, by the foot of which ran the river *Cedra*.  
 b Here the tribes of *Hadhail*, *Khazaab*, *Tbakif*, *Aws*, and *Khazraj*, frequently assembled, and offered their sacrifices. We are told by some of the *Moslem* writers, that *Saad* killed a she-fiend, or an ugly black priestess, as well as *Khalid*, that seemed by no means inclinable to survive the idol with which she had so long had a most close and inseparable connexion.

In order to give our readers some idea of the origin of this sort of idols amongst the *Arabs*, we must beg leave to observe, that, according to the *Moslem* doctors, the *Caaba* was held in the highest veneration by that people from the remotest antiquity. They pretend, that this temple was built by *Abraham*; tho' 'tis more probable, that either *Ishmael*, or some of his descendents, erected it. The city of *Mecca* itself, which is extremely ancient, had at first, according to *Golius*, the name of *Caba*, or *Caaba*; tho' afterwards it was called *Mecca*, or *Becca*, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, from the infinity of strangers that resorted to it, in the months of *Al Moharram* and *Dhu'l-hajja*, from all parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. The posterity of *Ishmael*, according to the *Moslem* writers, remained in the worship of the true God, as long as they confined themselves to this place. But the inhabitants of *Mecca*, in process of time, multiplied to such a degree, that they were obliged to seek for new habitations, and plant colonies, in the neighbouring parts; when, in order to preserve the veneration and respect they had always for the *Caaba*, they carried with them some stones taken from thence, and fixed them in the places of their residence, compassing them, when they performed their devotions, in the same manner as they formerly had done the *Caaba*. This religious ceremony insensibly  
 c degenerated into the worst kind of superstition, by the *Arabs* converting these stones into idols, and adorning them with a great variety of decorations. So that the religion and primitive institutions of their great ancestors *Abraham* and *Ishmael* being at last totally forgotten, they became gross and multifarious idolaters. However, there were always some amongst them who adhered to the religion of *Abraham*, in its ancient purity, and regularly performed the pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, going in procession round that sacred place with the most fervent devotion. For a more particular account of the idols destroyed by *Mohammed's* order in *Arabia*, and the religion, or rather superstition, of the ancient *Arabs*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to our history of that people before the time of *Mohammed*, to which it more properly belongs.

In the month of *Shawwal*, after *Khalid* had finished his expedition against *Al-Uzza*, he was  
 d dispatched with a body of 350 men to propagate *Islamism*; but was ordered by the prophet not to act offensively any where, except he should be first attacked. Having received his instructions, he marched directly against the *Jadhimites*, a tribe who, before the establishment of the new religion, had assassinated *Auf Abd'al Rahman's* father, and *Khalid's* uncle, when those two persons were on their return from *Taman*, and carried off all their effects, *Khalid*, therefore, was resolved to take vengeance on them for so inhuman and impious an action. In order to which, having incamped near a water, or well, that belonged to them, he waited their approach; and, upon their appearing armed, he ordered them to lay down their arms, and profess *Islamism*. This, according to *Abul-feda*, they readily complied with. But *Khalid*, far from being satisfied with so prompt and quick a submission, commanded their hands to be tied behind their backs, and then, in a most brutal manner, put the greatest part of them to the sword. Which cruel, as well as cowardly, action was highly disapproved of by *Mohammed*. However, *Al Bokhari*, in order to palliate *Khalid's* conduct, tells us, that the *Jadhimites* would not cry out, *We embrace Islamism*, as *Khalid* ordered them to do; but, on the contrary, loudly declared, that they professed *Schism*; upon which, *Khalid* fell upon them, killed many of them, and took the rest prisoners. To which he adds, that *Khalid* could not prevail upon his men to massacre their captives; and that the prophet himself afterwards applauded their conduct on this occasion. But we must  
 e beg leave to observe, that *Abul-feda*, for the most part a fair and candid writer, seems to have given us the most dispassionate and impartial relation of this affair, and without such

<sup>a</sup> *Al Jazayer*, vol. 1. p. 226.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid*. *Al Fatawa* in *Arabic*, *Al Ham*.

<sup>c</sup> *Al Jazayer*, vol. 1. p. 226.

<sup>d</sup> *Al Jazayer*, vol. 1. p. 226. *Al Jazayer*, vol. 1. p. 226. *Al Jazayer*, vol. 1. p. 226.



a *and as much as allowed perfectly agreeable to Khaled's character. Nay, that historian positively affirms, that Mohammed sent Ali to distribute a sum of money amongst the surviving Jabinites, to make them some amends for the blood Khaled had spilt; as also, that Abd'al Rahman, whose father's death Khaled pretended to revenge, upbraided him with his cruelty. In fine, if this author may be depended upon, Mohammed, with great indignation, said to this butcher, O Khaled, cease to molest my followers. If you possessed a heap of gold as large as mount Othel, and expended it all in God's cause, your merit would not be equal to that of one of those persons whom you have so inhumanly destroyed'.*

Mohammed's  
expedition  
against the  
tribes of Ha-  
waraz and  
Thakif.

The prophet having received advice, that his enemies were making great warlike preparations, resolved to march against them with all his forces. Before his departure, he constituted Otub Ebn Osaid Ebn Abu'l Ais Ebn Ommeya Ebn Abd Shems commandant of Mecca, b and nominated Moadh Ebn Jabal, Imam, or supreme director of every thing relating to religion. The Arabs, that opposed him in this war, were the tribes of Hawāzen and Thakif, who were joined by the Saadites, a branch of the Banu Becri. The generals, who commanded the troops formed out of these tribes, amounting to about 4,000 men, were Mālec Ebn Awf, the Nadirite, Deraid Ebn Al Semma, the Jashmīte, at that time above an hundred years of age, whose body was reduced to a mere skeleton, and Kenānah Abd Yāhil, the Thakifite. These infidels, says Al Jannābi, being closely attached to their idols, could not bring themselves to submit to Mohammed's institutions; and therefore resolved to make a vigorous effort to re-establish their idolatrous worship. In order to this, the aforesaid Arab c generals, having assembled all their forces, advanced to the plain of Arwās, between Dhāt Irk and Amra, and at a small distance from the valley of Honein, situated between Mecca and Tāyef, about three miles from the former city. Here they incamped, with a resolution to wait for the Moslem army, and made all the necessary dispositions for entering immediately upon action.

The battle of  
Honein.

In the mean time, Mohammed being informed by Abd'allah Ebn Abu Jardad, the Aslamite, one of his spies, who had penetrated Mālec's designs, of all the enemy's motions, set out from Mecca on the sixth day of the month Sharwāl, with an army of 12,000 men, in order to attack the infidel Arabs. The Moslems arrived at Honein in the evening, and found the enemy drawn up in order of battle, having chosen a spot of ground very commodious for their horse. To the advantageous situation of the place Mālec, the enemy's general, added d a stratagem, which proved of considerable service to him. By favour of the night, he extended his army on two eminences that commanded the plain, and posted a body of troops at the streights of the valley, ordering them to form an ambuscade, and in the morning, immediately after break of day, to discharge their arrows from all parts upon the enemy, to throw them into confusion, and then to fall upon them sword in hand with the greatest impetuosity, without giving them time to recover themselves. In the mean time, Mohammed having put his army in battle-array, and mounted his white mule Daldal, gave the signal to his troops to advance, and begin the attack.

The Moslems seeing themselves so greatly superior to the enemy, whom they held in the utmost contempt, made themselves sure of the victory; insomuch that a certain person, e whom some suppose to have been Abu Becri, others Salema Ebn Salāma, others Al Abbās, and, lastly, others the prophet himself, cried out, 'Tis impossible these should be overcome by so few. But God, say some of the Moslem writers, was so highly displeased with this confidence, that he suffered the apostle and his followers to be not a little mortified on this occasion. For the Mohammedan troops were scarce entered the valley, when they found themselves overwhelmed by a shower of arrows, discharged from all parts, in pursuance of Mālec's orders, by the idolaters, who occupied the heights both on the right hand and on the left. This, with the brisk attack that followed, as Mālec had foreseen, threw the Moslems into such confusion, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, some of f them running away quite to Mecca. In the mean time, the prophet did his utmost, both by words and actions, to animate his troops, and persuade them to return to the charge; but, for some time, without effect, scarce any of them standing by him, except Abu Becri, Omar, Ali Ebn Abu Tāleb, Al Abbās, Abu Sofiān Ebn Al Hāreth, with his son Jaasar, Al Fodhl Ebn Al Abbās, Rabla Ebn Al Hāreth, and Osāma Ebn Zeid. Nay, for some time, the prophet himself was in extreme danger, Aiman Ebn Obaid dropping down dead at his feet. However, according to some of the Arab writers, Mohammed distinguished himself on this occasion, his courage being so great, that his uncle Al Abbās, and his cousin Abu Sofiān Ebn Al Hāreth, had much ado to prevent his spurring his mule into the midst of the enemy, by laying hold on the bridle and stirrup. In this extremity, he had recourse to stratagem,

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. liii. p. 111, 112. SALEM & AL ZOHAR, apud Al Bokhār. in Sonna, ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 227. <sup>2</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. liv. p. 112—115. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 227. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, FER-I-HAK, EBN AMID lib. i. c. i. <sup>3</sup> Ibidem ibid.

which



a which did him signal service; addressing himself to his mule *Dalal*, *Lie down on the ground*, said he, *lie down on the ground*; which the mule accordingly did, and thereby infused fresh vigour into his troops. Then he ordered *Al Abûs*, who had the voice of a *Striter*, to recall his flying battalions; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy, they attacked them a second time, and, by the divine assistance, gained a complete victory <sup>1</sup>.

At the beginning of the action, when the *Moslems* deserted their prophet, some of the new converts, particularly *Abu Sufûn Ebn Harb*, *Calda*, and *Safwân Ebn Ommeya*, could not conceal their joy for the disaster that had befallen him. They openly discovered their abhorrence both of him and his religion, tho' they had so lately declared themselves profelytes to it, at this juncture. And in the same manner will all future new converts to any religion, party, or political scheme, who become so purely out of a mercenary motive, or solely with a view to forward their own interest, probably act upon all future similar occasions <sup>2</sup>.

AFTER the *Hawâzenites* gave ground, the *Thakîstes* defended themselves with so much bravery, that they chose to be cut in pieces rather than turn their backs. Seventy of them were found dead under their colours, after the end of the action. However, at last the defeat was general, and all the plain was covered with dead bodies <sup>3</sup>.

MALEC, the enemy's general, with his principal officers, retired to the castle of *Al Tayef*; *Mâlec retires to the castle of Al Tayef*. and most of the others that escaped fled to *Nakbla*. But *Doraid Ebn Al Semma*, by reason of his great age and infirmities, was obliged to stay at *Awtâs*. This occasioned another general action, of which we shall soon give our readers a particular account <sup>4</sup>.

THE principal of the prisoners taken at the battle of *Honein* was *Al Shîma Bint Al Hâreth*, *Al Shîma taken prisoner*. whose mother was *Halîma*, of the tribe of *Saad*. She had been foster-sister to the apostle, who had formerly bit her in the back, and the scar of the wound still remained. Upon her shewing him this, he gave her her liberty, and sent her back to her friends, as she desired <sup>5</sup>.

MOHAMMED, after the preceding engagement, receiving advice, that *Doraid Ebn Al Semma* was at *Awtâs*, with the *Joshmite* troops, sent *Obaid*, surnamed *Abu Amer*, with a large detachment to reduce him. *Obaid* coming up with the enemy in the plain of *Awtâs*, fell upon them with such fury, that, after a sharp dispute, he intirely defeated them; tho' he himself lost his life in the action. However, *Abu Musa*, who succeeded *Obaid* in the command of the detachment, pursued the flying enemy, who had taken the route of *Nakbla*; and *Rabia Ebn Rafî*, one of *Abu Musa*'s men, put *Doraid Ebn Al Semma* himself to the sword in the pursuit. *Obaid*'s death greatly affected *Mohammed*, who, in compliance with his dying request, after having purified himself with the ablution called *Wodû*, offered up his prayers both for *Obaid* and his successor *Abu Musa*. Whence it appears, that the *Moslems* considered their prophet as capable of performing the function of a mediator or intercessor. As some of *Mohammed*'s men had a scruple of conscience relating to their enjoyment of the female captives taken at *Honein* and *Awtâs*, in order to remove this, the prophet had recourse to his usual impious artifice, of pretending to have had a divine revelation, by which the matter was ultimately settled. It was therefore declared, by a passage of the *Korân*, that it is lawful to marry those who are slaves, or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications, tho' their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of *Abu Hanîsa*, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken, or in actual slavery with them. We are moreover assured by the *Korân*, that the *Moslems* were assisted by troops of angels at the battle of *Honein*, tho' neither *Mohammed*, nor any of his men, perceived them. As to the precise number of these celestial auxiliaries, the commentators differ: some say they were 5,000, some 8,000, and others 16,000. A great number of profelytes were gained by that battle, and the action at *Awtâs*. After which, *Mohammed*, at their desire, was so generous as to restore the captives to their friends, and offered to make amends himself to any of his men who should not be willing to part with his prisoners; but they all conformed to the will of their prophet in this, as well as every other particular <sup>6</sup>.

THE prophet being informed, that *Mâlec*, with the shatter'd remains of his army, was fled to *Al Tayef*, resolved to put an end to this bloody and expensive war, by the reduction of that place. As he knew the importance of the city, that was fortified with a castle, and had foreseen all the difficulties that would attend the siege of so strong a fortress, he had provided himself with battering rams, catapults, and all other military machines employed in such operations, together with the most skilful engineers to play them, with which he was supplied by the tribe of *Daws*, the most famous of all the *Arabs* for such arti-

\* ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, EBN ISH. ubi sup. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in f. ix. Al Kor. Moham. ut & ipse Al Kor. MOHAM. ibid. <sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 114. <sup>2</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 231. <sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>4</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 115. <sup>5</sup> ABU'LFED. in descript. Arab p. 15. ABU MUSA & ABU BORDA apud Al Bokhâr. in Sonna, ut & ipse AL BOKHARI ibid. AL BEIDAWI, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ix.



suers, and, in fine, with every thing requisite to bring so hazardous an enterprize to a happy conclusion. For this purpose, he dispatched *Al Tefail Ebn Amru*, the *Dawlat*, to invite his brethren to embrace *Islamism*, and to furnish the prophet with a body of troops. He also at the same time commanded him, in his way, to destroy the idol called *Dbu'l-Cassain*, or the *two-handed idol*, made of wood, and belonging to one *Amru Ebn Jamca*. After the execution of which commissions, he was ordered to rejoin the army before *Al Tayef*, of which place the prophet proposed immediately to form the siege<sup>a</sup>.

and forms the  
siege of that  
place.

*AL TAFAIL* having reduced the idol *Dbu'l-Cassain* to ashes, and brought the tribe of *Daws* over to *Islamism*, in pursuance of his orders, returned to *Mohammed*, with a body of *Dawlat* auxiliaries, amounting to 400 men, together with a great number of military machines, spades, pick-axes, and other instruments proper for removing the earth, and b  
sapping the walls of cities. He arrived in the camp before *Al Tayef* four days after the commencement of the siege<sup>c</sup>.

Description of  
Al Tayef.

*AL TAYEF* was a city of no very large extent, about sixty miles, or three stations, to the east of *Mecca*. It was situated, says *Abu'lfeda*, in a fruitful territory, to the east of mount *Ghazwân*, which the *Arabs* commonly pronounce *Afwân*. The mountain is the coldest spot in the province of *Hejâz*, the water there being frozen in the clefts of the rocks. It produces excellent raisins, and is blessed with a very salubrious air. *Al Jannâbi* adds, that its territory is spacious, capable of cultivation, and abounding with fountains. The word *Tâyes* signifies *turning in a round*, and was applied to this city, according to *Abu'lfeda*, because, at the time of the deluge, the spot on which it stands was detached from *Syria*, and, c  
after having been continually turned in a round, by the violence of the waters, was at last fixed in the place where it still remains. But the inhabitants, if we will believe *Al Jannâbi*, relate, that *Gabriel* transported the ground, on which it now is seated, as well as the city itself, from the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, to the place where it at present stands. From whence comes the name *Al Tayef*. It was anciently, whilst distant only two parasangs from *Sanaa*, says the same author, called *Veja*, or *Waj*<sup>d</sup>.

The siege of  
that place.

*MOHAMMED* departed from *Honein* on the tenth of *Shawâl*, to form the siege of *Al Tayef*; having sent *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* before with the van-guard of the army, to invest the place. With the rest of the troops he marched directly to *Nakbla*, and made himself master of that town. From thence he advanced to *Karne*, afterwards to *Al Malib*, and then to the d  
tree called *Roga*, belonging to *Labba*, where he erected a mosque. After this, leaving the great road, he ruined a castle belonging to *Mâlec*; from whence turning to the left, he encamped at *Alisier*, which is likewise called *Sadera*. Afterwards he pillaged and destroyed several castles of the *Thakîfites*; and last of all sat down before *Al Tayef*, taking his quarters on a spot directly opposite to the castle. But as his camp was so near the fortifications, being within bow-shot of them, the garrison discharged a shower of arrows upon his men, by which several of them were slain. This obliged him to change his post, and retire to a farm, called at this day *Salama*, at a greater distance from the town, where he encamped. Here he caused two tents to be pitched, one for his wife *Omm Salma*, and the other for *Zeinab*, who attended him in this expedition. As long as the siege continued, he constantly e  
said his prayers between these two tents; and after the *Thakîfites* embraced *Islamism*, *Amru Ebn Ommeya Ebn Wahab Ebn Mateb Ebn Mâlec* built a mosque upon the place where *Mohammed* had prayed. This mosque was so enlarged by the *Khalif Al Mo'tassem Billah*, that it was rendered capable of containing a very numerous congregation. He also erected a magnificent mausoleum upon the tomb of *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, his uncle, and two stately domes of fine cut stone on the places where *Omm Salma's* and *Zeinab's* tents had stood. This mosque was also repaired and beautified by *Al Nâser Ledinî'llah* and *Al Mostanjed Billah*, two of the later *Khalifs*. The *Moslem* historian *Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyad Hasan Al Hoscini Al Hashemi Al Korasbi* said his prayers in this mosque, and saw the two domes, in the year of the *Hejra* 973, or of *CHRIST* 1565, when they were all in f  
good condition<sup>e</sup>.

Mohammed  
forced to abandon  
the siege.

THE prophet having thus secured himself from the insults of the garrison, he besieged the place in form. He opened the trenches regularly before it, planted his rams, and disposed all his other engines of battery in such a manner, that they might play incessantly upon the town. This he continued to do without intermission; and, at last, with the assistance of forty military machines, opened such large breaches in the wall, as enabled the *Moslems* to make a general assault; which they did with surprising courage and resolution, but were vigorously repulsed by the besieged, who terribly galled them with their arrows. This great resistance so shocked the prophet, that he began to doubt of the success of the siege; and therefore, in order to intimidate the garrison, he ordered all the vines belonging g

<sup>a</sup> *ABU'LFED.* ubi sup. c. lvi. p. 117. *AL JANNAB.* ubi sup. p. 233.

<sup>c</sup> *AL JANNAB.* ubi sup. p. 234.

<sup>d</sup> *AL JANNAB.* ubi sup. p. 234. *ABU'LFED.* geogr. Arab. p. 56. *GOLII* notæ ad *Alfragan.* p. 99, 100.

<sup>e</sup> *ABU'LFED.* & *AL JANNAB.* ubi sup.



a to the town to be destroyed. He also offered a public manumission to all the slaves that made up part of the garrison, to induce them to desert. But neither of these expedients produced the desired effect, the *Thakifites* still defending themselves with unparalleled bravery. So that having spent twenty days in fruitless attacks, and seeing not the least probability of carrying the place by force, he found himself obliged, tho' with the greatest reluctance and concern, at last to abandon the siege <sup>h</sup>.

In the last attack, *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb* lost one of his eyes, as he did the other in the battle of *Yermouk*. In his return, the prophet took his route by *Waba*. That town was filled with riches that belonged to the inhabitants of *Al Tâyes*. All which *Mohammed* seized upon, and carried off, besides a vast number of camels, oxen, sheep, &c. that he found also in the place. The treasure he gave all to *Safwân*, who had presented him with a very considerable quantity of arms, and attended him in the expeditions of *Honein*, *Awtâs*, and the siege of *Al Tâyes*. From *Waba* the prophet marched to *Karn Al Manzal*, repassed by *Nakbla*, from whence he arrived with his army at *Al Jarâna*, on the fifth of the month *Dhu'lkaada*. Here he had left all the spoils and slaves taken from the *Hawâzenites* after the battles of *Honein* and *Awtâs*. This town is situated between *Al Tâyes* and *Mecca*, tho' nearer the latter of those cities, on the road to *Irâk* and *Baghdâd*. Having halted here thirteen days, the prophet took an inventory of the spoils, pillage, slaves, &c. that had fallen into his hands during the siege of *Al Tâyes*, and the course of his excursions in the territory of that city. Whereupon he found that he had made 6,000 men, women, and children, prisoners; and had moreover brought away with him 24,000 camels, 40,000 sheep, and above 4,000 ounces of silver <sup>i</sup>.

d During the prophet's residence at *Al Jarâna*, the deputies from the tribe of *Hawâzen* arrived in his camp, where they met with a most gracious reception. This so exceedingly pleased them, that they immediately declared themselves converts to *Mohammedism*. After which, they desired *Mohammed* to restore them their families, that had been made slaves, and all their most valuable effects. But the prophet assuring them, that he could not comply with both their requests, offered them a restitution either of the prisoners, or the spoils he had acquired; and they choosing the former, their wives and children were instantly delivered up into their hands <sup>k</sup>.

d This grand affair being terminated to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, *Mohammed* offered *Mâlec* not only a restitution of his effects, as well as his family; but likewise a present of an hundred camels, if he would forsake his idolatrous worship. *Mâlec*, not able to withstand such advantageous conditions, immediately turned *Mohammedan*. This induced the prophet to constitute him commandant of all his brethren that should embrace the new religion. At the head of these he afterwards committed frequent hostilities against the *Thakifites*, plundering their territory, and carrying off their beasts in such numbers, that he is said to have reduced them to the last extremity <sup>l</sup>.

In order the more effectually to conciliate the affections of the new converts to him, *Mohammed* divided the remaining part of the spoils amongst them. The principal of these were *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb*, with his two sons *Yezîd* and *Moâwiyah*, the latter of which afterwards *Khalîf*, *Sobail Ebn Amru*, *Acrema Ebn Abu Jabl*, *Safwân Ebn Ommeya*, *Al Hârith Ebn Heshâm*, all of the tribe of *Koreish*. *Abu Sofiân* received, for his share, 300 camels and 20 ounces of silver, and all the others in proportion. By this means he hoped to attach them more closely to his interests; at least, to prevent their caballing against him, and, in some measure, to bridle their licentious tongues. But, besides these, several strangers belonging to other *Arab* tribes likewise partook of his liberality; of whom the most considerable were *Al Akra' Ebn Hâbes*, the *Tamîmite*, *Oiaina Ebn Hasan Ebn Hadna' Ebn Bedr*, the *Dhaibanite*, and *Mâlec Ebn Awf*, the *Hawâzenite* general. *Al Abbâs Ebn Mardâs*, the *Salemite*, taking offence at *Mohammed's* superabundant kindness to *Oiaina* and *Al Akra'*, at first made great complaints; but he was soon pacified by the prophet's uncommon generosity to him. The *Ansârs* also expressed some uneasiness at *Mohammed's* conduct on this occasion, as he had intirely forgotten them in the distribution of the spoils; but, by his address and winning behaviour, he soon likewise calmed the minds of that faithful body. As for *Dhu'l Khowaisara*, one of the *Banu Tamîm*, he reviled *Mohammed* to his face, for the division he had made; which so incensed *Omar*, that he would have struck off his head, had he not been expressly prohibited by the prophet. From this *Dhu'l Khowaisara*, according to *Abu'l-feda*, descended *Harkudh Ebn Zohair*, the *Nahalite*, surnamed *Dhu'l Madma*, that is, the author of rebuke, because he was the author of the heretical sect of the *Khârejites*, who revolted from *Ali* in the 37th year of the *Hejra*. These *Khârejites* maintained heterodox

<sup>h</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ECTEPA; ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 118.

<sup>i</sup> AL JANNAB. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 237, 238. Aut. lib. diſt. AL

<sup>k</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL BOKHAR. in Sonna.



opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto God; as also concerning the power and authority of the *Imâm*, or supreme director of ecclesiastical affairs. *Dhu'l Madma's* defection from *Ali* is said to have been predicted by *Mohammed* at this juncture. *Dhu'l Kbowaisara*, that is, the author of detraction, was only a surname, or rather a nick-name, applied to the person who bore it, either by the prophet himself, or some of his followers, at the same time. For a further account of the heretics here mentioned, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to our future history of the *Khalifs*, or great successors of *Mohammed* <sup>m</sup>.

*and arrives at Medina.* On the 18th of the month *Dhu'lkaada*, after the division of the spoils, *Mohammed* left the camp at *Al Jarâna*, with a few attendants, in order to visit the sacred places before his return to *Medina*. For this purpose, he entered *Mecca* in a pilgrim's habit, made seven circuits round the *Caaba*, performed the running between *Safâ* and *Merwâ* seven times, and shaved his head, according to custom, on such solemn occasions. Then he continued *Osâb* and *Mââdh* in their respective posts of governor and *Imâm*, and at night returned to *Al Jarâna*. The next morning he decamped from thence, and began his march for *Medina*. He had not moved far before he met with *Scrâka Ebn Mâlec*, a principal person of the tribe of *Koreish*, who had so closely pursued him in his flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, and who was now become a zealous *Moslem*. This did not retard his march; so that he arrived at *Medina* towards the latter end of the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and made his public entry into that place amidst the acclamations of all the people. The public joy was the greater on this occasion, as the inhabitants of *Medina* had been apprehensive, that, after the reduction of *Mecca*, the prophet would make that city the seat of his empire <sup>c</sup>.

*The Sadâites submit to him.* SOME days after his arrival at *Mecca*, *Mohammed* received a letter from *Mondar Ebn Sâwa*, king of *Babrein*, to whom he had sent *Al Ola*, the *Hadramite*, to invite him to *Islamism*, with advice of his having embraced *Mohammedism*, together with a good part of his subjects. He also farther informed him, that many people in his dominions still professed the *Magian* religion; desiring, at the same time, the prophet to direct him how he was to behave to them. To which *Mohammed* replied in terms to this effect: *Those who are attached to the Magian superstition must pay tribute; but the Moslems must neither contract alliances with them by marriage, nor eat of their sacrifices.* Soon after this, *Mohammed* detached a body of 400 men, under the command of *Kais Ebn Saad*, to attack the *Sadâites*, on the side of *Naman*. Of which *Zyad Ebn Al Hâreth*, the *Sadâite*, being apprized, he submitted, in the name of his countrymen to the prophet, desiring him to revoke the orders he had given. *Mohammed*, therefore, recalled his troops, that had already advanced to *Kanât*, fifteen days after the *Sadâites* had made their submission <sup>d</sup>.

*His son Ibrahim born.* TOWARDS the close of the eighth year of the *Hejra*, the prophet's daughter *Zeinab*, the wife of *Abu'l As*, departed this life; and in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the same year, *Mary the Copt*, that *Mohammed* had been so fond of, bare him a son, whom he named *Ibrahim*. The birth of this son gave him so much pleasure, that he caused two lambs to be killed, when the child was seven days old, for an entertainment that he prepared on the occasion; distributing at the same time as much silver amongst the poor as the hair of the infant, that was then shaved, weighed. *Omm Borda Bint Al Mondar Ebn Zeid*, *Al Bara's* wife, he appointed nurse to the child, sometimes eating and drinking with her, that he might have an opportunity of seeing it; which caused no small jealousy amongst his wives. About the same time died the famous *Hâtem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Saad*, of the posterity of *Tay*. He had always professed the *Christian* faith, in which he persevered to the end of his life. The *Tayites*, in general, were of the same persuasion, tho' they had some few idolaters amongst them. *Hâtem* resided in the province of *Najd*, at a place called *Khâdher*, situated between the mountains *Ajâ* and *Salma*, named by some the mountains of *Tay*. He was the most generous and hospitable man in the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, killing ten camels every day through the month of *Rajeb*, for the refreshment of strangers. Hence the *Arab* proverb, *More liberal than Hâtem*. He was likewise a most celebrated poet, as also a person of superior strength and bravery. His countrymen sometimes called him *Abu Sofâna*, that is, the father of *Sofâna*, which surname he derived from his daughter's name *Sofâna*, in conformity to a custom that prevailed amongst the *Arabs*. *Sofâna Bint Hâtem* and *Adî Ebn Hâtem*, the only children he is supposed to have left behind him, became proselytes to *Islamism*, after their father's death. We are told, that *Adî* lived to be 120 years of age, and died in the 68th of the *Hejra* <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 118, 119. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 239, 240. AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. " ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 120. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 240. <sup>d</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 241. EBN AMID, sive ELMACIN. ubi sup. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 193. <sup>e</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 242, 243. AL MEIDAN, in proverb. Arab. ABU ISHAK & EBN AL HOBAR, poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen 'Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 120. Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 72, 73. EBN ISHAK.



- THE next year, being the ninth of the *Hejra*, the *Mohammedans* call *the year of embassies, or legations*. For the *Arabs* had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between *Mohammed* and the *Korish*. But so soon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, *the Arab* and the genuine descendents of *Ishmael*, whose prerogative none offered to dispute, had *submitted*, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose *Mohammed*; and *therefore* they began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to *Mecca* while he staid there, and also to *Medina*, whither he returned the preceding year. Amongst the rest, *Arwa Ebn Masūd*, chief of the tribe of *Tbakif*, who was not at *Al Tayef* when the prophet formed the siege of that place, came and professed *Mohammedism*; but was afterwards slain by an arrow shot from the walls of that city, when he went thither with a design to draw the inhabitants from their idolatrous worship. We are likewise told, that *Al Hāretb Ebn Abd Colāl*, *Nāim Ebn Abd Colāl*, *Al Nccmān*, surnamed *Dhu Roain*, *Hamdūn*, and *Moāser*, five kings of *Hamyar*, about this time sent ambassadors to *Mohammed*, to notify their conversion to *Islamism*. *Ebn Ishāk* relates, that the first of those princes, to whom *Mohammed* had before sent a minister, named *Al Mohājer Ebn Abu Ommeya*, wrote to the prophet, after the expedition of *Tābuc*, intimating, that he and his subjects were become converts to the true religion; and that *Mohammed* sent him an answer to that letter, in which he congratulated him upon his conversion, and explained to him several passages of the *Korān*. However, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the afore-said kings of *Tamar* did not embrace *Islamism*, or at least did not openly profess it, before the beginning of the tenth year of the *Hejra* <sup>1</sup>.

- ABOUT this time, *Mohammed* sent *Bashir Ebn Sasiān* to the *Caabites*, a branch of the *Kho-* *He punishes*  
*zāites*, to receive the legal contribution of alms, or duty, required of them in common *the Caabites*. with the other *Mohammedans*. But so far were they from obeying the prophet's order in this particular, that, at the instigation of the *Tamīmites*, they had immediately recourse to arms, and obliged the collector employed by *Bashir* to take to his heels. This so exasperated *Mohammed*, that he sent *Oiana Ebn Hasan*, at the head of five hundred horse, all new converts, to chastize the *Tamīmites*; who coming up with a body of them at *Sobera*, soon dispersed them, taking eleven men, as many women, and thirty children, prisoners; whom they conducted to *Medina*. Whereupon ten of the principal *Tamīmites*, among whom were *d Kais Ebn Afem*, *Otāred Ebn Hāgheb*, *Al Zerbekān Ebn Bedr*, and *Al Akrā Ebn Hābes*, four great orators and excellent poets, came to make satisfaction for the late affront, and to demand a restitution of the prisoners. *Mohammed*, as the afore-said *Tamīmites* produced some excellent compositions both in prose and verse, tho' the prophet's orator and poet exhibited others that excelled them, did not only comply with their request, but likewise distributed amongst them rich presents, and even such as are usually made to the ambassadors of crowned heads <sup>2</sup>.

- A LITTLE after, *Mohammed* sent *Al Walid Ebn Okba*, in quality of collector of the alms; to the *Banu Al Mostalek*, another branch of the *Khozaites*, who received him with great marks of affection, congratulated him upon the happy situation of the prophet's affairs, *e* and brought him in great abundance of all kinds of refreshments. Notwithstanding which, *Al Walid*, taking it into his head that they had a design to assassinate him, was seized with a sudden panic, and returned very precipitately, without executing his commission, to *Medina*, where he gave them to the prophet a very ill character. This induced *Mohammed*, who was greatly incensed at the supposed disaffection of the *Banu Al Mostalek*, to send *Khāled Ebn Al Walid* with a body of troops, to punish them. But that general, upon his arrival among them, finding that *Al Walid*, who had been intirely governed by his fears, had entertained wrong sentiments of this people, made quite a different report of their disposition to the prophet. *Obāda Ebn Bashar*, therefore, was dispatched to receive the contributions they had raised, to instruct them more fully in the law, and *f* the rites of *Islamism*, and to explain to them in the clearest manner the most difficult passages of the *Korān* <sup>3</sup>.

ABOUT this time, *Kotba Ebn Amer* made an incursion, with a small detachment; upon the territory of the *Khathāamites*; and falling in with one of the enemy's parties, after a sharp dispute, defeated it. Then he made himself master of so many sheep and camels, that every one of his soldiers, which were about twenty in number, had twenty sheep and four camels assigned him for his share <sup>4</sup>.

AFTERWARDS the prophet detached *Dhobak Ebn Sasiān* to invite the *Banu Kelāb* to *Islamism*. But they shut themselves up in the town of *Al Dhabina*, and would come to no interview with him. The *Moslems*, therefore, dislodged them from thence, and carried *Dhohak Ebn Sasiān* *invites* *the Banu Kelāb* *to Islamism*.

<sup>1</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 121, 122, 128, &c. ABU ZEID SEID, in lib. Splendor. EBN ISHAK, EBN HESHAM, Ant. Lib. AL ECTEFA. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 128. <sup>2</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 243- <sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>4</sup> Idem ibid.



off all their effects. At the same time, *Mohammed* receiving advice, that the *Bedouins* had made a descent near *Jodda*, a maritime city, where they committed great depredations, he sent *Olkam Ebn Mabraz*, with a body of 300 men to oppose them. But they retiring at his approach, *Olkam* returned to *Medina*, without having been able to come up with them <sup>u</sup>.

Ali destroys  
the idol Al  
Fatas.

*MOHAMMED*, acted by his zeal for the extirpation of idolatry, sent *Ali* to destroy the idol *Al Fatas*, that belonged to the tribe of *Tay*. But foreseeing that this tribe, which was very powerful, might give *Ali* great obstruction in the execution of his orders, he assigned him a detachment of 150 foot, all *Ansârs*, together with 100 camels and 50 horses, to support him in the enterprize. With this force he attacked the enemy, defeated them, destroyed the idol, and took a considerable number of prisoners, among whom was *Sefina Bint Hâtem*, her brother *Adi Ebn Hâtem*, chief of the tribe, being then in *Syria*. This lady was conducted, with the other captives, to *Medina*, where she met with so gracious a reception from the prophet, that she turned *Mohammedan*; and her brother *Adi*, charmed likewise with his polite and generous behaviour, soon after followed her example. As for *Ali*, he acquired immense riches in this expedition, and particularly three swords of great value, named *Al Rosoub*, *Al Mokhazzem*, and *Al Yamâni*, that belonged to the idol *Al Fatas*. The two best of the swords he made a present of to the prophet, and kept the third for himself. He also distributed the plunder amongst his troops that had attended him in the expedition <sup>w</sup>.

Mohammed  
receives the  
foreign mi-  
nisters with  
great civility.

THE prophet received all the ambassadors sent to him this year with great marks of affection and benevolence; and treated every one of them in a manner suitable to his rank and dignity. The *Moslem* historians have given us a long detail of these embassies and legations. Besides those already mentioned, there were many others; one of the most remarkable of which was the deputation of the *Banu Honeifa*, who inhabited two famous cities, called *Al Yamâna* and *Al Hajr*; from the former of which, the province in which they stood derived its name. These deputies had at their head the famous *Moseilame*, *Mohammed's* competitor, the prince and lord of *Al Yamâna*, who at that time made public profession of *Islamism*, tho' he afterwards apostatized. By a piece of impudence not to be paralleled, says a *Moslem* writer, he arrogated to himself the prophetic function, and pretended to partake of that honour with *Mohammed*. We shall give a larger account of this impostor, and the miserable end he came to, in our history of the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr* <sup>x</sup>.

The poet Caab  
Ebn Zobair  
Ebn Abu Sa-  
lama pardoned  
by Moham-  
med.

ABOUT this time, *Caab Ebn Zobair Ebn Abu Salama*, the famous poet, who had been proscribed by *Mohammed* the preceding year, returned to *Mecca*, and afterwards waited upon the prophet at *Medina*. He took the opportunity of repeating aloud the profession of faith, and the declaration of his being a *Moslem*, when *Mohammed* was in the mosque. In order to soften him, he also celebrated his praises in a fine *Arabic* poem, that he had lately composed, before the whole congregation; of which a full and ample account has been handed down to us by *Al Jannâbi*. This so pleased the prophet, that he not only pardoned him, but likewise made him a present of his cloak, which the *Khalif Moâwiyah* purchased afterwards of his family for the sum of (K) 40,000 *dirhems*. This, by a sort of hereditary right, descended to all the succeeding *Khalifs*, who never failed wearing it on festivals, in public processions, and, in fine, upon all the most solemn occasions. *Al Mosta'sem Billah*, the last *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*, had this cloak on, as also the prophet's staff in his hand, when he made his appearance before *Holagu*, the *Tartar*, after the loss of *Baghdâd*. But that conqueror took them from him, burnt them both, and threw their ashes into the *Tigris*. This happened on the 28th day of the month *Al Moharram*, and the 656th year of the *Hejra* <sup>y</sup>.

The expedition  
of Tabûc.

ON the sixth day of the month *Rajeb*, this year, *Mohammed* signified his intention of coming to a rupture with the *Greeks*, who looked with a jealous eye upon his conquests, and seemed determined to attack him. As their forces grew very numerous on the frontiers, and they had a strong camp at *Balka*, the prophet assembled an army of 30,000 men, in order to undertake an expedition against them. The *Moslems* set out

<sup>u</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 246.

<sup>w</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 246, 247.

<sup>x</sup> ABU'LFED. in descript.

Arab. p. 60. & vit. Moham. p. 160. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 206.

<sup>y</sup> ABU'LFED.

ubi sup. p. 112. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 219. AHMED EBN YUSEF, in hist. gen. sect. 40. ELMACIN. in hist. suæ part. inedit.

(K) These *dirhems* were a small silver coin of the *Arabs*, about the same weight, though much broader and thinner, as the *Greek drachms*; from whence they apparently derived their name. Several of them are

still preserved in the cabinets of the curious, and particularly a pretty ancient one in the *Bodleian* collection of medals at *Oxford* (34.)

(34) Vid. nummer. antiquor. scriin. Bodleian. recondit. catal. &c. p. 311—315. Oxon. 1750.



- a on this expedition with great reluctance, as they were to march in the midst of the summer-heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity. As the soldiers, therefore, suffered extremely this campaign, the body of troops now destined to act against the *Greeks* was called *the distressed army*. Besides, their fruits were just ripe, which increased their unwillingness to move from home at this juncture. However in pursuance of the prophet's orders, they began their march, and, after sustaining great fatigues, arrived at *Al Hejr*, a territory in the province of *Hejâz*, between *Medina* and *Syria*, where the tribe of *Thamûd* had formerly dwelt. From *Al Hejr* they advanced to *Wadi'l-Kora*, and from thence to *Tabûc*, the conquest of which place was one of the objects of this expedition. As the *Greeks* were a very formidable enemy, to carry it on with success, the prophet was obliged to make extraordinary
- b preparations, and consequently to draw vast sums from his followers, to defray the expence of it. *Abu Becr* presented *Mohammed* with all he was worth, to enable him to carry on this war. *Al Abbâs* advanced a large sum of money, on the same occasion; and the other officers, who were rich, likewise contributed to the military chest, in proportion to the wealth they possessed. But *Othmân Ebn Affân* exerted himself almost beyond his abilities, to assist the prophet in setting on foot a powerful army. He supplied the troops with 300 camels for slaughter, and 1,000 (L) *dinârs* of gold: nay, he is said to have raised, and maintained at his own expence, three whole regiments, furnishing them with provisions, arms, and all sorts of necessary munitions. This extremely pleased *Mohammed*, who is reported to have observed, that *what Othmân then had done would not be of any future disadvantage to him* <sup>2</sup>.
- c THE *Moslems* having surmounted all difficulties, and formed a camp at *Tabûc*, *Mohammed* continued about three weeks at that place. *Al Ghazâli*, *Al Ispahâni*, *Al Kodai*, and other *Mohammedan* writers, pretend, that, soon after his arrival there, he caused such a vast quantity of water to issue out of a very small fountain near the town; that there was not only enough to quench the thirst of the whole army, and to water all the beasts that attended it, but likewise to enable all the soldiers to perform the sacred ablutions. Which miracle has been undoubtedly trumped up, in order to draw a sort of parallel between *Moses*, who, by the divine assistance, caused water to gush out of a rock in the wilderness, sufficient to supply the wants of the whole body of the *Israelites*, that he was conducting to the borders of the land of *Canaan*, and *Mohammed*. But the misfortune here is, that this, and all
- d other relations of the like nature, are intirely void of evidence to support them, the authors from whom they come having lived long after the facts therein inserted are supposed to have happened. Which observation will likewise hold true of the prophecies ascribed to this impostor; all of which, even the famous one mentioned in the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân* itself, which has met with no unfavourable reception from Mr. *Gagnier* and Mr. *Sale* (the first transcript of that book having not been completed by *Abu Becr* before the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, that is, eight years after the event therein foretold really happened) as transmitted down to us, are later than the facts they predict. And let this suffice for an answer to all the insinuations of the aforesaid gentlemen in favour of those pretended prophecies, some of which we have already animadverted upon <sup>2</sup>.
- e THE troops being plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions at *Tabûc*, soon forgot the fatigues they had sustained in their march, and began to think of subduing some of the neighbouring princes. *Tabûc* was a town situated about half-way between *Medina* and *Damascus*, having a fountain, and a considerable number of palm trees, in its neighbourhood. The people called in the *Korân* *the inhabitants of the wood* anciently occupied this place. *Shoaib*, or *Jethro*, the father-in-law of *Moses*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, lived also some time here; tho' he allows him to have been a native of *Midian*, or *Madian*, a city of *Hejâz*, the habitation of a tribe of the same name, and distant from *Tabuc* about six stations. *Tabûc* stands between *Al Hejr* and *Al Shâm*, and is, according to *Sharif Al Edrisi*, four days journey distant from the borders of *Syria* <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 123, & in descript. Arab. p. 43. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 247. SHARIF AL EDRISI, EBN HAWKAL apud Abu'lfed. in Arab. p. 43. Poc. not. spec. hist. Arab. p. 37. JALLALO'DDIN. <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. AL BOKHARI, MOSLEM, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 249. AL GHAZALI, AL ISPAHANI, AL KODAI, SALE'S notes on the thirtieth chapter of the *Korân*, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 220. <sup>b</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 124, 125, 126. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 261. ABU'LFED. in Arab. p. 43. SHARIF AL EDRISI. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xv. v. 77. xxxviii. v. 14. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN AMID, lib. v. c. i.

(L) The *dinârs* were a gold *Arabian* coin, that seemed to have weighed about as much as the gold *denarii* of the *Romans*, though they are much thinner and broader; from whence they undoubtedly took their name. There are nine very fine ones preserved in the *Bodlcian* collec-

tion, and another in that of the reverend Mr. *Brown*, fellow of *Trinity College*, whose value, according to weight, amounts to about thirteen shillings and six pence, *English* money. This last is pretty ancient, well preserved, and a real curiosity (35).

(35) Vide Nummor. antiquor. serin. Bodlcian. recondit. catal. &c. ubi sup. p. 311.



The neighbour-  
ing princes con-  
clude a treaty  
of peace with  
Mohammed

THE *Moslem* army had not been long encamped at *Tabûc*, before ambassadors came from different parts to make their submission, in their principals names, to the prophet; and even some of the neighbouring princes themselves, in person, paid their duty to him. Amongst the rest appeared *Yohanna*, or *John*, *Ebn Rawba*, lord of *Ailab*, a maritime town on the sea *Al Kolzom*, mentioned both in sacred and profane history. By his name as well as the tribute imposed upon him, he must have been a *Christian*. He concluded a treaty with *Mohammed*, by virtue of which he and his subjects were intitled to the prophet's protection, upon the annual payment of 3,000 pieces of gold. The instrument of this treaty, which included the trading inhabitants of the interior part of *Syria* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as those of the maritime provinces, that he might be consider'd as *Yohanna's* allies, is said to have been preserved by the people of *Ailab* to this very day. Be that as it will, the substance of it has been given us by some of the *Moslem* writers. The prophet was so well pleased with it, as well as with *Yohanna's* prompt and ready submission to him, that he made him a present of a rich cloak, or mantle, that some believe became afterwards the property of the *Khalifs*, having been purchased by *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffab* for 3,000 *dinârs*. But, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, who flourished towards the close of the 16th century, it fell into the hands of the *Turkish* emperors, or *Othmân Soltâns*, and was the very same cloak for which a golden chest was made, by order of the *Soltân Morâd Khân*, the son of *Soltân Selim Khân*, who mounted the *Othmân* throne in the year of the *Hejra* 982, or of *CHRIST* 1574<sup>c</sup>.

By the tribute imposed upon *Yohanna*, as has been observed, it appears, that both he and the people of *Ailab* persevered in the *Christian* faith, during the life of *Mohammed*. *Ailab* was a little town on the sea *Al Kolzom*, situated in a barren country, that formerly belonged to the *Jews*; some of whom, according to the *Korân*, were turned into hogs and apes, for having violated the *Sabbath*, and worshipped the idol *Tâgût*. It stands on the road frequented by the *Egyptian* pilgrims, who pass from their own country to *Mecca*; and has a tower, or castle, where the governor, who is a dependent on the *Pasha* of *Egypt*, resides; though, if some modern writers may be believed, that castle being ruined, he lives in the town, close by the sea-side. According to *Sharif Al Edrisi*, *Ailab* is distant from *Madian*, another maritime city, only five stations<sup>d</sup>.

Mohammed  
gives the em-  
peror Hera-  
clius a second  
invitation to  
Islamism.

WE are informed by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Fannâbi*, that *Jarba* and *Adrah*, two cities of *Syria*, about three days journey distant from one another, at this time likewise sent deputies to the prophet; who engaged to protect them, on condition that each of them paid him annually, by way of tribute, 200 *dinârs*. He treated all the other cities and towns, that sent deputies to him, in the same manner, imposing smaller or larger tributes upon them, in proportion to the extent of territory they possessed. Being informed, that the *Greeks* were so far from being able to make an irruption into *Arabia*, that, upon the first news of his approach, they retired farther from the frontiers, and withdrew into the interior part of their own dominions, he made the necessary dispositions for returning home. However, as he had taken post on a spot of ground belonging to the emperor *Heraclius*, before his departure, he thought proper to write a letter to that prince, couched in very civil terms; wherein he gave him a second invitation to *Islamism*. This, the *Moslem* writers tell us, the emperor received with marks of respect, but did not think fit to answer it. About this time died *Abd'allah*, surnamed *Dbu'l Najâdain*, the *Mâzenite*, one of the most illustrious companions of *Mohammed*, and was interred by night with great funeral pomp; the prophet himself, *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Belâl* the crier, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ûd*, attending the corps to the grave. Before the *Moslems* began their march, *Khâled Ebn Al Walîd*, whom *Mohammed* sent to *Dawmat Al Fandal*, took *Ocaider Ebn Mâlec*, the prince of that place, of the tribe of *Kendab*, and a *Christian*, prisoner. He also put his brother *Hasân* to the sword, and stripped him of a silk vest that he wore, all embroidered with gold. As he had been detached from the camp at *Tabûc* with a body of 420 men, and had got *Ocaider Ebn Mâlec* into his hands, by that prince's assistance, *Khâled* not only possessed himself of the castle of *Mâdhen*, situated at the foot of mount *Tay*, the place of his residence, but likewise of the city of *Dawmat Al Fandal*, over which *Ocaider* presided. At the same time, by that prince's consent, *Khâled* carried off with him 1,000 camels, 800 horses, and 400 cuirasses; and then conducted *Ocaider*, with his brother *Mas'ûd Ebn Mâlec*, to *Mohammed*. The prophet took them under his protection, and restored to *Ocaider* his dominions; but exacted a certain annual tribute from him. When *Khâled* was unwilling to undertake the conquest of *Dawmat Al Fandal* with so small a force, according to *Al Fannâbi*, *Mohammed* did not only assure him of success, but likewise predicted all the material circumstances that should attend the expedition; which prediction, if we will believe this author, was verified in every particular. But as *Al Fannâbi* lived near a thousand years after *Mohammed*, and, like the other *Moslems*,

<sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. ABU ZEID SEID in Lib. Splendor. ABU'LFED. in descript. Arab. p. 41. SHARIF AL EDRISEI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, RELAND. descript. Palæstin. lib. iii. p. 554. <sup>d</sup> lidem ibid. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. v. 69.



a was unreasonably prejudiced in favour of this pretended prophet, in this point, this testimony is of very little weight. *Dawmat Al Jandal* is a town on the confines of Syria, about five days journey from *Damascus*, and fifteen or sixteen from *Medina*. According to *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Jannibi*, it was occupied, as well as *Tabûc*, and other places on that side, before the birth of *Mohammed*, and even when he undertook this expedition, by the *Banu Calb* <sup>c</sup>.

WITH regard to *Abd'allah Ebn Obba*, and his hypocritical adherents, as also *Merâra Ebn He* <sup>He reprehends</sup> *Rabî*, *Helâi Ebn Omeyya*, and *Caab Ebn Mâlec*, three of the *Ansîrs*, whom *Mohammed* <sup>some of his fol-</sup> excused, on their request, from going with him to *Tabûc*, he forbade the other *Moslems* <sup>lowers for not</sup> to have any converse or correspondence with them for the space of fifty days. At the end <sup>attending him</sup> of which interval, being assured, as he pretended, of their penitence, by a passage in the ninth chapter of the *Korân*, that was revealed to him on this occasion, they were received again into favour. However, he declared to his followers, that he had been reprehended for excusing them, in another passage of the same chapter. By such artifices as these, in conjunction with a few crafty friends, and the great success that attended his arms, did he at last subdue the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, and laid the foundations of an empire, more extensive than any of those formidable ones that preceded it, as will be shewn at large in the sequel of our history <sup>f</sup>.

WHILST the prophet was on his march to *Medina*, he was applied to by the *Banu* <sup>The prophet</sup> *Gânem Ebn Awf*, to consecrate a mosque they had lately built, by praying in it. He accord- <sup>returns to</sup> ingly prepared himself to go with them; but being afterwards informed, that the *Banu* <sup>Medina.</sup> *Gânem Ebn Awf* were *Christians*, had erected the aforesaid mosque in opposition to that founded at *Koba* by their brethren, the *Banu Amru Ebn Awf*, and intended to permit a *Christian* priest, or *Imâm*, to officiate there, he all of a sudden refused to comply with their request. Nay, being, as he pretended, forbidden to do this by the immediate revelation of a passage in the ninth chapter of the *Korân*, which discovered the hypocrisy and ill design of the *Banu Gânem Ebn Awf* to him, he sent *Mâlec Ebn Al Dokhshom*, *Maan Ebn Addi*, *Amer Ebn Al Sacan*, and *Al Wahsha*, the *Ethiopian*, to demolish and burn the mosque he was to consecrate; which they performed, and converted it into a dunghill. After which, he pursued his march without interruption to *Medina*; tho' he was once in great danger of being assassinated, d and would probably have lost his life, had he not been preserved by the vigilance of *Hodheifa* and *Ammâr Ebn Yâser*, who attended him, according to one of the commentators on the *Korân* <sup>e</sup>.

Soon after the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, which happened in the month of *Ramadân*, <sup>The people of</sup> he was congratulated upon the success that had attended his arms in the late expedition to *Tabûc*, by a deputation from the tribe of *Thakîf*, the inhabitants of *Al Tâyesf*, who insisted on <sup>Al Tâyesf jub-</sup> his granting them several very extraordinary privileges, as the terms of their submission to <sup>mit to him,</sup> him. For they demanded, that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms, and for observing the appointed times of prayer; that they might be allowed to keep their idol *Allât* for a certain time; and that their territory might be declared a place of security, <sup>and embrace</sup> and not to be violated, like that of *Mecca*, &c. To which they added, that, if the other *Arabs* asked him the reason of these concessions, he should say, that God had commanded him so to do. At first, they desired, that the worship of *Allât* might be indulged them for three years; and not obtaining that, they asked for their favourite idol only a month's respite. But *Mohammed* absolutely refusing to comply with their demands, and they being reduced to the last extremity by a body of *Moslem* troops, which had formed the blockade of their city, the people of *Al Tâyesf* found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion, and embrace *Islamism*. Whereupon the prophet sent home with the deputies *Al Mogheirab Ebn Shaba* and *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb*, to destroy the aforesaid idol; who executed their commission, to the great grief of the inhabitants of *Al Tâyesf*, especially the women, who f bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity. *Allât* was a statue of stone, revered in a singular manner by the *Thakîfites*, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called *Nakblah*. There are several derivations of the word *Allât*, which the curious may learn from Dr. *Pocock*. It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with *Allah*, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify *the goddess* <sup>h</sup>.

IN the month of *Shawâl*, this year, *Mohammed* sent *Abu Becr* to preside over the rites <sup>Ali promul-</sup> and ceremonies of the pilgrimage at *Mecca*, the following month of *Dhu'lhajja*, with 300 <sup>gates the ninth</sup> men, and 20 camels, to be sacrificed in the name of the prophet. In the mean time, <sup>chapter of the</sup> immediately after the departure of *Abu Becr*, the prophet, as he pretended, received from *Mecca*.

<sup>e</sup> ABU'LFED. in vit. Moham. p. 125 AL JANNAB. ubi sup. SAAD AL YAMANI, SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABU'LFED. in Arab. EBN ISHAK, GAGN. ubi sup. tom. ii. 209—228. <sup>f</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. AL BEIDAWI.

<sup>g</sup> JALLALO'DDIN in Al Kor. Moham. f. ix. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 126. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 265.

<sup>h</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. c. lvii. 126, 127. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 266. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 90.



heaven the ninth chapter of the *Korân*, intituled BARAT, that is, IMMUNITY, LIBERTY, a EXEMPTION, or a declaration revoking all the edicts published in favour of idolaters, or, as the *Korân* expresses it, ASSOCIATORS, and a cassation of all former treaties concluded with them. The word ASSOCIATORS here includes *Sabians*, *Christians*, and *Jews*, because *Mohammed* affirmed, that all these associated with God beings that by nature were not God. The prophet then dispatched *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, with all possible diligence, after *Abu Becr*, injoining him to read this declaration in form, during the solemnity of the pilgrimage at *Mecca*, to all the *Arab* tribes assembled there. *Ali* overtook *Abu Becr* at *Dhu'lholeifa*, a town about six miles from *Medina*, on the road to *Mecca*, where he signified the purport of his commission to him. After which, they continued their journey together to *Mecca*; and, upon their arrival there, *Ali*, to whom the promulgation of the preceding chapter b was committed by *Mohammed*, and who rode for that purpose on the prophet's slit-eared camel, called *Al Adhbâ*, from *Medina*, standing up before the whole assembly at *Al Akaba*, told them, that he was the messenger of the apostle of God unto them. Whereupon they asking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verses of that chapter to them, and then said, *I am commanded to acquaint you with four things*, 1. *That no idolater is to come near the temple of Mecca after this year*; 2. *That no man is to presume to compass the Caaba naked for the future*; 3. *That none but true believers shall enter paradise*; and, 4. *That public faith is to be kept*. The aforesaid chapter was published, and the prophet's intentions signified to the people, on the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when they slew the victims at *Mina*; which day is the great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. *Ali* c having executed his commission, returned with *Abu Becr* to *Medina* towards the close of that month <sup>i</sup>.

Abd'allah  
Ebn Obba  
Ebn Al Hâ-  
reth dies at  
Medina.

ABOUT the same time died at *Medina* *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Obeid*. He was commonly called *Ebn Solûl*, his father *Obba* having been surnamed *Solûl*. A little before the introduction of *Islamism*, the tribe of *Khazraj* put the crown upon his head, and declared him their prince. He fell ill twenty days after *Mohammed's* return from *Tabûc*, and died in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*. In his last illness he desired to see *Mohammed*; and, when he was come, asked him to beg forgiveness of God for him; requesting that his corps might be wrapt up in the garment that was next to the prophet's body; and that he would pray over him, when dead. Part of this request was complied with by *Mohammed*, d who sent his shirt, or inner vestment, to shroud the corps, and was going to pray over it; but was forbidden by an express passage in the *Korân*, which has been urged as a direct proof of his hypocrisy and infidelity. Some of the *Moslem* writers, however, maintain, that he died a staunch believer; and that *Mohammed* offered up prayers at his tomb, for the repose of his soul. *Al Jannâbi* relates, that *Omm Colthum*, *Mohammed's* third daughter, the wife of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, who was afterwards *Khalîf*, died also before the conclusion of the ninth year of the *Hejra* <sup>k</sup>.

The death of  
the Najâshi  
revealed to  
Mohammed

WE are likewise told, that when this year was upon the point of expiring, the angel *Gabriel* brought *Mohammed* the news of the death of *Asfâma Ebn Abbar*, the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, the very instant that monarch died. This he immediately communicated e to all his companions then at *Medina*; after which, they marched in procession to the mosque they usually frequented there, repeating four times the form *ALLAH ACBAR*, &c. The tradition likewise adds, that, at the same time, they clearly saw from thence the corps of the *Najâshi*, lying in state at his palace <sup>l</sup>.

The prophet  
sends two lieutenants to  
Yaman.

THE tenth year of the *Hejra* proved as fortunate and successful to the prophet as any of the preceding. After the return of the ambassadors sent by the five kings of *Hamyar* above-mentioned, *Mohammed* dispatched two of his companions, whom he could most confide in, to *Yaman*, in quality of his lieutenants, to govern that great province. One of these was *Abu Musa*, the *Ashtarite*, who was appointed to command in the country called *Mekblaf*, at *Zabid* and at *Aden*; and the other, *Moadb Ebn Jabal*, the prophet's most f intimate friend, who had *Al Janad* assigned him for the place of his residence. *Moadb* was escorted by a body of *Ansârs* and *Mobâjerîn*, and even attended a considerable part of the way by the prophet himself, who walked on foot, and took a final leave of him; telling him, *that they should not meet again till the day of resurrection*; which remarkable prophecy had, as Mr. Gagnier has most acutely and judiciously observed, in due time its proper completion. About the same time, that is in the month of *Al Moharram*, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* converted the *Abd'al Modânites*, a tribe of *Najrân*, probably with fire and sword, to *Islamism*; and *Joreir Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Bajalite*, destroyed *Dhu'l-Khalasa*, an idol of the

<sup>i</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 272. AL MASUDI apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. c. lviii. p. 127, 128. ut & ipse ABU'LFED ibid. AL BOKHARI in SONNA, AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam ALBERTUM BOBOVIUM de peregrinat. Meccan. p. 15. <sup>k</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 128. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 269. AL BEIDAWI, JABER, alique scriptor. Arab. <sup>l</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL BAGAWI, AL DHABABI, OMM SALMA.



a *Khatbâmites*, seated in a district about four days journey from *Mecca*. This idol, with many others, was placed in a temple called the *Caaba* of *Al Yamâma*, and the house of idols. This temple *Joreir* rased from the very foundations <sup>m</sup>.

Soon after *Joreir's* return to *Medina*, the prophet sent him to *Dhu'l Cola' Ebn Tâcur* *Joreir sent to convert Dhu'l Cola' Ebn Tâcur.* *Ebn Habib Ebn Mâlec Ebn Hasân Ebn Toba'*, a citizen of *Al Tâyes*, of such immense wealth, that he affected a sort of empire over his fellow-citizens; and even demanded regal honours, as should seem, to complete his conversion. For both he and his wife, *Soreima Bint Al Sabab*, had before professed *Islamism*; but most people suspected the sincerity of their profession, and believed that they still persisted in their infidelity. Nor was this suspicion quite removed before the reign of *Omar*, in whose *Khalifat*, *Dhu'l Cola'*, as a mark of his sincerity, set at liberty 18,000 slaves. This fully convinced *Omar* of the reality of his conversion. He was afterwards killed, or, to use the stile of the *Mohammedans*, had the honour to die a martyr, at the battle of *Seffein*, that was fought the 37th year of the *Hejra* <sup>n</sup>.

At this time the *Moslems* of *Najrân* desired the prophet to send them a person to conduct their caravan of pilgrims to *Mecca*. Whereupon he recommended to them *Amer Ebn Al Jarah* *Amer Jarah sent to conduct the people of Najrân's caravan to Mecca.* for that service; saying, that he would be a faithful conductor to the whole nation <sup>o</sup>.

On the tenth day of the former *Rabî*, this year, *Mohammed's* son *Ibrahim* departed this life at *Medina*, in the second year of his age. We are told, that an eclipse of the sun happened on the day that he died; which induced the vulgar to think, that this eclipse was occasioned by his death. But *Mohammed* failed not to assure them, that they were greatly mistaken in this particular. Others say, that the eclipse happened on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and *Ibrahim's* death on the tenth. Be that as it will, the prophet was sensibly afflicted with the loss of his son, he being by this accident deprived of male issue, that might have transmitted his name down to posterity; which afforded matter of raillery to his enemies, as the death of his former son *Al Kasem* had done before. On that occasion he had the nick-name of *Al Abtar* given him by *Al As Ebn Wayel*; which either signifies one who has no children, or one who has his tail clean cut off. This injurious reflection so affected the prophet, that the angel *Gabriel*, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, revealed to him the 108th chapter of the *Korân*, intituled, *AL CAWTHAR*, for his consolation. Some time after, if we will believe *Al Jannâbi*, that angel appeared to a numerous assembly of *Moslems* who surrounded *Mohammed*, and, after catechizing the prophet before them all in a very particular manner, pronounced him better versed in divine matters than the angel that examined him <sup>p</sup>.

At this time, *Firûz* the *Persian*, a native of the province of *Dailem*, came to *Medina*, and declared himself a *Moslem*. It was this person who slew the false prophet *Al Aswad Al Ansi*, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, as will be seen in its proper place <sup>q</sup>. *Firûz, the Persian, declares himself a Moslem;*

ABOUT this time, says *Al Jannâbi*, *Mohammed* received a letter from *Farwa Ebn Omar*, of the tribe of *Jodhâm*, the emperor *Heraclius's* lieutenant in *Syria*, and governor of the city of *Ammán*, or *Ammon*, the ancient capital of the *Ammonites*, who derived their name from *Ammon*, the son of *Lot*, according to Scripture. This city, in holy writ, is called *Ammon Rabbat*, and was afterwards known by the name of *Philadelphia*. The purport of this letter was to acquaint the prophet, that *Farwa* was become a *Moslem*, and had sent him a vest of fine muslin, a superb bed of state, a beautiful white mule called *Fadba*, a horse named *Dhâreb*, an afs called *Ya'far*, and other magnificent presents. The same writer adds, that this *Farwa* was first imprisoned, and afterwards crucified, by the emperor's order, because he would not renounce *Islamism*; as also, that he reproached his master for acting the part of a hypocrite, in order to keep on his head the crown that he wore <sup>r</sup>. *as also Farwa Ebn Omar.*

IN the month of *Ramadân*, this year, the prophet sent *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* into *Yaman*, to bring over to *Islamism* the infidels that still remained there; which, partly by methods of persuasion, and partly by those of compulsion, he at last in a great measure effected. For he converted the whole tribe of *Hambdân*, as it is said, in one day; and their example according to *Abu'lfeda*, was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only some of those of *Najrân*, who, being *Christians*, chose rather to pay tribute. It must be observed here, that Mr. *Sale* deviates from truth, when he intimates, that all the citizens of *Najrân* paid tribute, and consequently were *Christians*, at this juncture; since the con- *Islamism makes a farther progress in Arabia.*

<sup>m</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 273—276. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 247, 248. <sup>n</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 276. AL ASSAMAI. <sup>o</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> AL BOKHAR. in lib. *Al Sahih*, AL MASUD. apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. c. lxvii. p. 146, 147. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. MOSLEM, in alt. lib. *Al Sahih*, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. cviii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 277. <sup>q</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. <sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.



trary (M) is not only asserted by *Al Jannâbi*, but even by *Abu'lfeda* himself, the author cited, <sup>a</sup> in support of his notion, by that writer, on this occasion. However, that the greatest part of the people of *Najrân*, at this juncture, professed the *Christian* faith, seems most clearly to appear from *Barhebræus*, a *Syriac* author cited by *Assemanus*, who informs us, that *Said*, the prince of *Najrân*, was a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* sect; and that this prince, with *Jesujab* the *Jacobite* bishop of *Arzun*, waited upon *Mohammed*, and concluded a treaty of alliance with him. The principal articles of which treaty were, that *Mohammed* should take the *Christians* of *Najrân*, and their prince, under his protection; that they should not be forced to go to war against their inclination; that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion; that all their monks and ecclesiastics should be exempted from tribute; that, amongst the laity, every one of the richer sort should pay twelve pieces of money annually, and <sup>b</sup> the others four only, by way of tribute; that they should be permitted to build and repair churches, and even be assisted in such work by the other *Arabs*; and that, lastly, the poorer sort of them should be employed as servants in the houses of those *Arabs* who professed another religion. To which the *Syriac* author adds, that *Said* made the prophet magnificent presents on this occasion <sup>c</sup>.

Badhân the  
Persian dies.

ALI, having acquitted himself on all his commissions to his master's intire satisfaction, was received by him with marks of great affection, upon his arrival at *Mecca*; whither the prophet was come, in order to perform the pilgrimage of *valediction*. Towards the end of the month *Shawâl*, died *Badhân*, the *Persian*, who was first viceroy of *Yaman* for *Khostrû*, and afterwards for *Mohammed*; who, having received the news of his death, divided the govern- <sup>a</sup>ment of *Yaman* between *Shahr*, the son of *Badhân*, and six of his own companions; assigning to every one of the latter a particular district in that province <sup>d</sup>.

Mohammed  
sets out for  
Mecca, to  
perform the  
pilgrimage of  
valediction.

THE prophet, having washed and anointed himself, set out from *Medina* on *Saturday* the twenty-fifth of the month *Dhu'lkaada* for *Mecca*, where he now intended to perform the pilgrimage of *valediction*. He was attended, on this occasion, by 90,000 men, or, as some say, 114,000, or, as others will have it, a still greater number. Nor is this to be wondered at, when it is considered, that the people came in vast crouds from all parts of *Arabia*, of which he now was absolute master, to accompany him in this peregrination; especially as he had before commanded it to be proclaimed in the most public manner. He took all his wives, inclosed in their pavilions on the backs of camels, with him; together <sup>d</sup> with an infinite number of camels, intended for victims, that were crowned with garlands. He lay at *Dhu'lholeifa* the first night, where he said the vespers, or evening-prayers, with two inclinations. From this place, the next day, he advanced to the plain of *Baida*; where he again, with great solemnity, proclaimed, according to a tradition derived from *Ayesha*, the pilgrimage of *valediction*, but not any visitation, as we find asserted by *Abu'lfeda*. A visitation differs from a pilgrimage in this, that the former is not attended with such a train of ceremonies as the latter. Besides, a visitation may be performed at any time of the year; whereas a pilgrimage is absolutely confined to the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, as the very name of that month itself seems sufficiently to imply <sup>e</sup>.

As to the rites and ceremonies observed by the prophet in this famous pilgrimage, which <sup>e</sup> served for a model to the *Moslems* of all succeeding ages, *Jâber Ebn Abd'allah* has handed down to us an exact description of them, such as he found in the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of the prophet. But before we speak of this pilgrimage, or, which is the same thing, of the time and manner of performing that which answers to it at this day amongst the *Mohammedans*; it will be proper to give a short account here, once for all, of the temple of *Mecca*, the chief scene of the *Mohammedan* worship; in which we shall be the less prolix, as the form and antiquity of that edifice has been already touched upon <sup>f</sup>.

Description of  
the temple of  
Mecca.

THE city of *Mecca* is situated in a valley, surrounded by mountains, from whence the stone of which it is built was taken. It is twice as big as *Medina*, and about ten days <sup>f</sup> journey south of that city. The temple stands in the midst of the town, and is honoured with the title of *Masjad Al Harâm*, i. e. *the sacred or inviolable temple*. What is principally

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lix. p. 129. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 275. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 56. JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. bibliothec. Oriental. &c. tom. ii. p. 418. Romæ, 1721. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 129. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 248. <sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lx. p. 129, 130. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pococ. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. EBN ABBAS, AL JUZI, in lib. de peregrinat. Meccan. c. 121. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 279. AL BEIHAKI, AL BOKHAR de peregrinat. valedict. <sup>d</sup> MOSLEM, ex trad. Jâber Ebn Abd'allah, in lib. dict. Al Sahib. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 130.

(M) This may be certainly inferred from the text of *Abu'lfeda*, cited by Mr. Sale on this occasion; who there informs us, that *Ali* received both alms and tribute from the people of *Najrân*; which manifestly implies,

that some of them were *Moslems*, and others *Christians*. For alms were only collected among the *Mohammedans*, by the prophet's order, and tribute paid only by those who professed a different religion (36).

(36) *Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 129.*



- a revered in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone-building, called the *Caaba*, as some fancy, from its *height*, which surpasses that of the other buildings in *Mecca*, but more probably from its *quadrangular* form, and *Beit Allah*, i. e. *the house of God*, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship. This seems to have been erected by some of the patriarchs descended from *Ishmael*, and was held in the highest veneration by the *Arabs* of succeeding ages, even long before the birth of *Mohammed*. It was probably at first only a house, or habitation, made use of by the founder, which, in after-ages, attracted the regard of the people of *Mecca*, either on account of its antiquity, or the person who built it, and at last came to be considered as a building appropriated to the service of the pagan *Arab* divinities. For, that it was not originally a temple, seems to appear from
- b hence, that the door was not placed in the middle of the structure; and that, for many ages, there was no divine worship performed in it, tho' the pagan *Arabs* frequently went in procession round it. So the tent, or pavilion, *Jacob* lived in remained at *Edeffa*, according to *Syncellus*, till the time of *Elagabalus*; and the house that first belonged to *Cadmus*, was afterwards converted into the temple of *Ceres*, as we find asserted by *Pausanias*. The length of the *Caaba*, from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth, from east to west, twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-seven cubits. The door, which is on the east-side, stands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door. In the corner next this door is the *black stone*, so celebrated amongst the *Mohammedans*. On the north-side of the *Caaba*, within a semicircular inclosure fifty cubits
- c long, lies the *white stone*, said to be the sepulchre of *Ishmael*, which receives the rain-water that falls off the *Caaba* by a spout, formerly of wood, but now of gold. The *black stone*, if we will believe the *Mohammedans*, was brought down from heaven by *Gabriel*, at the creation of the world, and originally of a white colour, but contracted the blackness that now appears on it, from the guilt of those sins committed by the sons of men. They also relate, that, at the time of the deluge, it was taken up into heaven again, and carried from thence a second time by *Gabriel*, when *Abraham* built the *Caaba*. The double roof of the *Caaba* is supported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood; between which, on a bar of iron, hang some silver lamps. The out-side is covered with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly
- d sent by the *Khalifs*, afterwards by the *Sultans* of *Egypt*, and is now provided by the *Turkish* emperors. At a small distance from the *Caaba*, on the east-side, is the *station*, or *place*, of *Abraham*, where is another stone much respected by the *Mohammedans*, where they pretend to shew his footsteps, telling us he stood on it, when he built the *Caaba*. For which reason, it is at this day called by the pilgrims, who visit the temple we are describing, *the stone in Abraham's place* \*.

WE are next to observe, that the *Caaba*, at some distance, is surrounded, but not intirely, by a circular inclosure of pillars, joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver. Just without this inner inclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of the *Caaba*, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where

e three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions; the fourth sect, viz. that of *Al Shâfeï*, making use of the station of *Abraham* for that purpose. Towards the south-east stands the edifice which covers the well *Zemzem*, the treasury, and the cupola of *Al Abbâs*. To which we may add, that, in the time of *Sharîf Al Edrisi*, there was another cupola, that went then amongst the *Arabs* by the name of *the hemicycle*, or *cupola of Judæa*; but whether or no any remains of that are now to be seen, we have not been informed by any modern traveller. Nor is any information in this particular easy to be obtained, all *Christians* being denied access to the pretended holy place we are here endeavouring to give our readers some idea of \*.

THE square colonade, or great piazza, that, at a considerable distance, incloses the

f magnificent buildings above-mentioned, consists, according to *Al Jannâbi*, of 448 pillars, and has no less than thirty-eight gates. Mr. *Sale* compares this piazza to that of the *Royal Exchange*, but allows it to be much larger. It is covered with small domes, or cupolas, from the four corners whereof rise as many *minârets*, or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, after the *Turkish* manner, as are also the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the columns of both inclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night. The first foundations of this outward inclosure were laid by *Omar*, the second *Khalif*, who built no more

\* GOLI notæ ad Alfragan. p. 98, 99. PITTS's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96. AHMED EN YUSEF, SHARIF AL EDRI, KITAB MASALEC apud Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 125, &c. SYNCEL. chronic. p. 107. PAUSAN. lib. ix. 16. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 118, 119, 120. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in Al KOR. MOHAM. sur. ii, ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 13, 14. SAFIO'DDIN, Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 118—128. \* SHARIF AL EDRI apud Pocock um, ubi sup. p. 126. ut et ipse Poc. ibid. PITTS's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, pass.



than a low wall, to prevent the court of the *Caaba*, which before lay open, from being a  
 incroached on by private buildings. This court is in a peculiar manner stiled *Al Masjid Al*  
*Harâm*; which appellation, as has been already observed, is also frequently applied to the  
 whole structure of the *Caaba*. The edifice here described made no very splendid appear-  
 ance in the time of *Mohammed*, nor even in the reigns of his two immediate successors *Abu*  
*Becr* and *Omar*. But the structure has been since raised, by the liberality of many succeed-  
 ing princes, and great men, to its present lustre. However, the form of the whole has  
 undergone no very material alteration since the year of the *Hejra* 74<sup>z</sup>.

It must likewise be farther observed, that the whole territory of *Mecca*, as well as the  
*Caaba* and the city, is frequently dignified with the title of *Al Masjid Al Harâm*, and sur-  
 rounded by a third inclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, b  
 some seven, and others ten miles distant from the city. Some think, that the most sacred  
 part of the city, including the site of the *Caaba*, and a spot of ground contiguous to it,  
 was called by the *Arabs Becca*, from remote antiquity; and that this name was never com-  
 municated to the other parts of the town; but others, and even with no small appearance  
 of truth, are of a different opinion. Within the compass of ground surrounded by the  
 third inclosure, it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch  
 from a tree; which, says Mr. *Sale*, is the reason why the pigeons of *Mecca* are reckoned  
 sacred. But we are, with *Al Mogholtai*, rather inclined to believe, that these pigeons are  
 looked upon to be sacred, because they are supposed to be of the breed of those which laid c  
 their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the prophet and *Abu Becr* hid themselves, when  
 they fled from that city; especially, as those animals were believed to have not a little con-  
 tributed to *Mohammed*'s wonderful escape at that time, when he was so closely pursued by  
 the *Koreish*. After what has been said, it cannot appear strange, that *Euthymius Zigabenus*  
 should give the name of *Mecca* to the *Caaba*; since both that place and the town, in his time,  
 were considered as sacred by the *Mohammedans*<sup>a</sup>.

As it has been already remarked, that the temple of *Mecca* was a place of worship, or,  
 at least, held in singular veneration by the *Arabs*, many centuries before *Mohammed*, we  
 shall say but little of its high antiquity in this place. However, we must not omit observ-  
 ing, that the *Mohammedans* take the *Caaba* to be almost coeval with the world. For they  
 pretend, that *Adam*, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of God that he might erect d  
 a building like that he had seen there, called *Beit Al Mâmûr*, or *the frequented house*, and  
*Al Dorâb*, or *the remote house*, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he  
 might compass, as the angels do the celestial one. Whereupon God let down a representa-  
 tion of that house in curtains of light, and set it in *Mecca*, perpendicularly under its origi-  
 nal, ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way  
 of devotion. After *Adam*'s death, say these persons, his son *Seth* built a house in the same  
 form, of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by *Abraham*  
 and *Ishmael*, at God's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same  
 model, they being directed therein by revelation. *Abu Horeira* pretends, that this model, e  
 or, which is the same thing, the celestial building from whence it was taken, was a thou-  
 sand years older than *Adam*; and that the angels began to compass that heavenly edifice  
 the same number of years before the creation of the world. Mr. *Gagnier*, and after him  
 Mr. *Sale*, is pleased to affirm, that the primitive *Christian* church held a parallel opinion as  
 to the situation of the celestial *Jerusalem*, with respect to the terrestrial; which he infers  
 from a passage in the apocryphal book of the revelations of St. *Peter*. But sure nothing  
 can be more illogical or unjust, than to impute the crude and absurd notions of a single  
 impostor, for the author of that book deserves no better an appellation, of whatever anti-  
 quity he may be, to the whole primitive *Christian* church. What could induce these gen-  
 tlemen to publish such an unfair insinuation as this, is, perhaps, not so easy to say: For, f  
 probably, they thought it would be doing an honour to the *Christian* faith to put it on a  
 level with *Mohammedism*, which they seem to have so much admired above any other reli-  
 gion; and, therefore, cannot justly be suspected of having had any thing of this kind in  
 view. But by whatever motive they were influenced on this occasion, they are not the  
 only writers whom some will believe to have attempted wounding *Christianity* through the  
 sides of its unworthy professors; an author now alive, and supported by some great men,  
 having apparently done the same thing<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> Poc. ubi sup. p. 116. SALE. ubi sup. p. 115. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 99. <sup>a</sup> GOLIIUS,  
 ubi sup. SALE, ubi sup. p. 116. AL MOGHOLTAI in vit. Moham. AL JANNAB. AL BEIDAWI, in Al Kor.  
 f. ix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 445. EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, in panoplia dogmatic. inter Sylburgii Sara-  
 cenic. Vide etiam biblioth. vet. patr. tom. xix. Lugduni, 1677. & POCCOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 116.  
<sup>b</sup> AL SHAHRESTANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ubi sup. ABU HOREIRA, AL FIRAUZABAD. in Kâin. AL ZAMAHK-  
 SHAR. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii. AL JUZI, ex tradit. Ebn Abbâs. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p.  
 37, 38. JOAN. ALBERT. FABRIC. præfat. ad cod. apocr. Nov. Testament. Hamburgi, 1703. SALE, ubi sup.



a We have already taken notice, that the *Koreish* rebuilt the *Caaba*, after the birth of *Mohammed*; that it was afterwards repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, the *Khalif* of *Meccâ*; and that *Yusef*, surnamed *Al Hejâj*, in the seventy-fourth year of the *Hejra*, put it in the form wherein it now remains. To which we shall beg leave to add, that, some years after, either the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*, or his father *Al Mokdi*, or else his grandfather *Al Mansûr*, intended to change what had been altered by *Al Hejâj*, and to reduce the building to the old form in which it was left by *Abd'allah*; but was dissuaded from meddling with it by one *Mâlec*, lest so holy a place should become the sport of princes, and being new-modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid to it. Some of the *Orientals* believe, that this temple was at first consecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn*; as the  
b ancient *Arabs* and *Indians*, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets. One of these, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yamen*, by *Debac*, to the honour of *Al Zoharah*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demolished by the *Khalif Othmân*; by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetic inscription, set, as is reported, over this temple, viz. *Ghomdân, he who destroyeth thee, shall be slain*. But, notwithstanding the antiquity and holiness of this building, the *Mohammedans* have a prophecy, that, in the last times, the *Ethiopians* shall utterly demolish it; after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever. It will not displease our curious readers to be informed, that Mr. *Reland* received an exact plan of the *Caaba*, or temple of *Meccâ*, from the learned *Michael Enemannus*, professor at *Upsal*, who  
c lived some years in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, after his return from the *East*; which was taken by a *Turk* upon the spot, and has been preserved by a plate inserted in the excellent treatise Mr. *Reland* has written upon the *Mohammedan* religion.

BEFORE we dismiss the present subject, it may not be amiss to take farther notice of some few particulars, that have hitherto been but slightly touched upon. First, then, the celebrated *black stone* is set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the *Caaba*, looking towards *Basra*, about two cubits and one-third, or seven spans, from the ground. The pilgrims kiss this stone with great devotion, and some of them even call it the right hand of God. The *Moslems* pretend, that it was originally one of the precious stones of paradise, and fell down to the earth with *Adam*. This stone is said to have grown black by the touch  
d of a menstruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the sins of mankind, but probably by the kisses and touches of so many people; the superficies being only black. After the *Karmatians* had taken *Mecca*, they carried away this stone, and could not be prevailed on by the *Meccans* to restore it for 5,000 *dinars*. However, after two-and-twenty years detention of it, finding they could not thereby withdraw the pilgrims from *Mecca*, they sent it back of their own accord. According to *Euthymius Zigabenus*, there appears the figure of a human head cut in it, which some take to be the head of *Venus*; but this is not supported by any good *Arab* author. Notwithstanding the respect this stone meets with from the *Mohammedans*, it was probably worshipped by idolaters in the earlier ages. The tradition, that asserts it to have been blackened by the sins of men, is supposed to have been derived originally from the  
e prophet himself; and this notion is the most generally received amongst his followers. 2. The stone in *Abraham's* place above-mentioned, on which the *Moslems* believe that patriarch stood, whilst the wife of his son *Ishmael* washed his head, was inclosed in an iron chest, and had a cavity in it, in the time of *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*; who tells us, that he drank some of the water of the well *Zemzem* out of it, and not out of the iron chest, as Mr. *Sale* has wrongly affirmed. Some of the *Moslems*, according to *Euthymius Zigabenus*, formerly believed, that *Abraham* lay with *Hagar* on this stone, and esteem'd it highly on that account. *Mohammed* enjoined his followers to pray before it, in the second chapter of the *Korân*. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, who saw it, relates, that one of *Abraham's* footsteps, still visible in this stone, was much deeper than the other. But for a farther account of it, we must beg leave  
f to refer our curious readers to *Safioddin*, *Al Zamakhshari*, *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, and other *Arab* authors. 3. The well *Zemzem* is on the east side of the *Caaba*, and covered with a small building and cupola. Many strange things are related of the water of this well, which we have formerly taken notice of. It will, therefore, be sufficient to observe at present, that, according to a tradition, derived ultimately from *Mohammed*, but immediately from the *Khalif Omar*, the water of this celebrated well is medicinal, and, drank moderately, will cure many bodily distempers. The same tradition adds, that, if it be taken copiously, it will heal all spiritual disorders, and procure an absolute remission of sins. No wonder then, that it should not only be drank with such particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. We must not forget to acquaint our readers, that the stone in *Abraham's* place, out of which,

\* ARU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 13. & in hist. gen. AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 115, 116, &c. AL SHAHRESTAN. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 120. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717.



as is intimated by *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, the water of *Zemzem* is sometimes drank, was hid by the officers of the temple in one of the mountains near *Mecca*, to prevent its being carried away with the *black stone* by the *Karmatians*. 4. The *white stone*, or sepulchre of *Ishmael*, has been taken particular notice of by *Sbarif Al Edrisi*; from whence we may conclude, that it has continued many ages in its present situation; and that it was probably held in considerable repute even amongst the pagan *Arabs*, many of whom acknowledged *Ishmael* to have been their great progenitor. Be that as it will, this stone, on account of its antiquity, merits the attention of the curious, and has therefore been mentioned, in the description of the *Caaba*, by the most celebrated modern writers <sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed  
performs the  
ceremonies of  
the pilgrimage.

BUT, after so necessary a digression, to return to our history—When the prophet arrived at *Mecca*, his men having occupied the same posts, he entered the city in the same manner as when he first took possession of it. Descending from the heights on the side of *Cada*, he advanced to the mountain *Al Hajun*, and went directly from thence to the *Caaba*, about day-break, on the fourth day of the month of *Dbu'lhajja*. Here he kissed, with great devotion, the corner of the *black stone*; after which, he made seven circuits round the *Caaba*, the three first in a light nimble manner, and the four last with a graver pace. Then he approached the *place*, or *station*, of *Abraham*, and returned from thence to the *black stone*, which he kissed a second time. After which, he went out of the city by the gate of the *Banu Mahdom*, ascended the hill *Al Safâ*, from the top of which he took a view of the *Caaba*, and turning towards the *Kebla*, pronounced the profession of the unity of the Divine Nature, contained in the following words: *God is great: There is no God but God: He has no companion: He is the only supreme Governor: He only ought to be praised: He is powerful above all things: There is no God but God: He has no companion: He only is strong: He has succoured his servant; and he alone has put to flight legions of his enemies.* From thence he went to *Al Merwâ*, and ran seven times between that mountain and the other of *Al Safâ*, walking gravely to the place between two pillars, where he began to run, and afterwards walked again. He performed this ceremony, sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something, to represent *Hagar* seeking water for her son. From whence 'tis plain, that the *Moslems* look upon this ceremony to be coeval with *Hagar*, and consequently believe, that it was observed by the ancient *Arabs* many centuries before the birth of *Mohammed* <sup>c</sup>.

FROM the mountains *Al Safâ* and *Al Merwâ* the prophet passed to mount *Arafat*, a little before sun-set, where he made an harangue to the people, standing, and instructed them in the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage, which continued till sun-set. Then he went to *Mozdalifa*, an oratory between *Arafat* and *Mina*, where he repeated the evening prayers, and gave the pilgrims an exhortation, or short moral discourse, with two assurances. Then he laid himself down on the ground, and slept till morning, when he said the prayer used by the *Mohammedans* before sun-rise. After this, he posted himself in the middle of the *Caaba*, and prayed standing till the sun was upon the point of making his appearance. Then he hastened by the valley of *Mohaffer* to that of *Mina*, where he threw seven stones at three marks, or pillars, in imitation of *Abraham*, who meeting with the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by God to drive him away, by throwing stones at him; tho' others pretend this rite to be as old as *Adam*, who also put the devil to flight in the same place, and by the same means. Every time the prophet cast a stone at *Satan*, he repeated the formula *ALLAH ACBAR*, &c. *God is great*, &c. and then went to the place in the valley of *Mina*, where the pilgrims at this day slay the victims, and give the remains of them, after they with their friends have fed upon them, to the poor. It is observable, that the pilgrims at present, in imitation of *Mohammed*, on the ninth of *Dbu'l-hajja*, after morning prayer, leave the valley of *Mina*, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to mount *Arafat*, where they stay to perform their devotions till sun-set, and from thence go to *Mozdalifa*, spending there the night in prayer and reading the *Korân*; from whence the next morning, by day-break, they visit *Al Mesher Al Harâm*, or the sacred monument, and pass by *Batn Mohaffer* before sun-rise to the valley of *Mina*, where they perform the same operation with the stones the prophet did. It must also be remarked, that these pilgrims, the sacrifices being over, shave their heads, and cut their nails, burying them in the same place: after which, they look upon the pilgrimage as completed; tho' they again visit the *Caaba*, to take their leave of that

<sup>a</sup> AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ubi sup. Poc. ubi sup. p. 115, 116, 117, 118. AL GHAZAL. SHAHABODDIN, SAFIODDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. ubi sup. EUTHYM. ZIGABEN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 120. ut & ipse Poc. ibid. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 927, 928. SHARIF AL EDRISI, SALE, ubi sup. p. 118. <sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 131. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 280, 281. EBN AL ATHIR, AL GHAZAL. Vide etiam ALBERT. BOBOV. ubi sup. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 314.



a sacred place. In all which particulars they follow the example of their prophet, who did the same on the present occasion <sup>f</sup>.

WHEN *Mohammed* came to the place where the victims were to be slain, he made a speech to the people, pointing out to them therein the rites and ceremonies of the immolation. At this juncture it was, that the following passage of the *Korân*, according to the pretended prophet, descended from heaven: "On this day, wo unto those who have apostatized from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have completed my mercy upon you; and I have chosen for you ISLAM, to be your religion." Which words being heard by *Abu Becr*, if we may depend upon *Al Jannâbi*, he burst out into tears, as he understood from them how far he

b was from being arrived at a state of perfection. However, he comforted himself with this pleasing reflection, that the prophet was his friend, and that he would not fail making perpetual intercession for him <sup>g</sup>.

WE are likewise told by the same historian, that the descent of this famous passage was attended, or rather followed, by a most illustrious miracle. The camel *Al Kafwâ*, on which the prophet rode, says he, hearing these celestial words, fell down on her knees, through the power of the divine revelation, and out of the profound reverence she had for the *Korân*. Nay, this most stanch *Moslem* assures us, that the very spot, on which this miraculous fit of devotion happened to the camel, after it had lain hid for many ages, was at last discovered, and that by a miracle too, in the year of the *Hejra* 964, or of CHRIST 1557, in the following manner: *Al Wâled*, the great *Kâdî* of *Mecca*, celebrating there the pilgrimage, or grand festival, that year, was extremely desirous of seeing the place where the prophet's camel fell down on her knees, when the famous passage in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Korân* was revealed. In order, therefore, to discover this, he rid on his camel over every part of the town, and was at last met by one *Sheikh Houssein*, a most pious and devout person, favoured with frequent revelations, who told him, that the apostle of God had appeared to him the preceding night, and assured him, that the place he then stood on was the very spot of ground he sought after. Upon which, adds this writer, *Al Wâled*'s camel at that instant fell down on her knees, opposite to the building then called the house of *Adam*; which fresh miracle put the *Sheikh*'s veracity in the point before us d beyond all manner of doubt. Upon which extraordinary relation we have at present no other reflection to make, than that Mr. *Gagnier* POSITIVELY AFFIRMS, that our author, as indeed appears from the relation, was an eye-witness of this most surprising event; which, as it seems to imply his assent to the whole story, will doubtless add great weight to the authority of *Al Jannâbi*, and even absolutely evince the reality of these and all the other illustrious miracles handed down to us by that historian <sup>h</sup>.

BEFORE the conclusion of the preceding solemnity, *Ali* returned from *Yaman*, where he had been upon some particular business, and desired to be permitted to partake of it, and to celebrate the praises of God, in the same manner that the prophet and his other companions had done; which, as he appeared in his sacred garment, or pilgrim's habit, as e *Mohammed* himself and all his followers at that time did, was immediately granted him. Then the prophet slew with his own hands sixty-three camels, which answered to the years of his age, he being then sixty-three years old, and sacrificed them in the valley of *Mina*. Thirty-seven more he gave to *Ali* for immolation, that he might complete the number of victims to an hundred. Part of these the prophet brought with him from *Medina*, and the other part *Ali* procured in *Yaman*. Afterwards *Mohammed* shaved his head, and threw the hair on a tree or shrub called *Talba*, that the wind might blow it amongst the people. Most of the fore-locks were seized by *Khâled Ebn Walid*, who tied them to a turban that he wore in all his future wars; and hence it came to pass, says a *Moslem* author, that this general was so powerfully assisted in every future engagement, or, in other words, that he was so constantly victorious. What a pity it is, that Mr. *Gagnier* has not supported the authority of f this writer, as he seems to have done before that of *Al Jannâbi*, either by explicitly, or at least implicitly, signifying his assent to what he has been pleased to advance on this occasion <sup>i</sup>!

AFTER the prophet had taken his repast, in company with *Ali* only, he remounted his camel, and went directly to the *Caaba*. Then he said the prayer used after the sun begins to decline from the meridian, took several large draughts of *Zemzem* water, compassed the temple seven times, and ran as before between *Al Safâ* and *Al Merwâ*. On the ninth day of the festival, he performed his devotion on mount *Arafat*, about a mile from *Mecca*, a place

<sup>f</sup> *Iidem ibid.* Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii. AHMED EBN YUSEF, HADR. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 113—121. PITTs's account of the religion of the *Mohammedans*, p. 92, &c. CHARD. voy. de Perse, p. 35. <sup>g</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. v. 4. <sup>h</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 263. <sup>i</sup> AL DAMIR. in lib. dict. vit. animal. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 283. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 131, 132. JALLALO'DDIN, AL SHAFI, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 285.



held in high veneration by the *Moslems*. For they say, that when *Adam* and *Eve* were cast down from paradise, *Adam* fell on the isle of *Ceylon*, or *Serendib*, and *Eve* near *Jeddah*, the port of *Mecca*, in *Arabia*; and that after a separation of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*. To which they add, that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their species. This mountain, the *Moslems* pretend, has always been more immediately dedicated to the service of ALMIGHTY GOD; and here, according to *Al Jannabi*, the prophet acquitted himself of his duty with great humility on the present occasion, imploring the divine clemency, and begging pardon, with great fervor, both for his own sins, and those of all his followers. With this penitential act, and the reformation of the *Arab* kalendar, of which we shall here beg leave to subjoin a short account, he concluded the pilgrimage of *valediction*<sup>k</sup>.

Mohammed reforms the Arab kalendar;

It has been already observed, that the pagan *Arabs* esteemed four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and therefore ceased then from all incursions, and other hostilities. However, in process of time, some of them being weary of sitting quiet at home, transferred the observance of a sacred month, when it suited their conveniency, to the succeeding profane month. Thus, for example, they put off the observance of the month *Al Mobarram* to the following month *Safar*, which, in that case, was looked upon to be sacred. This translation, or transferring, of the observance of a sacred month to a profane one, is imported by the *Arabic* word *Al Nasî*, and was absolutely condemned, as an impious innovation, first introduced by *Janâda Ebn Awf*, of the tribe of *Kenâna*, in a passage of the *Korân*; as was also the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the *Arabs* had learned of the *Jews*, in order to reduce their lunar to solar years. For, by this means, they fixed, contrary to the original institution, the time of the pilgrimage, and of the fast of *Ramadân*, which ought to be ambulatory, to a certain season of the year. These ordinances, relating to the months, were promulgated by *Mohammed* himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction*, so called either because the prophet, after this, never saw *Mecca*, or because, in the last sermon he preached to the people, he took his leave of them in a formal manner. The last of these opinions has been maintained by *Al Jâzi*, in which he is followed by Mr. *Gagnier*; and the first, with a great appearance of truth, if we may be allowed the liberty of judging, by the famous *Ismael Abul feda*<sup>l</sup>.

Thus we have given our readers a particular, tho' at the same time, considering the variety of circumstances attending it, a very concise account of the last pilgrimage performed by *Mohammed*, stiled by the principal *Arab* writers, who have mentioned it, the pilgrimage of *valediction*. Nor can this, we persuade ourselves, be deemed too prolix, if it be considered, that the famous event therein related, was by the prophet intended to serve as a model, for the celebration of this great solemnity, to the *Moslems* of all succeeding ages. So that the preceding account, at the same time that it exhibits to us a very curious piece of *Arabic* history, contains an exact description of all the principal rites and ceremonies observed by the *Mohammedans* at this day, who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Nor could we, without such a description, sufficiently understand several passages in the history of the *Khalifs*, as well as that of *Mohammed*, and other *Moslem* princes, that will hereafter occur to us, and allude to the celebration of the festival here described. But to wave every thing else that might be offered by way of apology, it would certainly have been unpardonable, in such a work as this, to have only just touched upon so grand an institution; the *Mohammedans* holding the pilgrimage to *Mecca* to be so necessary a point of practice, that, according to a tradition of their prophet, received amongst them, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a *Jew* or a *Christian*; and it being likewise expressly commanded in the *Korân*. To the *Caaba*, therefore, every *Moslem*, who has health and means sufficient, ought once, at least, in his life to go on pilgrimage, and put on the *Ibrâm*, or sacred habit; nor are even the women themselves excused from the performance of so necessary a duty. As to the rest, those who desire to be thoroughly acquainted with the nature and manner of this peregrination, may consult *Albertus Bobovius*, and our countryman *Pitts*, who, in every thing, even the minutest particular relating to it, will give them full and ample satisfaction<sup>m</sup>.

and sends an embassy to the Al Nakhaïtes.

THE following year, being the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, a numerous embassy was sent by the *Al Nakhaïtes*, a tribe of *Arabs* settled in *Yaman*, to *Mohammed*, which arrived at

<sup>k</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. Vide etiam ALBERT. BOBOV. ubi sup. D'HEREEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 55 AHMED EBN YAHYA, MONCONY's voyage, par. i. p. 372, &c. KNOX's account of Ceylon. Anciennes relations des Indes, &c. p. 3. AL HASAN. GAGN ubi sup. p. 266, 267. <sup>l</sup> AL KAZWINI, apud Golium in not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, &c. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. AL SHAHRESTANI apud Pocockium in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 311, ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JAWHAR. in *Al Saba*, AL DAMIR, ubi sup. AL FIRAUZABADI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 132. AL JUZI de ritib. peregrinat. Meccan. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. ABU ABD'ALLAH MOHAM. EBN AHMED, in lib. dict. *Odorat. Flor.* Poc. not. in hist. spec. Arab. p. 177, 323, &c. <sup>m</sup> AFLERTUS BOBOVIUS & PITTS, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. AL BEIDAWI.



- a *Medina*, where he then was, about the middle of the month of *Al Moharram*. The persons that composed this embassy, to the number of an hundred, had before been initiated in the rites and mysteries of *Islamism*; and had likewise taken the oath of allegiance to the prophet, which was administered to them by *Moadb Ebn Jabal*. They met, therefore, with a very gracious reception from *Mohammed*; who, on the 25th of the month *Safar*, nominated *Osama*, the son of *Zeid*, who was killed in the battle of *Mûta*, a youth of about twenty years of age, to command a body of troops in an expedition, projected by the prophet, to revenge his father's death. *Osama* having assembled his forces, consisting intirely of *Mohâjerin* and *Ansârs*, and received the standard from the prophet himself, set out from *Medina* the 28th, attended by *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, who were all appointed
- b to command under him. The first day he only advanced to *Jorf*, a place about a parasang distant from *Medina*, where he incamped the following night<sup>n</sup>.

In the mean time the prophet, who had been attacked the day before, being the 27th of *Mohammed Safar*, by a violent pain in the head, attended by a fever that afterwards brought a delirium<sup>faul sick</sup> upon him, in the apartment of *Zeinab Bint Jabesh*, one of his beloved wives, found himself something better before the departure of the army. But soon after, his disorder was heightened by the advice he received of the revolt of two famous impostors, who had commenced prophets in the provinces of *Al Yamâma* and *Najrân*. These two competitors in the prophetic office were *Moseilama* and *Al Aswad*, whom the *Mohammedans* usually call *the two lyars*. The first of these was of the tribe of *Honcifa*, who inhabited the province of *Yamâma*, and a principal man amongst them. He had headed an embassy sent by his tribe to *Mohammed*, in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, and then professed himself a *Moslem*. But being desirous of raising himself to a greater degree of power, the next year he set up for a prophet. As he survived *Mohammed*, and even grew formidable after his death, we shall give a farther account of him in our history of the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*, to which place such an account more properly belongs<sup>o</sup>.

- AL ASWAD EBN CAAB, the other impostor, whose name was *Aibala*, was of the tribe of *Al Aswad*, *Aws*, and governed that and the other tribes of *Arabs* descended from *Madhaj*, the prince of *Sofâr*, a city of *Yaman*. This man was likewise an apostate from *Mohammedism*, and began to act the part of a prophet the very year that *Mohammed* died. He had acquired great power and authority over all the *Arab* tribes settled in *Yaman*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that he was surnamed *Dhu'lbemâr*, or *the master of the afs*, because he used frequently to say, *The master of the afs is coming unto me*; and gave out, that he received his revelations from two angels, named *Sobaik* and *Sboraik*. The first of these, as he pretended, sold him an afs, that he had taught to play all manner of tricks, and when he saw him at any time appear, he immediately said, *Here comes the master of the afs*; from whence he was distinguished by the aforesaid appellation. The latter, as he said, frequently exhibited to his view a vast variety of spectres, or phantoms, so glorious that they dazzled his eyes. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he shewed them, and the eloquence of his discourse; which, to set off the more, and render the more engaging, he assured the people was derived from the two angels above-mentioned, who, he told them, moved his tongue as they pleased. By these means he greatly increased his power, and having made himself master of *Najrân*, and the territory of *Al Tâyes*, on the death of *Badhân*, the governor of *Yaman* for *Mohammed*, he seized that province also, killing *Shabr*, the son of *Badhân*, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of *Firuz* the *Deilamite*, he had also slain. The news of so considerable a progress being brought to *Mohammed*, he was very uneasy; especially as the same express informed him, that *Al Aswad* had possessed himself of *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, and appointed *Amru Ebn Moadb* his lieutenant over the tribe of *Madhaj*. He, therefore, dispatched a courier to some of the leading men of the tribes of *Hamyar* and *Hamdân*, with
- f secret orders to cut him off, either by surprize or open force; which orders were effectually executed, as will hereafter more clearly appear<sup>p</sup>.

In the mean time the prophet's distemper, which began with a violent and acute pain in the head, increased to such a degree, that his life was soon apprehended to be in danger. This malady was occasioned, as has been already observed, by the poison he received at *Khaibar*, which, at certain intervals, had greatly disordered him, ever since the reduction of that place; and, having diffused itself over the whole mass of his blood, and by its extreme malignity affected every vein, produced the uncommon head-ach, and fever attending it, that now put a period to his days. As soon as he found that his distemper might

<sup>n</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 284.

<sup>o</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxi. p. 133. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 164. AL FIRAQZABAD. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 178. AL BOKHAR. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 160. ELMACIN. ubi sup. p. 9.

<sup>p</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 158, 159. AL SOHEILI, apud Gagn. in not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 153, ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. ELMACIN. ubi sup. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 287. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 273, 274, 275.



prove fatal to him, he sent for all his other wives to the apartment of *Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth*,<sup>a</sup> and desired they would give *Ayesha* leave to take care of him in his sickness; which they agreeing to, he was immediately carried to her apartment. Here he is said to have attributed his death, which he soon was sensible approached, to the poison given him at *Khai-bar*, in the presence both of *Ayesha* and the mother of *Bashar Ebn Al Bara*, who likewise was poisoned there. We are told, that, in the discourse which passed between the prophet and his wife *Ayesha*, some pleasantries were made made use of at this sorrowful juncture, which seemed a little to alleviate his pain. After which, the fever raged to such a degree, that he thought himself on fire. No one could feel his pulse, or put his hand on his stomach, without being sensible of a most intense and insupportable heat; which made him break out into the following exclamation: *Oh! none of the prophets ever suffered such torments as I now feel;*<sup>b</sup> *but the greater my present affliction is, the more glorious will be my future reward.* Then, at his request, his wives threw a large quantity of cold water upon his body, in order to abate the heat with which he was consumed; which, says one of the *Moslem* writers, wonderfully refreshed him<sup>c</sup>.

NAY, this seemed to have produced not only present ease, but a much more wonderful effect upon him. For he found himself so much better the next day, that he went to a mosque, tho' supported by *Fadhl Ebn Al Abbâs* and *Ali*, where he largely celebrated the praises of the ALMIGHTY, and begged pardon of God, in a most devout manner, for all his sins. Then he mounted a pulpit, or seat erected for him, out of which he harangued the people assembled to see him, in the following words: *O men, if I have ever whipped any person*<sup>c</sup> *with severity, let me endure the same stripes that he did; if I have ever wounded any person's reputation, let mine be treated in the same manner; if I have taken money from any one unjustly, I am ready here to return it. Nor let such a person be afraid to demand what is his due; it is not agreeable to my genius and disposition to resent this.* After which, he came out of the pulpit, said the prayer used when the sun begins to decline from the meridian, remounted his pontifical chair, and resumed his discourse there; but was prevented from continuing in it, by a man who demanded three *dirhems*, that he pretended were due to him. This small sum the prophet immediately paid him, saying, *It is better to suffer disgrace in this world than in that which is to come.* Then he prayed to God for the martyrs that had been slain in the battle of *Ohod*, and for all those interred in the burying-place called *Al Baki*; interceding for them, says *Al Jannâbi*, according to the pact and communion subsisting between the living and the dead. To which he added, *God has given one of his servants the choice*<sup>d</sup> *either of this world, or of that which is to come; and he, meaning himself, has chosen the latter.* Upon which, *Abu Becr* burst forth into tears, and said to him, *We have given you absolute power over our souls*<sup>e</sup>.

Mohammed gives his last orders to the Ansârs.

AFTER this, the prophet gave his last orders to the *Ansârs*, the most zealous and faithful of his companions. These orders have even to this day been regarded by the *Moslems* as the most essential articles of *Mohammed's* will; and are the three following; viz. 1. They were commanded to chase all idolaters out of *Arabia*. 2. To grant proselytes all the privileges that they themselves enjoyed. 3. To apply themselves constantly to prayer. The first of which orders has always been so punctually and rigorously observed, that no religion but *Islamism* has, from the death of the prophet, been tolerated in *Arabia*; tho' the *Christians*, *Jews*, *Sabians*, and *Magians*, who are considered as idolaters, are permitted to exercise their religion, upon the payment of an annual tribute imposed upon them, in all other parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. The second order, relating to proselytes, has always, as it is at present, been perfectly complied with by the *Moslems*, who have never failed to fill their principal employments with new converts, as well as with those who were educated in the *Mohammedan* religion. As for the third, nothing is more expressly enjoined in the *Korân* than prayer. It is, indeed, one of the five fundamental articles of the *Moslem* faith; and was by *Mohammed* thought so necessary a duty, that he used to call it *the pillar*<sup>f</sup> *of religion, and the key of paradise.* When, therefore, the *Thakîfites*, who dwelt at *Tâyef*, sending, in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, to make their submission to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them, begged, at least, that they might be dispensed with as to their saying of the appointed prayers, he answered, *There could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer.* Nay, according to a tradition that came originally from *Omm Salma*, when he was at the point of death, he insisted more upon the performance of this duty than that of any other. He also then said, if the tradition derived from *Ayesha* may be credited, *May God's curse fall upon the Jews, for converting the sepulchres of their prophets into temples*; which probably prevented his own from meeting with the same fate. This might be one of his views in uttering such an imprecation; tho' we are

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 134, 135. AL BOKHARI, AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 290. MOSLEM, GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 134, 135. <sup>b</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 135. AL JANNAB. ubi sup.



a inclined to believe, that it proceeded chiefly from the invincible aversion he had conceived to that people, whom he considered as the most bitter and irreconcilable, notwithstanding his repeated endeavours to soften them, of all his enemies<sup>s</sup>.

ON *Friday*, he having been taken ill the *Monday* before, and the following days, as long as he was able, he constantly said prayers in the mosque to the people; but the three last days preceding his death, he was so extremely bad, that he was obliged to confine himself intirely to *Ayesha's* apartment, where he entertained his friends with discourses on religious topics. Then he gave them instructions how to behave to him, both before and after his death, and manumitted a great number of slaves. After which, growing delirious, through the violence of the paroxysm that seized upon him, he called for pen, ink, and paper, in order to write a book to deliver to his followers, for the better regulation of their future conduct. This, tho' agreed to by some, was opposed by *Omar*, who rightly attributed so unseasonable, as well as absurd, a motion (especially as the prophet had always been illiterate, and incapable of either reading or writing) to the violence of his distemper; since, as he justly observed, the *Korân*, which they had received from heaven, was of itself sufficient to direct them in all spiritual matters. However, a dispute arising, *Mohammed*, with some emotion, ordered all the company to withdraw, telling them, that *it was not proper for them to dispute in the presence of a prophet*<sup>t</sup>.

WE must not forget to observe, that the prophet, thinking himself incapable of praying publicly, the *Friday* before his death, ordered *Abu Becr* to officiate for him. However, finding himself afterwards something better, he came into the mosque, supported by *Ali* and *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*. As soon as he had taken his seat, he said some prayers, which *Abu Becr* repeated after him, and the people then present at divine service did the same after *Abu Becr*<sup>u</sup>.

ON *Saturday* night, or the day following, *Gabriel*, according to the *Moslem* historians, visited the prophet, and brought him the agreeable news of his competitor *Al Aswad's* death. This was effected by a party of *Mohammed's* friends, to whom he had written on occasion of that impostor's revolt, as has been already observed, and some of the *Arabs* of *Hamdân*; who, conspiring with *Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth*, who bore *Al Aswad* a grudge, and with *Firâz* and *Al Aswad's* wife, broke by night into his house, where *Firâz* surprised him, and cut off his head. While he was dispatching, he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber-door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them that the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done a day or two before *Mohammed* died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made; viz. *I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God, and that Ahaila is a liar*; and letters were immediately sent away to *Mohammed*, with an account of what had been done. But the messenger from heaven, according to *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Jannâbi*, outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themselves not arriving till *Abu Becr* was chosen *Khalif*. It is said, that *Mohammed*, on this occasion, told those who attended him, that, before the day of judgment, thirty more impostors, besides *Moseilama* and *Al Aswad*, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. He also informed them, that the defection of the princes of *Al Yamâma* and *Sofâr*, that is *Moseilama* and *Al Aswad*, had been signified to him on the night *Al Kadr*, when he was honoured with his first revelation, and the *Korân* came down from heaven. The whole time, from the beginning of *Al Aswad's* rebellion to his death, was about four months<sup>v</sup>.

EARLY on *Saturday* morning, some of *Osâma Ebn Zeid's* officers came to pay their duty to the prophet, having been informed of his indisposition; and returned immediately after they had taken their leave of him to the camp at *Jorf*. The general himself also visited him the next day, and found him in a fainting fit; out of which when he recovered, he gave him his benediction, and recommended him to the divine favour. The day following, *Osâma* had given the signal to his soldiers to begin their march, when news was brought him by a courier of the apostle's being at the point of death. This obliged him to alter his measures, and to defer, for the present, the intended expedition. However, this was soon after executed with great success, as we shall see in our history of the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> EBN ABBAS, AL BOKHAR. EBN AL KATAN. ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 290—294. Vide etiam ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. p. 127, & OMM SALMA apud Al Jannab. ubi sup.

<sup>t</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. EBN ISHAK, AL TABAR. AYESHA, apud Al Bokhar. in Son. ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. EBN ABBAS. Vide etiam POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 178. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 136. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid.

<sup>u</sup> AL JANNAB. & AL BOKHAR. ubi sup. <sup>v</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 293. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 159. Aut. lib. dict. *Al Montek*. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. Vide etiam LUDOVICUM MARRACCIVM, in prodr. par. ii. p. 48. col. 2. Patavii, 1698.

<sup>x</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup.



Mohammed's  
death.

AT last, after many struggles and agonies, the prophet departed this life on *Monday*,<sup>a</sup> the twelfth day of the former *Rabî*, about noon, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*. *Ebn Abbâs* pretends, that the principal events of his life happened on *Monday*, or the same day of the week on which he died. He was, according to this tradition, born on *Monday*. He also entered upon his prophetic function, fled from *Mecca* to *Medina*, made his first entrance into the latter city, and took *Mecca*, if *Ebn Abbâs* may be credited, tho' others are of a different opinion, on the very same day. *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Jannâbi* relate, that the first words the prophet spoke, were ALLAH ACCUR, *God is great*; and the last, which were uttered in the presence of *Ayesha*, YEA WITH THE CELESTIAL COMPANIONS; that is, *Let me be with the spirits above*. After which, having sprinkled his face with some water that stood by him, adds the former of these writers, he immediately expired.<sup>b</sup>

AUTHORS are, however, not exactly agreed with regard to the day, nor even the year, on which *Mohammed* died. *Said Ebn Batrik*, or *Eutyckius*, says he died on the second day of the former *Rabî*, and the eleventh year of the *Hejra*. *Abu'l Faraj* (N) affirms, that he departed this life on the 28th day of the month *Sefâr*, and the eleventh year of the *Hejra*. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* maintains, that he died in the year of CHRIST 627, or of the *Greeks* 938, after he had governed the *Arabs* only seven years. But *Al Makîn*, in agreement with the generality of the *Arab* historians, who certainly must be allowed to have been the best acquainted with this event, asserts the decease of *Mohammed* to have happened on the twelfth day of the former *Rabî*, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, or the 17th of *June*, in the year of CHRIST 632, after he had presided over the *Arabs*, or rather had attempted<sup>c</sup> to preside over them, ten lunar years and seventy-one days, or nine solar years and eleven months, wanting only one day. This opinion, therefore, cannot but be the most acceptable to our curious and learned readers; for which reason we have not scrupled to follow it here.<sup>2</sup>

### S E C T. III.

A commotion  
amongst his  
followers after  
his death.

SOME of the *Mohammedan* writers pretend, that, just before the prophet died, the angel of death, named *Azraïl*, in company with *Gabriel*, appeared to him, and asked<sup>d</sup> his leave to separate his soul from his body; which, he assured him, he could not do without his express permission. Nay, he gave him, as they tell us, his option of life or death; which the *Moslem* doctors look upon as one of the most singular and illustrious prerogatives of the prophet. Whereupon *Mohammed*, continue these authors, having chosen death, and desired the aforesaid angel to execute his office, he was immediately thrown into agonies that terminated with his life. A great part of the people, however, for some time, would not believe him dead, but affirmed him to be translated to heaven, as was *Isa*, or *JESUS*, the last great prophet, that preceded him. In consequence of this notion, which, with uncommon impetuosity, was at first insisted upon by *Omar*, they would not suffer him to be interred, till *Al Abbâs*, the prophet's uncle, had publicly declared that he had tasted of<sup>e</sup> death. But nothing contributed so much to the calming the minds of the populace, as well as the conviction of *Omar*, who had affirmed, that he was only gone for a season, as *Mûsa Ebn Amrân*, or *Moses*, left the *Israelites* for forty days, as the presence of *Abu Becr*; who, upon the first news of *Mohammed's* decease, came from that part of the city called *Al Sonoh*, or the *upper town*, and convinced every body of the reality of that event; not only by exposing the corps to the view of all the people, but likewise (which had a greater effect upon them) by demonstrating, from two express passages of the *Korân*, that the prophet was not to be exempted from death.<sup>2</sup>

Moadh Ebn  
Jabal is in-  
formed in a  
supernatural

WE are told by *Al Jannâbi*, that the moment *Mohammed* was attacked by *Azraïl*, the news of this melancholy accident was imparted to *Moadh Ebn Jabal*, his governor of<sup>f</sup> part of *Yaman*, in a dream, or vision, at *Sanaa*, the capital of that country; and that he was

<sup>y</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxii. p. 136, 137. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 294. AYESHA, apud Al Bokhâr. in Son. ut & ipse AL BOKHAR. ibid. AL SOHEILI, apud GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 136, 137, 138.  
<sup>z</sup> EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 251. Oxon. 1656. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 164. JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. bibliothec. Orient. tom. ii. p. 102. Romæ, 1721. AL MAKIN. in histor. Saracen. c. i. p. 9. Vide etiam ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. ubi sup. <sup>a</sup> AL SOHEILI, ubi sup. p. 138, 139. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 295. AL BOKHARI, in Sonna.

(N) It may not be improper to inform our curious readers, that this historian is called by the *Arabs* *Abu'l-Faraj*, and not *Abu'l-Faraji*, or *Abu'l-Faraghi*, as we find intimated by Dr. Pococke and Dr. Prideaux. This most evidently appears from one of the MS. copies of

his *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, made use of by Dr. Pococke, as well as from a passage in his *Chronicon Syriacum*, published by a very learned modern author, cited here (37.)

(37) Poc. præfat. ad lector. prefix. hist. compendios. dynastiar. Greg. Abu'l-Farajii, p. 1, 2. Oxon. 1663. Jos. Simon. Asseman. bibliothec. Oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. secund. p. 309. Romæ, 1721.

afterwards



a afterwards apprized of the prophet's interment, when it happened; in the same supernatural manner. That sorrowful event, adds the same author, caused a general consternation; in-  
 much that, whilst the angels were carrying the departed prophet's soul in triumph to heaven, all the people of *Medina*, and the neighbouring district, were overwhelmed with the most  
 inconsolable grief for his departure <sup>b</sup>.

WHEN the prophet lay at the point of death, an express was dispatched to the camp at *Yorf*, with advice that he was drawing towards his end, his extreme parts being already perfectly cold. *Osama*, upon the arrival of this express, countermanded the march of the troops to the borders of *Syria*, and returned to *Medina*, where he arrived a little after the sun began to decline from the meridian; but found the prophet just expired. Notwith-  
 b standing which, he ordered *Terida Ebn Hofaib*, his standard-bearer, to plant the great stan-  
 dard, or standard of *Islamism*, directly before his door, and assigned all the officers of the army their respective posts. This preserved the public tranquillity, and enabled the *Moslems* to proceed to the election of a *Khalif*, or successor to *Mohammed*, without interruption or delay, as will be hereafter seen in its proper place <sup>c</sup>.

AL JANNABI pretends, that the prophet *Al Kbedr*, or *Elias*, with an audible voice; tho' he did not appear, and words full of consolation, comforted *Mohammed's* disconsolate family, after he was taken from them; which convinced them of the certainty of his decease. He also relates, that *Asma Bint Omaïs*, examining the prophet's shoulders, found that the seal of prophecy was vanished from thence; from whence she concluded, that he  
 c must be infallibly dead. Nor did any of the *Moslems* after this entertain the least doubt of the reality of his death <sup>d</sup>.

As to the prophet's age, some of the *Arab* writers make him to have been sixty, and others sixty-five years old, when he died; but the generality and best of them, and they seem to have reason on their side, say that he was then sixty-three years of age. The last compute in this manner: He was forty years old, when the angel *Gabriel* first appeared unto him; after which, he lived thirteen years at *Mecca*, and ten at *Medina*. Those who assign him sixty-five years make that of his birth and that of his death two of them, and those who allow him but sixty years reckon only in round numbers; so that all these authors may perhaps mean the same thing. Those who differ from them considerably in this  
 d point are not to be depended upon, as they run counter to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, and deny the reality of certain facts that have been attested by the generality of the best *Arab* historians <sup>e</sup>.

THE ferment amongst the populace, already mentioned, supported in a great measure by *Omar*, and occasioned by the almost general disbelief at first of the prophet's death, together with some disputes relating to the election of his successor, obliged his family, and the *Moslem* leaders, to defer his interment till the *Thursday* following. Then the care of the funeral was committed to *Al Abbâs*, the prophet's uncle, who, with his two sons, *Al Fadhl* and *Kothâm*, *Osama Ebn Zeid*, *Mohammed's* intimate friend, and *Shokrân*, his enfranchised slave, saw *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* wash the body, that was deposited in the middle of a  
 c magnificent tent, erected for that purpose, with the most pure and limpid water that could be procured. Afterwards they embalmed it with camphire, anointed the seven parts applied to the earth in adoration with an aromatic composition, and performed upon the face, arms, palms of the hands, soles of the feet, &c. the *Wodû*, or sacred ablution. *Ali* went through the operation of the first ablution, by virtue of the power given him by the prophet some time before his death; and, at his particular request, took care not to cast his eyes upon that part which nature has ordered to be concealed. According to a tradition derived originally from *Omm Salma*, one of the prophet's wives, the corps emitted an odour resembling that of musk, but in fragrancy much exceeding it, till it was inhumed. The *Moslems* wrapped it in three garments, two of which were white, and one striped after the manner  
 ( of *Yaman*. They also put round it some pieces of odoriferous wood, and a composition of amber, musk, and other perfumes. After which, the prophet's family, with *Al Abbâs* and the *Hâshemites*, began the prayers for the deceased; and were followed by the *Mohâjerîn* and *Ansârs*, as they were by the principal citizens of *Medina*, the populace, women, and children, &c. the whole ceremony being conducted with so much decency and regularity, that not the least disorder was committed. And this was reckoned one of the singular privileges, or prerogatives, of the prophet. The form of prayer used on this occasion, was founded upon the following words, contained in the thirty-third chapter of the *Korân*: "Verily God  
 " and his angels bless the prophet: O true believers, do ye also bless him, and salute him  
 " with a respectful salutation." The prayer drawn up for the common people by *Ali*, at  
 g their request, or, at least, the substance of it, has been preserved by *Al Jannâbi*, to whom

<sup>b</sup> AL JANNABI ubi sup.  
 sup. c. lxiv. p. 142.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABULFED. ubi



we must beg leave to refer our curious readers for a sight of it; since the bounds we have a prescribed ourselves in this work will not permit us to insert it here <sup>e</sup>.

and sepulchre.

In relation to the place where the prophet's remains were to be deposited, there happened some dispute amongst his followers. The *Mohâjerîn* insisted upon his being buried at *Mecca*, the place of his nativity; and the *Anfârs* at *Medina*, the place of his residence during the last ten years of his life. Others were for transporting him to *Jerusalem*, and erecting a monument for him there amongst the sepulchres of the prophets. But his successor, *Abu Becr*, decided the whole affair at once, by declaring, that a prophet ought to be interred in the place where he died; and that he had heard *Mohammed*, in his life-time, own himself to be of this opinion. Whereupon the body was buried in a grave dug under the bed on which he died, in the apartment of *Ayesha*, his best-beloved wife, at *Medina*, where it b remains to this day. *Ali* first descended into the grave, after the corps was deposited therein; and all the others concerned in the management and direction of the funeral followed him. *Kothâm Ebn Al Abbâs* was the last that approached the prophet, and *Abu Telba*, the *Anfâr*, dug his grave; the bottom of which was paved with nine bricks, and earth thrown on all sides the coffin, in order to fill up the cavities. This has made the tomb appear convex, and a little elevated above the rest of the surface of the earth there; so that nothing can be more ridiculous than the notion, espoused by great numbers of *Christians*, of *Mohammed's* body being hung in the air in an iron coffin, or chest, supported by the power of loadstones. Nor can any thing be more remote from truth, than that his remains are inhumed at *Mecca*, which has long been exploded, tho' several modern writers, whether c through ignorance or negligence we will not take upon us to determine, have fallen into such an opinion. Those authors also are greatly mistaken, who affirm, that one essential point of the religion of the *Mohammedans* is to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of their prophet; since, 'tis certain, they think themselves under no manner of obligation in that respect. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* relates, that the tombs of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, the two first *Khalîfs*, or immediate successors of *Mohammed*, are placed near that of the prophet; and that his is the most anterior of the three towards the *Kebîla*; that is to say, the south, the city of *Mecca* standing in a southern direction with respect to that of *Medina*. Be this, however, as it will, the body of *Mohammed* lies at present interred at *Medina*, in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east-side of the great temple, which d is built in the midst of the city <sup>f</sup>.

Thus have we given our readers a full and ample account of the life and actions of *Mohammed*, the pretended great prophet and legislator of the *Arabs*, extracted from the best authors, both *Christian* and *Mohammedan*, and according to the most authentic *Moslem* traditions; which will enable them to form a sufficient, and even adequate, idea of him. However, in order to present them with a true portrait in miniature of this famous, or rather most infamous, impostor, we shall now beg leave to touch upon his personal qualifications; his form of body, as well as his turn and disposition of mind, his excellencies and defects, his genius and capacity, in fine, his moral as well as his intellectual endowments. This, notwithstanding the vastly different characters assigned him by different e authors, we shall endeavour to do with the strictest impartiality, and with the highest regard to truth; a close attachment to which we look upon to be a point essentially requisite in a good historian <sup>g</sup>.

Description of his person.

As to his person, *Mohammed* was of a middle stature, and ruddy complexion. He had a large head, and a thick bushy beard. The palms of his hands, and soles of his feet, were rough and strong. He had large black eyes, and smooth lank hair of the same colour. His bones were big and solid, the turn of his jaws agreeable, even, and well-proportioned, and his neck, according to *Ali's* description, resembled a silver ewer. Tho' he was sixty-three lunar, or about sixty-one solar, years old at his death, scarce any grey hairs, or other f signs of old age, appeared upon him. He was corpulent, had a clear fair skin, and large, tho' regular, features. He had round full cheeks, an extended prominent forehead, and long smooth eyebrows, that mutually approached each other, but did not intirely meet; between which there appeared a vein, whose pulse was quicker and higher than usual, when he was angry. He had an aquiline nose, a large wide mouth, and the upper foreteeth placed at some little distance from one another. All his teeth were bright, pointed like a saw, and

<sup>e</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxiii. p. 139, 140, 141. AL JANNAB. p. 296—301. Aut. lib. dict. *Asad Al Gabat*, apud Gagn. in not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 139. Aut. lib. dict. *Al Etesfa*. OMM SALMA apud Yûnas in lib. *Al Sairat*, ut & ipse YUNAS, ibid. ABU ZEID SEID in lib. *Splendor*. EBN ISHAK, AL SOHEILI. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 139, 140

<sup>f</sup> GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 165. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 180. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BOKHAR. AL MAKIN. hist. Saracen. p. 35. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 300—304. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 141. & descript. Arab. p. 40. AL BEIHAKI, GOLII note ad Alfragan. p. 97. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 141. SALE's preliminary discours. p. 5.

<sup>g</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL JANNAB. EUTHYMIUS ZIGABEN. CUSAN. JOAN. ANDR. FRID. BOVLAINVILL. GAGN. SALE, alique quamplurim. scriptores.



a ranged in a beautiful order. When he laughed, he discovered them, and they appeared then like hail-stones, or little white pearls. Even his laughter itself was full of majesty, and when he smiled, he contracted his mouth in a very agreeable manner. On his lower lip he had a little black spot, or excrescence, that did not appear at all diffightly, but rather gave an additional grace to his countenance. He had a good ear, and a fine sonorous voice. He was well furnished with hair, which partly fell in buckles, or ringlets, about his ears, and partly hung down strait between his shoulders. To this, by the application of *Al Henna*, or *Cyprus* indigo, and the herb *Al Catam*, he gave a reddish shining colour; in which he is imitated by the *Scenite Arabs* at this day. Every *Thursday* night he shaved himself, and pared his nails. As no prophet's head, according to a maxim in the *Sonna*, was ever white, the hair b being by the *Moslems* supposed to receive that colour from *Satan*, he had very few white or grew hairs at his death. He had a free open air, a grand majestic porte, and a very engaging address. This is the description of *Mohammed's* person, tho' stripped of many fabulous articles, imaginary beauties, and fictitious decorations, with which we are supplied by the most authentic traditions of the *Moslems* <sup>a</sup>.

BUT here we must not omit mentioning the *seal of prophecy*, tho' a mere fiction of the *Moslems*, said to have appeared between the shoulders of *Mohammed*, that is so much insisted upon by the *Arab* writers. This, according to *Abu'l-feda*, was a protuberance of flesh, either of a whitish or red colour, surrounded with hair, and about the size of a pigeon's egg. This excrescence having been once seen by *Abu Rothama*, an *Arab* physician, who c was an idolater, he desired the prophet would give him leave to remove it; from whom he received for answer, that *he who created this would in due time take it away*. And, in proof of the veracity of this most celebrated prediction, we are told, that *the tumour, or illustrious argument of Mohammed's gift of prophecy, was REALLY perceived to have totally disappeared, and to have been intirely effaced, after his death*. It has also been remarked by the *Moslem* doctors, that the aforesaid *seal of prophecy* was predicted by the following words of the prophet *Isaiah*: *For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and THE GOVERNMENT SHALL BE UPON HIS SHOULDER*. Hence it appears, that these doctors render here the original word, *המשרה*, *Hammissrah*, which denotes *the government*, by *Al Shâma*, *the black spot*, without the least foundation or authority. For a confutation of which absurd d and arbitrary translation, or rather manifest perversion, of the sacred text, our curious readers may have recourse to the learned father *Marracci*; if the very publication of so palpable an absurdity does not sufficiently expose and confute it <sup>1</sup>.

WITH regard to the genius and disposition of *Mohammed*, the dominion he usurped over his countrymen was a demonstrative argument of his ambition, as the great number of e wives and concubines with whom he had to do was of his sensuality. The assassinations likewise that he committed, and his retaliation of injuries, so visible on several occasions, are clear indications of his cruelty and vindictive temper. The spurious revelations also that he imposed upon the *Arabs*, and the frequent conferences he pretended to have with ALMIGHTY GOD, whose tremendous name he made use of, in order to support falsehoods, c to propagate error and imposture, and to enable him to gratify his lust and ambition, either immediately, or by the assistance and interposition of the angel *Gabriel*, if they do not prove him to have been the most profligate and abandoned wretch that ever lived, most certainly evince him to have been a person of great profaneness and impiety. Nay, this may be directly inferred from his own express words in the sixth chapter of the *Korân*; which, in the strongest manner, assert, that no one can be more wicked than he who forges a lie concerning God, and publishes to the world a false revelation. Nor was it one of the least of his crimes, that he corrupted and perverted the sacred writings, in order to serve very infamous purposes; of which several instances, besides that above-mentioned, might be here produced, were it in any manner necessary. And this, by the way, is a plain intimation, f that he was conversant with the Scriptures, and therefore either actually did, or easily might have sufficiently understood them; which will cut off all manner of excuse in his favour, from his supposed ignorance of the true sense and meaning of those lively oracles. But, to avoid prolixity, that cruelty, lust, and ambition, were the distinguishing characteristics of this impostor, the *Korân* itself puts beyond all doubt; many of the parts of that book having been pretended to be revealed, as is allowed even by the *Moslem* commentators themselves, to enable him to gratify some one or other of those illicit passions. Nay, the spirit

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxxv, lxxvi. p. 142—146. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. ANAS EBN MALEC, GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 312—325. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 79, 80, &c. Lond. 1718. SALE's prelimin. disc. p. 38—43. Vide etiam ABU ZEID SEID, ABU NAÏM, ABU HOREIR. AL BOKHAR. AL TERMED. MOSLEM, AL WAKED. EBN ABBAS, &c. apud Joan. Gagn. in not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 142—146. AL MAKIN, lib. i. c. 1. ABUNAZAR, AL KODAI, SCHIKHAKD. Tarikh. p. 32. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 79. <sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. clxxv. p. 145. Aut. lib. dist. *Haizwat Al Haizwan*, AL WAKED. LUDOVIC. MARRACCIUS, in prodr. par. i. p. 24. col. 2. Patavii, 1698.



that composition breathes throughout, to wave other considerations that might be offered, a  
indisputably evinces what is here laid to his charge ; as might be proved by an induction of  
particular passages extracted from thence, would the limits we have prescribed ourselves in  
this work permit <sup>k</sup>.

and personal  
qualifications.

On the other hand, whatever were his motives, *Mohammed* seems not to have been destitute  
of the personal qualifications which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The  
*Mohammedan* writers are excessive in their commendations of him, speaking much of his  
religious and moral virtues. They extol above measure his piety, veracity, justice, liberality,  
clemency, humility, and abstinence ; in which, according to them, he may be considered  
as a perfect pattern to all his followers. His charity, in particular, they say was so conspi-  
cuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than b  
was just sufficient to maintain his family ; and he frequently spared even some part of his  
own provisions, to supply the necessities of the poor ; so that before the year's end, he had  
generally little or nothing left. God, says *Al Bokhâri*, offered him the keys of the treasures of  
the earth, but he would not accept them. In fine, if these authors may be credited, he had  
infinitely more perfections than any other man that ever lived. Nor are they sparing in their  
citations from the *Sonna*, a book with them of canonical authority, in support of their  
assertion. But the misfortune is, that this book, as well as the authors that cite it, contains so  
many absurdities, that whatever weight it may have with the professors of *Mohammedism*, it  
will have very little with those of any other religion. Besides, the very things related in that  
book, and by those authors, of their favourite prophet, intirely overturn the high opinion c  
they entertained of him ; so that they ought to be considered either as inconsistent with  
themselves, or as advancing notions repugnant even to the fundamental principles of natural  
as well as revealed religion. However we are not unwilling to admit, that he might not  
have been, to outward appearance, a wretch of quite so profligate a character as several  
writers have represented him ; since some degree of hypocrisy must have been necessary to  
enable him to succeed in the enterprize he had formed. But it must at the same time be  
allowed, that the enormity of his actions frequently proved the insincerity of his professions ;  
and therefore, that what Mr. Sale has insinuated to the contrary ought to be looked upon  
as altogether impertinent, if not as approaching an absolute falsehood, when he is pleased  
to declare, that the sincerity of Mohammed's intentions is what he pretends not to inquire into <sup>l</sup>. d

THE aforesaid writers likewise affirm, and to their notion in this particular Mr. Sale  
readily subscribes, that he had a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed  
in all the arts of insinuation. The *Eastern* historians describe him to have been a man of  
an excellent judgment, and a happy memory ; and these natural parts, according to them,  
were improved by a great experience and knowlege of men, and the observations he had  
made in his travels. They say, he was a person of few words, of an equal chearful temper,  
pleasant and familiar in his conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of  
great condescension towards his inferiors. This they endeavour to prove from numberless  
instances of his conduct on a great variety of occasions ; accounts of which they draw from  
the most authentic *Moslem* traditions ; and particularly those derived from *Ayesha*, *Ali*, e  
and *Abu Horeira*. To all the preceding amiable qualities, add the same historians, were  
joined a comely agreeable person, and a polite address ; accomplishments of no small service  
in prejudicing those in his favour, whom he attempted to persuade, and yet such as even  
the most flagitious person might be in possession of. In fine, admitting that much of what  
is here supposed may be true, which is as much as any reasonable person can admit, consider-  
ing that the elogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, as even Mr. Sale  
himself allows ; yet we cannot infer from hence, that *Mohammed* was either a great or good  
man. A proper degree of hypocrisy will conceal a vast number of the most execrable crimes,  
at least from the public view, and even procure the person guilty of them, if he be a man  
of parts and address, and sufficiently acquainted with the arts of dissimulation, as well as f  
endowed with a competent knowlege of mankind, popular applause. But that even  
*Mohammed* arrived at such a degree of perfection as this, is what we will not very sanguinely  
maintain <sup>m</sup>.

BUT notwithstanding the excellency of his parts, if the preceding authors have given  
us a just description of him in this particular, it does not appear from the writers of his life,  
that he was at all versed in any branch of literature. Nor, indeed, can this well be expected,  
as acquired learning was never much in vogue amongst the *Arabs*. He, therefore, had no  
other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised,

<sup>k</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. pass, PRID. life of Mahom. p. 79, 87, &c. Vid. etiam Comment. in Al Kor. & GAGN. pass.  
<sup>l</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxvi. p. 144, 145, 146. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 323, & alib. ANAS EBN MAIEC, AL TERMED. ex Abu Horeira, MOSLEM ex Monkend. EBN ABBAS, AL BOKHAR. Aut. Lib. Al Sbasfa, SALE's prelim. disc. p. 41. <sup>m</sup> Ibidem ibid.



- a what we call literature; esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use, and not by books; and contenting themselves with improving their private experience, by committing to memory such passages of their poets, as they judged might be of use to them in life. But of this we have given a fuller account in our history of the *Arabs*, who lived before the time of *Mohammed*. This, defect, however, was so far from being prejudicial to him, or putting a stop to his design, that, according to Mr. *Sale*, it greatly facilitated the execution of it. He pretended, that the writings he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable, that a person, who could neither write nor read, should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; thinking thereby
- b to obviate an objection that might otherwise have been offered to the authority of the *Korân*. But tho', by such empty sophistry as this, he might impose upon the *Arabs*, who were none of the most refined reasoners themselves, and therefore could not so easily discover or detect the false reasonings of others, it will never pass for true and solid argumentation with men of sense. For, notwithstanding a person's defect in point of acquired endowments, good natural parts, and a tolerable share of common sense, will enable him to talk in his mother-language with fluency and propriety enough, and even dictate with the same fluency and propriety to others. Of this we meet with an infinity of instances in common life. Besides, it may be easily proved, as has already been observed in the beginning of this history, that *Mohammed* was not the sole author of the *Korân*; he having been assisted by others
- c in the composition of that book. To which we may add, that *Mohammed* by no means left it in the form in which it now appears. Great additions were made to it in the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*, as we find allowed even by the *Moslems* themselves. But, to wave all other considerations, that the *Korân* was not of divine original, does not only appear from the matter it contains, but also from what we have related above of *Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarah*, the prophet's amanuensis, who corrupted that book; the author of it not being able, even according to *Al Beidawi* himself, to distinguish his own dictates from *Abd'allah's* interpolations. And yet Mr. *Sale* seems to imagine, that *Mohammed's* ignorance and illiterature really obviated a formidable objection that might have otherwise been urged against the divine original of the *Korân*; and to tell us with an air of triumph, that his followers,
- d instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him, as he is indeed called in the *Korân* itself, *the illiterate prophet* <sup>n</sup>.

*MOHAMMED* had four sons and four daughters by his first wife *Khadîjah*, and no children at all by any of the others; tho' his concubine, *Mary the Copt*, brought him a son, whom he named *Ibrahim*. The four sons he had by *Khadîjah*, *Al Kâsem*, *Al Tayeb*, *Al Táher*, and *Abd'allah*, from the first of whom the prophet derived his name of *Abu'l Kâsem*, all died in their infancy. The daughters that lady bore him were *Zeinab*, *Rakîab*, *Omm Kolthûm*, and *Fâtema*. *Zeinab* was married to *Abu'l As*, and died of a hurt she received from *Al Howaireth Ebn Nokaid Ebn Wabab*, which occasioned first a miscarriage, she being pregnant when she was thrown off her camel by him, and afterwards her death; for which

e he was solemnly proscribed by the prophet, after the surrender of *Mecca*. *Rakîab* was first married to *Otha Ebn Abu Labeb*, and afterwards having been repudiated from her former husband, to *Othmán*, with whom she first fled into *Ethiopia*, and then to *Medina*. She bore *Othmán* a son, called *Abd'allah*, from whom he was named *Abu Abd'allah*; and died in the second year of the *Hejra*, whilst her father was engaged in the *Bedr* expedition. *Abd'allah* had one of his eyes put out by a cock, when he was about six years of age, in the fourth year of the *Hejra*, which occasioned his death. *Omm Kolthûm*, whom *Othman* took to wife after *Rakîab's* decease, died without leaving any issue behind her. *Fâtema*, whom *Abu'l feda* makes the eldest of *Mohammed's* daughters, was esteemed by the *Moslems*

f as one of the four women, who only, according to *Mohammed*, were supposed to have attained perfection. About the beginning of the month *Ramadân*, in the second year of the *Hejra*, she was espoused by *Ali*, who, in the following month of *Dhu'lhajja*, consummated his marriage with her. Her dower, according to *Al Jannâbi*, amounted to 480 *dirhems*. She was in the sixteenth year of her age, or, as others will have it, about eighteen, when *Ali* took her to wife. *Abmed Ebn Yusuf*, from a pretended tradition of *Ebn Abbâs*, almost of divine authority with the *Moslems*, gives us a fabulous account of *Khadîjah's* miraculous conception of *Fâtema*, and of the latter's introduction to the bridal-bed by *Gabriel* and *Michael* at the head of 70,000 angels, who celebrated the divine praises till morning appeared; which might serve to give us a sufficient idea of the *Mohammedan* credulity, were we destitute of every other instance of it. She attended the prophet in his last illness, and survived him but a few months, dying likewise without issue. As for his son *Ibrahim*, he departed this life on the tenth day of the former *Rabî*, to the unspeakable grief of the prophet, and all his companions, as has been already observed, in the tenth year of the *Hejra*. It cannot be inferred

<sup>n</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vii. AL BEIDAWI, SALE, ubi sup. p. 42. Univerf. Hist. vol. vii. part i. p. 257.  
MOD. HIST. VOL. I.



from any writer, how old he precisely then was ; but none of those who mention him, seem <sup>a</sup> to allow that he completed the second year of his age °.

His wives.

THE *Moslem* authors are not agreed as to the number of the prophet's wives, according to *Al Kodai*. Some assign him thirteen, and tell us, that he lay with eleven of them ; others fifteen, who say, that he made use of only twelve of these ; and others, again, make them to amount to seventeen, besides the concubines that he enjoyed. But, if *Gentius* may be credited, he had no less than one-and-twenty wives, besides concubines ; which number others increase to twenty-six. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that the prophet had fifteen wives, eleven or twelve of which he lay with, and never touched the rest. Be that as it will, 'tis agreed on all hands, that he had more than four, the number allowed every *Moslem* by the *Korân* ; having been left at liberty, by another passage of that book, to take as many wives as he pleased ; <sup>b</sup> tho' this peculiar privilege was qualified with some restrictions. We shall give our readers a short account of those twelve with whom he actually had to do, if any credit be due to the most approved *Oriental* writers, according to the order of time in which he espoused them <sup>p</sup>.

THE first he married was *Khadîjah Bint Khowailed Ebn Asad*, of the tribe of *Koreish*, a widow, who had had two former husbands. This happened in the time of *ignorance*, or *paganism*, when she was about forty years of age, and *Mohammed* twenty-five. She was the first who embraced *Islamism* ; and therefore had the honourable appellation given her of *the mother of the faithful*. The prophet lived with her twenty-four years, five months, and eight days. She died in the tenth year of his mission, and about three years before the commencement of the *Hejra* ; being then, according to *Al Jannâbi*, in the sixty-fifth year <sup>c</sup> of her age °.

His second wife, *Sawda Bint Zamaa*, who had been nurse to *Fâtema*, he espoused soon after the decease of *Khadîjah*. She fled with her former husband *Sokrân*, one of the *Moslem* refugees, into *Ethiopia* ; and, upon her return to *Mecca*, after his death, was married to *Mohammed*. She died, according to *Al Kodai*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Omar* <sup>r</sup>.

AYESHA BINT ABU BECR was his third and best beloved wife, whom he married in the first year of the *Hejra*. The story of her accusation, which was declared to be unjust by a passage in the *Korân*, pretended to be revealed some time after that accident happened, our readers will find related above. The principal authors of this accusation, which Mr. *Gagnier* <sup>d</sup> calls a *black calumny*, tho' many of the *Arabs* had quite another notion of it, were *Meslab Ebn Othâtha*, *Zeid Ebn Refâa*, *Hassân Ebn Thâbet*, *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Solûl*, and *Hamna Bint Jahash* ; the fiercest of whom was *Abd'allah Ebn Obba Solûl*. This affair gave the prophet so much inquietude, that he consulted with *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* and *Osâma Ebn Zeid* about the properest method of restoring peace to his family ; when *Osâma* asserted, in the strongest terms, *Ayesha's* innocence ; but *Ali* seemed, on the other hand, fully convinced of her infidelity. Each of them, therefore, gave *Mohammed* such advice as best agreed with the sentiments he entertained. Some believe, that *Ali* was the person who discovered her incontinency to *Mohammed* ; and that hereupon she conceived such a prejudice against him, that she afterwards made use of all her interest to exclude him from the *Khalîfat*, <sup>e</sup> tho', as son-in-law to the prophet, he had the fairest title thereto. Nay, after his advancement to that high dignity, she opposed him to the utmost of her power ; appearing even in arms against him, and causing such a defection amongst his subjects, as ended in the destruction of his family. She also was honoured with the title of *the mother of the faithful*. According to a *Christian* writer, the *Moslems* consulted her in the most difficult points relating to their law, after the prophet's death ; and the answers she gave, as she was supposed to be the best acquainted with her husband's sentiments in every particular, passed afterwards amongst them for the most authentic traditions. The next to these, in point of authority, were those that came from *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, one of *Mohammed's* first converts, and most intimate acquaintance, surnamed by the prophet, *Abu Horeira*, or <sup>f</sup> *the father of the cat* ; because, where-ever he went, he carried one of those animals about with him. *Mohammed* thundered from the pulpit against those who had accused *Ayesha*, whom some represent as a most accomplished lady, extremely well versed in *Arab* literature, and the antiquities of her country, which had liked to have occasioned no small effusion of blood amongst his followers ; but the pretended revelation from heaven of her innocence silenced all the clamours that had been raised. The testimony of *Barira* contributed not a little to

° ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxxvii. p. 146, 147. AL KODAI, EBN ISHAK, GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynast. p. 165. MOSLEM, in lib. dict. *Al Sahib*, AL BOKHAR. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. ubi sup. p. 32. col. 2. P ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxxviii. p. 147—152. AL KODAI, GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. AHMED EBN YUSEF, GENTIUS, in notis ad *Mufladinum Sadum*, p. 568. JOAN GAGN. not. ad *Abu'lfed.* ubi sup. p. 147—152. AL TABAR, EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. p. 339, &c. Append. ad *geogr. Nubienf.* c. 8. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. 5. BELLONIUS. lib. 3. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. ubi sup. <sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 12, 29, &c. <sup>f</sup> AL BOKHARI, AL KODAI, GENTIUS, ubi sup.



a the descent of this fresh revelation, and to induce the prophet to support the honour and reputation of his wife. The justification of *Ayesha* is contained in ten verses of the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*. She was sixty-seven years of age at her death, which happened at *Medina*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the fifty-eighth year of the *Hejra* <sup>1</sup>.

THE next wife, mentioned by the *Oriental* writers, was *Ghozîa Bint Jâber*, surnamed *Omm Shoraic*, from her son *Shoraic*, that she had by *Abu'l Acr Ebn Somai*, her first husband; she being a widow when *Mohammed* married her. She was the only one of the prophet's wives that he divorced, after the consummation of his marriage with her <sup>2</sup>.

THE fifth was *Hafsa Bint Omar*, of the tribe of *Koreish*, and widow of *Hobaisb Ebn Kho-dafa*. *Mohammed* married her in the month of *Sbaabân*, and the third year of the *Hejra*.

b To her custody *Abu Becr* committed a transcript of the *Korân*, after he had completed it, as has been already observed. Of the manner in which this transcript was completed, our readers may expect a further account hereafter. The dower assigned this lady, according to *Al Kodai*, was *dirbêms*. Some say she died in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*, about the 27th year of the *Hejra*; and others, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the 45th year of that *æra*. According to *Gentius*, she was about sixty years of age at her death, and at least forty when the prophet died. He repudiated her in the month of *Sbaabân*, and the seventh year of the *Hejra*, because she had indiscretely divulged his intrigue with *Mary the Copt*. But, after some time, he took her to his bed again; being afraid of disobliging her father *Omar*, at the command, as he gave out, of the angel *Gabriel* <sup>3</sup>.

c THE prophet's sixth wife was *Zeînab Bint Khozaima*, the *Helâlite*, the widow of *Tofail Ebn Al Hâreth*. He espoused her in the month of *Ramadân*, and the fourth year of the *Hejra*. She was given in marriage to him by *Kobeisa Ebn Amru*, had 400 *dirbêms* assigned her for a dower, and was the only one of the prophet's wives, besides *Khadîjah*, that died before him <sup>4</sup>.

His seventh wife was *Omm Salma Bint Ommeya*, whom he espoused after the death of her former husband *Abu Salma Ebn Abd'allah*, of the tribe of *Makhzûm*, in the month of *Sba-wâl*, and the fourth year of the *Hejra*. Some say, that her maiden name was *Hend*; and that her mother was the prophet's aunt. Be that as it will, she died in the *Khalifat* of *Yezid Ebn Moâwiyah*, after she had lived eighty-four years, and the 59th year of the

d *Hejra* <sup>5</sup>.

THE eighth wife of *Mohammed* was *Zeinab*, or *Zenobia*, *Bint Jabash*, whose history has been given above. Her father was of the tribe of *Asad*, and her mother, *Amîma Bint Abd'almotalleb*, the prophet's aunt. He married her in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and the fifth year of the *Hejra*, after she had been separated from *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, his freed-man, and adopted son, as has been already observed. Her brother *Abu Ahmed Ebn Jabash* assisted at the celebration of the nuptials, and she had 400 *dirbêms*, which seems to have been the usual sum on such occasions, assigned her for a dower. The prophet's marriage with this lady gave great offence to his followers, as she had been his adopted son *Zeid's* wife. For this feigned relation created an impediment of marriage among the old *Arabs* within the prohibited degrees, in the same manner as if it had been real. However, as this marriage was authorized by the *Korân*, and God is therein declared to have joined *Mohammed* and *Zeinab* together, she valued herself above the rest of the prophet's wives on that account. *Zeinab* died in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, about the 20th year of the *Hejra*, after she completed the fifty-third year of her age <sup>6</sup>.

His ninth wife was *Omm Habiba Bint Abu Sofîân*, of the tribe of *Koreish*. She was the widow of *Obeid'allah Ebn Jâbash*, who had by her a son, named *Habiba*; from whence she derived the prænomen of *Omm Habiba*. Her true name, according to some, was *Ramla*, or, as others say, *Hend*. She was with her first husband in *Ethiopia* at the time of his death, which happened in the beginning of the sixth year of the *Hejra*. *Mohammed* receiving advice of this accident, immediately dispatched an express to the *Najâshi*, to beg that he would him the honour to marry him to *Omm Habiba*; which request that prince immediately complied with, and performed the nuptial ceremony with great pomp and solemnity. The prophet chose *Khâled Ebn Said*, his cousin, for his representative on this

<sup>1</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 53. AL KODAI, Appendix ad geogr. Nubiens. c. vii. Disputat. Christian. c. vi. Commentatores in Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxiv. AL MAKIN, lib. i. c. 4, 7, &c. GREC. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 186, 187, &c. JOAN. ANDREAS, c. iii. GENTIUS, in notis ad Mussadinum Sadum, p. 578. AL Kor. MOHAM. f. xxiv. v. 1—11. AL EOKHARI, in Sonna. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. See also SALE's translation of, and notes upon, the *Korân*, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. <sup>3</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 150. AL KODAI, JOHN. ANDREAS, c. vii. HOTTINGER. bibliothec. Orient. c. ii. POCOC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 362. GENTIUS, ubi sup. p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 151. AL KODAI. <sup>5</sup> Ibidem ibid. AL JANNAB. <sup>6</sup> Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 182. RICARD. confut. c. viii. Disputat. Christian. c. vi. ECCHELLENS. hist. Arab. par. i. c. 5. Confut. Moham. edit. per LE MOYNE, JOAN. ANDREAS, c. vi. GUADAGNOL, tract. ii. c. 5. sect. 3. & c. 10. sect. 1. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, alique commentator. in Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxxiii. ut & ipse Al Kor. ibid. AL JANNAB.



occasion; and, after *Omm Habiba's* return to *Medina* from *Ethiopia*, in the seventh year of the *Hejra*, consummated his marriage with her. She died, according to *Al Kodai*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the 44th year of the aforesaid æra <sup>a</sup>.

MOHAMMED'S tenth wife was *Joweira Bint Al Hâreth*, the *Khozaite*. Her father *Al Hâreth Ebn Abu Dharâr* was the general of the *Mosalekites*, whom the prophet overthrew in the manner already related. Some authors tell us, that *Joweira's* true name was *Barra*. She was the widow of one of her cousin-germans, and fell into the hands of *Thâbet Ebn Kais*, having been taken prisoners in the battle of *Mercisi*. The prophet first paid her ransom, and then espoused her, in the month of *Sbaabân*, and the sixth year of the *Hejra*. *Al Kodai* informs us, that she died in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the 45th year of the *Hejra*, being then about sixty-three year of age <sup>b</sup>.

THE eleventh was *Safya Bint Hoyai*, a *Jewess*, and descended, as her family gave out, from *Aaron*. She was the wife of *Kenâna Ebn Al Rabi*, the principal *Jew* of *Kbaibar*, whom *Mohammed* slew after the reduction of that city. He espoused his lady in the month of *Safar*, and the seventh year of the *Hejra*. She died, according to *Al Kodai*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, and the 56th year of the aforesaid æra <sup>b</sup>.

THE twelfth and last wife married by the prophet was *Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth*, whom he took to wife on his return to *Medina* from the sacred visitation called *Al Kada*, or the completion. The nuptial ceremony was performed by his uncle *Al Abbâs*, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, and the seventh year of the *Hejra*. She was the widow of *Raham Ebn Abdâl Uzza*, and became *Mohammed's* wife whilst he was cloathed with the *Ibram*, or sacred habit; but the marriage was not consummed till after he had quitted that habit. She died at *Shorf*, near *Mecca*, if we will believe *Al Kodai*, about the 38th or 40th year of the *Hejra* <sup>c</sup>.

BESIDES these wives, *Mohammed* married two others that he never enjoyed. The first of these was *Asma Bint Al Nooman*, the *Kendite*, who was infected with the leprosy, and therefore not suffered to approach the prophet's bed; and the other, *Amru Bint Yezid*, the *Kelâbite*, who, relapsing into idolatry, was so detested by her husband, on that account, that he could not prevail upon himself to come near her. Some, however, think, that the wife, who had rendered herself so extremely disagreeable to *Mohammed*, was a near relation of *Asma Bint Al Nooman*; and others, that she was one *Fatema Bint Al Dbabûk*, whose mother's name was *Tabiana*. In the *Korân*, the prophet had an express permission to marry any believing woman, that should give herself unto him; and the commentators are of opinion, that a certain *Moslem* lady disposed of herself in that manner; tho' *Ebn Abbâs* maintains, that *Mohammed* married no woman, without assigning her a dower. The former, however, are not agreed who was the woman particularly meant in the passage here hinted at; but they name four, who are supposed to have given themselves to the prophet; viz. *Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth*, *Zeinab Bint Khozaima*, *Ghozia Bint Jâber*, surnamed *Omm Shoraic*, which three he actually married, and *Khawla Bint Hakim*, whom, as it seems, he rejected. We find likewise a lady belonging to the *Banu Sâmâ Ebn Lowa*, who was not accepted by the prophet, tho' she offered herself to him, mentioned by *Al Kodai* on this occasion <sup>d</sup>.

His concubines. As for the female captives, or slaves, of the prophet, as well those which, according to the stile of the *Korân*, his right hand possessed, that is to say, those which came to him as part of his share of the plunder acquired in some of the above-mentioned expeditions, as those which he purchased with his own money, or had sent as presents to him, that were in number eleven; the principal of which seem to have been the five following: <sup>e</sup>

RIHANA, or *Raibana*, *Bint Amru*, of the tribe of *Koreidba*, a most celebrated beauty, that fell into his hands, when he reduced the fortrefs of that tribe. She persisted in the profession of *Judaism*, for some time after she became his property; but, at last, being overcome by *Mohammed's* importunity, she embraced *Islamism*. She remained in his possession as long as he lived; but, at his death, he presented with their liberty both her and all the rest of his slaves <sup>e</sup>.

SHIRIN, a beautiful *Copt*, sent the prophet by *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*. What became of her after *Mohammed's* death, or whether she survived the prophet, we are not told by any *Oriental* author <sup>f</sup>.

MARY, the *Copt*, a present likewise from *Mokawkas*, was the prophet's concubine, by an express permission contained in the sixty-sixth chapter of the *Korân*, and the sister of *Shirin*. She lived at *Medina* about five years after her master's death; and was interred in

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 91, 92, 151. MOHAMMED EBN ABD'AL BAKI, AL KODAI. <sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL KODAI, ubi sup. AL JANNAB. <sup>b</sup> AL KODAI, AL BEIDAWI, Disputat. Christian, c. 4. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 99. AL KODAI, AL MONDRERI, apud Joan. Gagn. in not. ad Abu'lled. ubi sup. p. 149. <sup>d</sup> EN ISHAK, AL KODAI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxiii. v. 47. GAGN. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 79. AL JANNAB. EBN ISHAK. AL JANNAB. GREG. ABU'LFAR. hist. dynast. p. 165. AHMED EBN YUSEF, JALLALO'DDIN, AHMED EBN YAHYA.



a the burying-place called *Al Baki*, in the sixteenth year of the *Hejra*; where the remains of her son *Ibrahim* had probably before been deposited <sup>g</sup>.

BESIDES *Mary* and *Sbirin*, *Mokawkas* set the prophet two other beautiful *Egyptian*, or *Coptic*, girls, which he probably made use of as concubines. But how he disposed of them, after they settled with him at *Medina*, what were their names, or when and where they died, we have not been informed by any of the *Moslem* historians <sup>h</sup>.

THAT the desire of satisfying his sensuality was one of the principal motives of *Mohammed's* undertaking, seems indisputably clear from the great number of wives and concubines he maintained, as well as from the wicked and unjustifiable methods he was obliged to make us of, in order to come at some of them. But, notwithstanding this, we must not imagine, as some learned men have done, that he granted an unbounded plurality, or even the same number, of wives to his followers. For, according to the express words of the *Korân*, no man can have more than four women, whether wives or concubines, to his share. And if any one apprehends an inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice, which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people, that he marry one only; or, if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number. This is certainly the utmost *Mohammed* allowed his followers. Nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in the most criminal excesses; nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, *Mohammed* was directed by the decision of the *Jerriſh* doctors, who, by way of council, limit the number of wives to four, though their law confines them not to any certain number. These observations we have thought fit to make, though in direct opposition to what has been advanced, upon this head both by Dr. *Prideaux* and Father *Marracci*, in order to manifest to the world our inflexible attachment to truth, the inseparable property of every just and impartial historian <sup>i</sup>.

As *Mohammed* was wholly illiterate, and consequently could neither write nor read, 'tis self-evident, that he himself did not commit to writing the scheme of religion which he had framed; nor consequently pen those written revelations, as he pretended them to be, which compose the *Korân*. Besides, whatever proficiency he might have made in literature, this would certainly have been beneath his dignity, whether we consider him as a prophet, or a great and powerful prince. He must therefore have had some secretaries, or amanuenses, to assist him in transmitting down to posterity his decisions, as well as to take down in writing the orders and directions that he found it necessary to publish, from time to time, on a great variety of occasions. And that, in fact, he had a considerable number of such amanuenses, we learn from both *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'lſeda*; the principal of which, according to those authors, seem to have been the following <sup>k</sup>.

OTHMAN EBN AFFAN and *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, whom we have so frequently mentioned in this history, were the prophet's principal amanuenses that he made use of in committing to paper his pretended revelations; for which reason we find them stiled by *Al Kodai*, the scribes, or secretaries, of the divine revelation <sup>l</sup>.

OBBA EBN CAAB and *Zeid Ebn Thâbet*, in their absence, suppl'd the places of the former amanuenses, and were greatly confided in by the prophet. If they were at any time absent, he thought fit to employ some of the inferior scribes, says *Al Tabari*, and particularly *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofîân*, who was afterwards *Khalîf*, *Khâled Ebn Said Al As*, *Al Ala Ebn Al Hadbama*, and *Khantala Al Rabî*. However, he took care not to impart his pretended revelations to any at first, but those in whom an intire confidence might be reposed <sup>m</sup>.

HE likewise employed, on some occasions, *Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarah*, who falsified the *Korân* by his interpolations, and was for that reason proscribed after the reduction of *Mecca*, as has been already observed <sup>n</sup>.

BESIDES these, *Mohammed* appointed *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awân* and *Jahm Ebn Safwân* to take down an account of the alms that were regularly collected; *Hodeifa Ebn Al Samâl* to draw up an estimate of the dates that were received; *Al Mogbeira Ebn Shoba* and *Hoscin Ebn*

<sup>g</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.* *AL KODAI.* *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. lxxvi. *PRID.* *ubi supra.* p. 85. *GAGN.* *ubi sup.* p. 150.

<sup>h</sup> *AHMED EBN YUSEF*, *GAGN.* *la vie de Mahom.* tom. ii. p. 335. <sup>i</sup> *NIC. CUSANUS*, in *cribrat.* *Al Kor.* lib. ii. c. 19. *CLEARIUS*, *itinerar.* P. *GREG. THOLOSANUS*, in *synt. juris*, lib. ix. c. 2. sect. 22. *SEPTIM-CASTRENSIS*, de *morib. Turc.* p. 24. *RYBAUT's* present state of the *Ottoman empire*, book iii. chap. 21. *LUDOVIC. MARRACC.* in *prodr. ad refut. Alcor.* par. iv. p. 52, & 71. *CHARDIN*, *voy. de Perse*, tom. i. p. 166. *DU RYER*, *sommaire de la rel. des Turcs*, &c. *PUFFENDORF.* de *jure nat. & gent.* lib. vi. c. 1. sect. 18. *Al Kor. MOHAM.* f. iv. *HADR. RELAND.* de *relig. Mahom.* p. 243—251. *SELDEN.* *ux. Hebr. lib. i. c. 9.* *MAUNDEV.* *travels*, p. 164. *MAIMON.* in *Hal. Ish.* c. 14. *JALLALO'DDIN*, *GAGN.* *not. ad Abu'lſed.* *ubi sup.* p. 150. 151.

<sup>k</sup> *AL TABAR.* *apud Al Makin. hist. Saracenic.* p. 10. *ISM. ABU'LFED.* *ubi sup.* p. 152. *AL KODAI.* *GAGN.* *ubi sup.* p. 152. <sup>l</sup> *AL TABAR.* & *ABU'LFED.* *ubi sup.* <sup>m</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.* <sup>n</sup> *AL BEIDAWI.*



*Nomair* to keep a regular account of the finances, or execute the office of clerks of the exchequer; and *Abd'allah Ebn Orkham* to discharge the function of secretary of state, and answer the letters of those sovereign princes whom the prophet honoured with his correspondence. He also sent *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Maadh Ebn Jabal*, and *Abu Mûsa*, to *Yaman*, to preside over all judicial affairs in that province; made *Anas Ebn Mâlec*, who died about the year of the *Hejra* 93, when he was above an hundred years of age, after his conversion to *Islamism*, master of his household, or, as some say, his head-porter, in which post he served him nine or ten years; pitched upon *Belâl* for his common crier; and constituted *Kais Ebn Saad*, the *Ansâr*, captain of his guards. As for his governors of cities and provinces, *Otâb Ebn Ofaid* was the commandant of *Mecca* at the time of his decease; *Al Ala Ebn Hadrama* governed the province of *Al Babrein*; *Othmân Ebn Abu'l As* the city of *Al Tâyes*; *Omar Ebn Abu Ommeya*, the *Makzbûmite*, the city of *Sanaa*, and the villages in the district of *Al Janad*; *Khâled Ebn Said Ebn Abu'l As* many others of the towns and cantons of *Yaman*; *Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb* the cities of *Najran* and *Jorsh*; *Zeyâd Ebn Lobeid*, the *Ansâr*, the province of *Hadramaut*; *Abu Mûsa*, the *Asbarite*, who resided at *Zabid* and *Aden*, the country called *Mekblaf*; *Omar Ebn Al As* the province of *Omân*, and its dependences; *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân* the city of *Tayma*; and *Ali Ebn Mina* a particular extent of territory in the province of *Yaman*. Some of which officers we may probably have occasion to mention hereafter, in our history of the first *Khalîfs*, or immediate successors of *Mohammed* °.

His companions.

As for those persons who had an undoubted right to the honourable title of *Sababi*, or *Sakaba*, or to be considered as proper companions of the prophet, we cannot pretend to determine the number of them with any tolerable precision, as authors are divided in their sentiments on this subject. *Said Ebn Al Masîb*, one of the seven great doctors skilled in the law, who lived in the times immediately succeeding the age of *Mohammed*, maintains, that no person ought to be ranked amongst the companions of the prophet, who had not conversed with him a year or more before his death, and even fought under him, in some sacred war against the infidels. Some, however, extend the aforesaid title to all who ever had any discourse with him, embraced *Islamism* in his life-time, or even ever saw him in public. Such a one they affirm to have been a proper companion of the prophet, tho' he should never have been above a single hour in his company. Lastly, others assert, that this honour belongs only to those whom *Mohammed* himself received into the number of his companions, and inrolled amongst his troops; who constantly afterwards adhered to him, remained always closely attached to his interest, and attended him in his expeditions. Such companions as these, to the number of 10,000, acted under his conduct, when he made himself master of *Mecca*; with 12,000 of them he fought the battle of *Honein*; above 40,000 accompanied him in the pilgrimage of *valediction*; and, at the time of his death, according to an exact list of those who went under that denomination, the number of his *Moslem* companions amounted to 124,000 effective men °.

AMONGST the prophet's companions, the *Mohâjerîn*, or those who attended him in his flight to *Medina*, held the first rank. The next to these, in point of dignity, were the *Ansârs*, or those auxiliaries who immediately joined him upon his expulsion from *Mecca*. However, these took place of the later *Mohâjerîn*, or refugees, who came in after *Mohammed*'s settlement at *Medina*. These companions have been distributed into different classes, in the following chronological order, by some of the best *Oriental* historians °.

THE first class comprehends all those who first declared themselves converts to *Islamism*; such were *Khadijah*, *Ali*, *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, *Abu Becr Al Seddik*, and all the others who immediately followed their example, and professed themselves *Moslems*, before the fury of the *Khoreish* obliged the prophet to retire to mount *Al Safâ* °.

THE second includes *Omar*, and all the rest of the *Arabs* who became proselytes to *Islamism*, while the prophet remained on the top of that mountain °.

THE third class consists of the *Mohâjerîn*, as they are called by *Abu'lfeda*, who were obliged to seek for refuge at the court of the *Najâshi*, and consequently to make their escape into *Ethiopia* °.

THE fourth class is composed of those companions of *Mohammed*, who attended him the first time to *Al Akaba*, a hill on the north-side of *Mecca*, and those *Ansârs*, or confederates, of the tribes of *Khazraj* and *Aws*, who gave them the meeting there °.

THE fifth class comprises those who met the second time at *Al Akaba*, and took an oath of fidelity to *Mohammed* there, by which they oblige themselves to renounce all idolatry, and to obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable °.

° AL TABAR. ubi sup. AL KODAI, AL JANNAB. SIM. OCKL. lib. de expugnat. Syr. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 152, 153. ° ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxxii. p. 156, 157. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 335—338.

° ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 157. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 337. ° ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 17, 157. ° ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 22, 157. ° Idem ibid. ° Idem ibid. ° ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 157.



a THE sixth is destined for them who assembled the third time on *Al Akaba*, and made profession of *Islamism*, who amounted to about seventy in number <sup>x</sup>.

THE seventh contains all the *Mohâjerîn* that resorted to *Mohammed* at *Medina*, before he had finished the new temple, or mosque, that he erected there <sup>y</sup>.

THE eighth takes in all the troops he had with him at the battle of *Bedr* <sup>z</sup>.

THE ninth class is made up of those who came over to him during the interval between the battle of *Bedr* and his inauguration at *Al Hodeibiya* <sup>a</sup>.

THE tenth is formed of those who took the oath of fealty, or inauguration, to *Mohammed* under the tree at that place <sup>b</sup>.

b THE eleventh is allotted them who embrace *Islamism* during the space of time between the inauguration at *Al Hodeibiya* and the reduction of *Mecca* <sup>c</sup>.

THE twelfth exhibits those who were compelled to profess themselves *Moslems* the day on which *Mecca* was taken <sup>d</sup>.

THE thirteenth class is appropriated to those who saw the prophet, but were children at the time of his death <sup>e</sup>.

c To these may be added those poor indigent persons called *Assessors*, who, being destitute of friends and relations, and all sorts of necessities, implored the prophet's protection. They derived their name from the position they were generally in; being, for the most part seated on the *Sofa*, or bench, of the mosque, as they had no settled place of habitation. The prophet frequently admitted some of these poor people to his own table, and recommended others of them to the hospitality of his companions. The most celebrated amongst them were *Abu Horeira*, whom we have already taken notice of, *Aibala Ebn Aska*, *Abu Dhar*, and others, on whom *Abu'lfeda* very kindly confers his benediction <sup>f</sup>.

d THE second, or lower, order of those persons who lived in the time of the prophet, are *The Tabeites*. the *Tabeites*, that is to say, the *followers*, *votaries*, or *adherents*. These agree with the companions of the prophet in this, that many of them were cotemporaries with him; but in this they differ from them, that none of them either saw or conversed ever with him. However, some of them did themselves the honour to write to him, and apprise him of their conversion to *Islamism*. Such was the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, the first prince, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki*, that the prophet invited to the profession of his religion; who never saw *Mohammed*, though he frequently conversed with some of his companions. Such was *Badhân*, the *Persian*, governor of *Yaman*, who became an easy proselyte to *Islamism*, and all the other *Persians* that followed his example. Such, finally, were all those *Arab* tribes, and sovereign princes, that the prophet brought over to the *Mohammedan* faith; of whom we have given our readers a detail in the preceding parts of this history <sup>g</sup>.

e THE most illustrious of the prophet's friends were *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Othmân*, and *Ali*, *The prophet's* the four first *Khalifs*, who were his immediate successors. He afterwards also contracted friends, officers, servants, &c. a very great intimacy with *Jaasar*, *Abu Dhar*, *Mokdad*, *Salmân* the *Persian*, *Hodeifa*, *Ebn Masud*, *Amer Ebn Taser*, and *Belâl*, his public crier. *Amru Ebn Omm Ma'âum*, who acted jointly with *Belâl* in the capacity of crier, *Saad* the *Koradhite*, the public crier of the mosque at *Koba*, and *Abu Makhdura*, who officiated in that quality at *Mecca*, during the absence of *Belâl*, had likewise a very considerable share of his favour. Besides whom, he had several favourites amongst his domestics, officers, judges, slaves, and poets; the most noted of which seem to have been the following <sup>h</sup>.

f ANAS EBN MALEC EBN AL NASR, of the tribe of *Khazraj*, already mentioned, one of the six authors of the most authentic *Moslem* traditions, who served *Mohammed* nine or ten years in quality of head-porter, apparitor, or else master of his household; for, in this point, authors are not fully agreed; which procured him a great degree of familiarity with the prophet. He died at *Bostra*, about the year of the *Hejra* 93, after he had completed the 103d year of his age, and had begotten 100 children, in conformity to his master's prediction. He survived all the prophet's other proper companions, who were dignified and distinguished with the title of *Sâkaba* <sup>i</sup>.

ABD'ALLAH EBN MASUD was one of the first of those who were honoured with the title of *Sabeka*, that is to say, one of the first *Antecessors*. He distinguished himself at the battle of *Bedr*, and in several other engagements. He had the prophet's pillow, tooth-picker, shoes, and water of purification, committed to his care. He prayed over the body of *Abu Dhar*, at a place called *Rabadha*; and died at *Medina*, in the 32d year of the *Hejra*, a little after *Abu Dhar* <sup>k</sup>.

OKBA EBN OMER, the prophet's muleteer, was extremely well versed in the *Korân*, or divine book, as 'tis called by the *Moslems*; and perfectly understood all the rites, ceremonies,

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>f</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 157, 158. <sup>g</sup> D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 340.  
<sup>h</sup> AL MAKIN. AL JANNAB. ABU'LFED. &c. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 341.  
<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.



and ordinances, of the law. He was also a celebrated poet, and was made governor of *Egypt* <sup>a</sup> by the *Khalif Moawiyah*, in the year of the *Hejra* 44; but succeeded in that post, the following year, by *Mosilama Ebn Morkalled*, the *Ansar*, of the tribe of *Khazraj*. He died in the year of the *Hejra* 58 <sup>1</sup>.

DHU MOKHAMMARA, the nephew of *Asbama*, the *Najáshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, so often mentioned in this history <sup>m</sup>.

RABIA EBN CAAB, the *Aslamite*, who took care of the water destined for the sacred ablution, called *Wodú*. He died in the 63d year of the *Hejra* <sup>n</sup>.

AIMAN EBN OBEID, who washed the prophet with the water of purification. He had the honour to die a martyr at the battle of *Honein*; in which action being pierced with an arrow, he dropped down dead at *Mohammed's* feet <sup>o</sup>.

SAAD, who, together with *Belál Ebn Riyák*, the crier, an *Ethiopian*, had been *Abu Bacr's* slave <sup>p</sup>.

BOCAIR EBN SHADAKH, the *Leithite*, and *Al Asla Ebn Shoraik*, the *Acfite*, who was trusted with the care of the prophet's mules <sup>q</sup>.

ABU'L SAMAH, whose proper name was *Ayád*, one of the prophet's domestics; *Michájer*, a slave belonging to *Omm Salma*, one of his wives; *Honein*, slave to *Ebn Abbás*; *Naim Ebn Rabia*; and *Abu'l Hamra*, another of the prophet's domestics, who died at *Hems* <sup>r</sup>.

OMM AIMAN, *Omm Ofáma*, *Khawla*, *Omm Ráfe*, *Maimúna*, and *Omm Abbás*, the prophet's chamber-maids <sup>\*</sup>.

ZEID EBN HARETHA EBN SHORHEIL, who was killed in the battle of *Múta*; *Ofáma Ebn Zeid*, whom the prophet constituted general of the army destined to act against the *Greeks* in *Syria*, just before his death; *Abu Abd'allah Thawbán*, who, after the death of *Mohammed*, retired to *Hems*, where he died in the year of the *Hejra* 54. *Shokran*; *Abu Salab*, the *Ethiopian*, or, as some will have it, the *Persian*; *Rabáb*; *Soyar*, the prophet's chief shepherd, who was massacred by the *Oranite Arabs*; *Abu Ráfe*, the *Copt*, who was afterwards secretary to *Ali*, when he was *Khalif*; *Modgham*, who was slain by an arrow that came from an unknown quarter; *Mafúra*, the *Copt*, a present from *Mokawkas*; *Safaina*, the register; *Abu Hend*; *Anjashá*, groom of the stable to the prophet; *Salmán* the *Persian*, a native of *Isfahan*, who has been already mentioned in this history; *Shemun*, or *Simeon*, *Ebn Zeid*, the father of the beautiful *Ribána*, who was at the taking of *Damascus*, in the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, and afterwards settled at *Jerusalem*; *Mocawal*; and *Náfe Abu'l Saieb*; all originally the prophet's slaves <sup>s</sup>.

CAAB EBN ZOHAIK, a celebrated poet, already mentioned, who died in the *Khalifat* of *Moawiyah*; *Abd'allah Ebn Rawáha*; *Hasan Ebn Thábet*, the *Ansar*, who lived 120 years, 60 in the time of ignorance, or paganism, and 60 after the introduction of *Islamism*, his father and grandfather having arrived at the same age before their death, and died in the 54th year of the *Hejra*; *Amru Ebn Al Acwa*, the *Aslamite*, and *Anjashá*, *Mohammed's* groom of the stable above-mentioned, who had been one of *Al Aswad's* slaves, were the prophet's poets, after the establishment of *Mohammedism* in *Arabia* <sup>t</sup>.

His horses,  
mules, asses,  
camels, &c.

THAT he had 22 fine horses, we learn from *Al Termedi*; the seven principal of which, according to *Al Háfedh Abd'al Múmen* of *Al Damiati*, were *Sacab*, the light or nimble, *Lahif*, that covered the ground with his tail, *Al Sabba*, the magnificent, *Al Dhareb*, shaking the earth with his hoof, *Al Lazáz*, the swift, *Al Mortajez*, the thunderer, and *Al Ward*, the red. His mules of greatest note, according to the same *Al Termedi*, were *Al Daldal*, the trembler, and *Fadda*, silver; the former of which he received as a present from *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*, and the latter from *Farwa Ebn Amrú*, the *Jodhamite*, in the tenth year of the *Hejra*. The prophet himself was mounted on *Al Daldal* at the battle of *Honein*, and his uncle *Al Abbás* on *Fadda*, the night before the surrender of *Mecca*. His principal asses were *Ofair*, that rolled himself in the dust, and *Tafúr*, the brave, the hardy, or the roe-buck, that was given him by *Mokawkas*. The latter of which, as the *Moslems* pretend, threw himself headlong into the well, called the well, or fountain, of *Abu Hotkam*, out of grief and sorrow for the death of the prophet. The chief of his camels were *Al Kafwa*, that had the tip of one of his ears cut off, *Al Adhba*, the mutilated, maimed, &c. *Al Fadba*, the short or slit-eared, and another that he bought for 80 *dirhems* of the *Banu Keshair*. The first of these fell down upon his knees upon the spot of ground where the great mosque was afterwards erected at *Medina*; and also, according to *Al Jannábi*, understood the words of the *Korán* revealed at the pilgrimage of *valediction*. The second *Ali* rode, when he published to the people of *Mecca* the ninth chapter of the *Korán*. But of the third and fourth we find nothing remarkable related by the *Oriental* authors. Besides these, the prophet had twenty milk-camels, that supplied

<sup>1</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> AL JANNAB. ABU'LEED. &c.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, p. 313.

<sup>\*</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>q</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 287, & alib. ELMACIN.



- a him every day with a large quantity of milk, which he distributed amongst his women. He had also an hundred sheep, and six or seven milk-goats, that were fed and milked by his nurse *Omm Aiman*. As for his white cock, of an immense size, that has been so pompously and magnificently described by *Al Termedi*, it ought to be looked upon as an animal purely imaginary; and therefore the account of it given us by that writer, which is intirely fabulous, merits not the least attention <sup>u</sup>.

- We have likewise a list of the swords, lances, bows, cuirasses, shields, helmets, pikes, *His arms*, military ensigns, &c. that the prophet left behind him. His swords were in number nine; *Mâbûr*, the sharp, *Al Adhab*, the pointed, *Dhu'l Fakar*, the piercing, the *Kola'ite*, *Al Battâr*, the cutting, *Al Half*, ruin, death, &c. *Al Metdham*, the keen, *Al Rosûb*, the penetrating, and *Al Kadib*, the thin, or *Al Mokbazzem*, the piercing. The third of which, *Dhu'l Fakar*, the prophet had allotted him as part of the spoil after the battle of *Bedr*. It belonged to *Munba Ebn Al Habâj*, who was killed in the action; and, after the death of *Mohammed*, who used it in all his future engagements, it fell into the hands of *Ali*. The fourth sword, called the *Kola'ite*, was so denominated from the city of *Kola'*, near *Hokwân*, in *Assyria*, a place famous for the excellent sword-blades that were made there. The seventh, *Al Metdham*, was taken from the *Banu Kainoka'*; and the two last were found amongst the treasures belonging to the idol *Al Fatas*, when *Ali* completed its destruction. He also took from the *Banu Kainoka'* two lances, called *Al Monthawi* and *Al Monthari*, the destroying and the dispersing, and three bows, one of which had the name of *Al Catûm*, or the solid. His quiver he denominated *Al Jama'*, or the collection. His cuirasses went under the appellations of *Dhât Al Fodhûl*, the excellent, or full of excellencies, &c. *Dhât Al Weshab*, fortified with a leathern belt, *Dhât Al Hawâshi*, adorned with a border and fringes, *Al Betrâ*, the interseced, *Al Khernâk*, so called, perhaps, from the hare's skin with which it was covered, or which it resembled in lightness, *Al Sa'adia*, the *Saadite*, that he found amongst the spoils taken from the *Banu Kainoka'*, and was said to be that which *David* had on when he slew the giant *Goliath*, and *Al Fadda*, the silver, or washed with silver, which he likewise acquired in his expedition against the *Banu Kainoka'*. His three shields, *Al Zalûk*, the repellent, *Al Razîn*, the strong, or firm, *Al Fatîk*, the flash, brightness, or the brilliant, he also took from his enemies. He had two helmets, an interior and exterior one; the latter of which, called *Al Mawashshah*, the fillet, wreath, or wreathed garland, he wore at the battle of *Ohed*. The longest of his pikes had the name of *Baidha*, the white; his three half-pikes, the first of which was presented to *Zubair Ebn Azzâm* by the *Najâshi*, were denominated *Atra*, *Al Nab'a*, and *Al Hafr*. Besides which, he had a stick, or rod, called *Mamshâk*, and another crooked one that he carried in his hand at the surrender of *Mecca*; together with a little cane, that went under the appellation of *Orjân*. The great standard of *Islamism*, as well as his other larger military ensigns and colours, for the most part, was white; tho' some of the latter had a mixture of black in them. They were generally adorned with a double profession of the *Mohammedan* faith, contained in the following words; THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. As for his signet, or seal, that he caused to be made before he invited the neighbouring princes to *Islamism*, we shall say nothing of it here, as having given a full and ample description of it in a former part of this work <sup>w</sup>.
- d
- e

- WITH regard to the number of his expeditions, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some *His expeditions* make them nineteen, others twenty-six, and others again twenty-seven; of which the last was that of *Tabûc*. In nine of these he commanded his army in person; namely, at *Bedr*, *Ohod*, the war of the ditch, those undertaken against the tribe of *Korcidha*, the *Banu Mestalek*, and the *Jews* of *Kbaibar*; as also at the reduction of *Mecca*, the battle of *Huncin*, and the siege of *Al Tâyesf*. In all his other wars, the troops were commanded by some of his generals. As for his lesser military expeditions, or rather predatory excursions, some assert them to have amounted to thirty five, others to forty-seven, and, lastly, others to fifty; tho', in our opinion, they greatly exceeded that number. It was not without reason, therefore, that he was stiled by many of his followers, the prophet of war, or, to approach nearer our form and manner of expression, the warlike prophet <sup>x</sup>.
- f

BEFORE we conclude our history of the life and actions of *Mohammed*, that we here present our readers with, it will be proper just to touch upon some of the principal privileges and prerogatives that were granted him, as well as those peculiar to the *Arab* nation, according to the *Moslem* writers. For, to give a large account, or even a bare enumeration of all of them, such as is to be met with in the aforesaid authors, many of which have not the least tendency to illustrate the *Mohammedan* history, would be altogether inconsistent *The principal privileges and prerogatives of Mohammed, and the Arab nation.*

<sup>u</sup> AL TERMED. in lib. dist. *Haiawato'l Hicwân*, AL HAFEDH AEDA'L MUMEN AL DAMIATI, AL JANNAB. ABU'LFED. AL BEIDAWI, AL KODAI, GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 153—156. <sup>w</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxx. p. 153—156. AL JANNAB. AL KODAI, AL TERMEDI, AL TABARI, & MACHUL, apud Al Kodaium. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 153—156. <sup>x</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. c. lxxi. p. 156. AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 78, & alib.



with the brevity here proposed; nor, indeed, can an insertion of so many particulars, the a  
greatest part of which will not afford our readers the least advantage or rational entertain-  
ment, be expected in a work of this nature.

HE was the first of the prophets in the order of creation, though the last in the order of  
mission; *Adam*, and all other creatures, having been created by him <sup>r</sup>.

His glorious name is written upon the throne of God, and upon all the gates of the  
seven heavens <sup>z</sup>.

HE was foretold by the ancient prophets, in whose writings his name and epithets are  
expressly mentioned, as well as those of his companions, successors, and nation <sup>a</sup>.

THE devil, or *Eblis*, was thrown down from heaven at the moment of his birth; and all  
his accomplices were then expelled from the seven heavens, which, till that time, they b  
had been permitted to enter <sup>b</sup>.

His breast was miraculously opened by angels, and he had the seal of prophecy in a  
supernatural manner impressed upon him <sup>c</sup>.

ANGELS sheltered him with their wings from the heat of the sun <sup>d</sup>.

HE surpassed all the rest of mankind in sense and understanding, and particularly in  
every branch of divine knowledge <sup>e</sup>.

HE was saluted by the prophets and patriarchs in his night-journey to heaven <sup>f</sup>.

HE performed that journey, traversing the immense space which includes the seven  
heavens <sup>g</sup>.

HE was permitted to approach within two cubits length of the throne of God, who con- c  
versed with him, and promised to defend him against all who should attempt to obstruct his  
designs <sup>h</sup>.

HE trod in the steps of the great prophet who immediately preceded him <sup>i</sup>.

HE was saluted by the angels, who afterwards fought for him, as well as by the prophets,  
and saluted them all in his turn <sup>k</sup>.

THE *Korân* was brought down from heaven to him, tho' he was intirely illiterate, under-  
stood no language but his own, and could neither read nor write <sup>l</sup>.

THE *Korân*, which the *Moslems* call his book, as having been revealed to him, was itself  
a miracle, and will be preserved through the course of all succeeding ages from every species  
of alteration or corruption. 'Tis a permanent and perpetual miracle, differing from the d  
books, or miracles, of the other prophets, which have been diminished, if not, in a great  
measure, destroyed, by time; but had they been preserved intire to this very day, they  
would, in point of excellency, have been much inferior to the *Korân* <sup>m</sup>.

HE wrought more miracles than all the other prophets put together; some making them  
to amount to 1,000, and others to above three times that number, without including the  
*Korân*, which, according to the *Moslems*, is the greatest of all miracles <sup>n</sup>.

THE *Korân* itself contains near 60,000 miracles; every verse of this sacred book being  
considered as one of them. This, according to the *Mohammedans*, sufficiently appears from  
the *Arabic* word *Ayât*, which signifies both a *verse* and a *sign*, or *miracle*, as has been observed  
by Mr. *Gagnier*, who has followed the learned Dr. *Pocock* in this particular <sup>o</sup>.

WHEN the infidels demanded a sign of him, the moon appeared to them cloven in two,  
one part vanishing, and the other remaining. Nay, *Ebu Mas'ud* affirmed, that he saw  
mount *Harâ* interpose between the two sections. The stones also saluted him, a beam or  
trunk of a tree groaned in his presence, and streams of water issued from between his  
fingers. He likewise in one day preached to all mankind, and instructed them in the  
knowledge of the true God. Nay, the genii, or demons, and even the angels themselves,  
attended his predication <sup>p</sup>.

HE had more followers than all the other prophets put together; his mission being the  
effect of the divine mercy to all creatures. Those, therefore, who will not allow the vali-  
dity of it, will hereafter be doomed to eternal punishment; whereas all the *Moslems*, or true f  
believers, will be transplanted to a state of great and unspeakable felicity <sup>q</sup>.

God has divided his praises and benedictions with him, and has joined his own great name  
with that of the prophet in the *Korân* <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 223. <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. Vide etiam PRID. ubi sup. p. 36. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vii, lxxi, &c. <sup>a</sup> AL JANNAB. <sup>b</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. <sup>c</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 9, 143, &c. SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABU'L DAM, in Tarikh, seu hist. dict. *Al-Mubtahir*, MOSLEM, AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB, &c. <sup>d</sup> AL BEIDAWI, AL JANNAB. <sup>e</sup> ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. AL BEIDAWI, aliique in AL KOR. commentat. <sup>f</sup> ABU HOREIR. ABU'LFED. GUERAGN. AL JANNAB. &c. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. & AL KOR. MOHAM. f. liii. <sup>i</sup> AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. &c. <sup>k</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, &c. <sup>l</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. ABU'LFED. AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. &c. <sup>m</sup> AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. aliique scriptor. Arab. pass. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>o</sup> POC. not. in hist. spec. Arab. p. 192. <sup>p</sup> GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 172, &c. AL ZAHABESHAR. AL BEIDAWI, AL GHAZAL. ABU'LFED. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 188. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. lxxii. IERANIANI, AL KODAI, JALLALO'DDIN, aliique scriptor. Arabic. pass. <sup>q</sup> GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. iii. p. 367, 368. <sup>r</sup> AL BOKHAR. AL KOR. MOHAM. pass.



a GOD has commanded the world to obey him, to submit itself wholly to his will and direction; having conferred the government of it upon him, in full and proper sovereignty, with a perfect infallibility in all points whatsoever, according to what we find asserted in that lively oracle of GOD, the *Korân* <sup>s</sup>.

GOD never calls him by his proper name in the *Korân*, but makes use of the terms *prophet* and *apostle*. He has also forbidden the people of his own nation in that book to address him in any other manner; at least this must be admitted, if *Jallalo'ddin*'s authority may be depended upon <sup>t</sup>.

GOD has vouchsafed him innumerable instances of his extraordinary love and dilection, both by conversing in a familiar manner with him, and by his nocturnal revelations <sup>u</sup>.

b HE elevated him to the highest pitch of empire and power, communicated the knowledge of the law and the truth to him, and took him under his more immediate protection when he was threatened by any impending dangers, especially when he found himself obliged to fly from *Mecca* to *Medina* <sup>w</sup>.

HE favoured him with the gift of the sublimest and most inimitable eloquence, offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, and enabled him to comprehend the natures of all things, five mysteries only excepted, which he afterwards revealed to him, but enjoined him not to discover them to any other person whatsoever <sup>x</sup>.

THE prophet had the most perfect knowledge of his genealogy and descent of any man that ever lived.

c THERE is no mention made of GOD either in the formula of the proclamation for prayer, or the exordium of any sermon, or the profession of faith, or, lastly, in the preface of any book, where the apostle of GOD likewise is not expressly mentioned <sup>y</sup>.

GOD voluntarily offered him a remission of his sins, and clearly revealed to him every thing that should happen to his nation through the course of all succeeding ages, even to the day of judgment <sup>z</sup>.

HE is the prince and lord of all the children of *Adam*; is more noble in the sight of GOD than any of his other creatures; was supported and sustained by the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Israfil*, and *Azraël*, who protected him from all the insults and attacks of evil demons <sup>a</sup>.

d His wives and daughters were the most excellent of women; his companions (after the prophets) the most worthy of men; and his mosque, in point of dignity, superior to all others <sup>b</sup>.

THE angel of death durst not demand his soul without asking him leave first; which was an honour never granted any prophet before him <sup>c</sup>.

HE had a right to the best part of the spoils that were taken from the enemy in any successful expedition; nay, sometimes he was allowed to take the whole booty to himself, to dispose of it as he pleased <sup>d</sup>.

e BEFORE his time the whole earth was polluted by the *Christians* and the *Jews*; no prayers being any-where said, except in the churches of the former, or the synagogues of the latter. But he converted other places of worship into mosques, and purified the whole earth by the institution of the *Tayammom*, whereby the dust on the surface of it was declared pure, and allowed, on some occasions, to supply the want of water to perform the *Wudu*, or sacred ablution <sup>e</sup>.

HE instituted the five prayers, the proclamation for prayer, and the actual recitation of it; as also the manner of performing this duty, upon the model of that observed by the angels, the day of public divine service in mosques, or *Friday*, and the salutation of peace still in use amongst the *Mohammedans* <sup>f</sup>.

HE first discovered to the *Arabs* the favourable hour in which their prayers would most certainly be heard <sup>g</sup>.

f HE instituted the immolation of the victims in the valley of *Mina*, on the tenth of *Dhu'l-hajja*; the fast of *Ramadân*, when paradise is adorned, and the devils chained; the breakfast at the conclusion of that fast, and the celebration of the night *Al Kadr* <sup>h</sup>.

HE also instituted, by his own example, the rite, or ceremony, of making the station on mount *Arafat* till sun-set, in order to merit a pardon, or remission, of sins for two years <sup>i</sup>.

HE introduced the custom of washing the hands after a repast, the form of making a hole on one side of a sepulchre, and the fashion of wearing turbants with two flaps hanging down behind; a mark of distinction used by the angels themselves <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. liii. <sup>t</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiv. v. 64. JALLALO'DDIN. <sup>u</sup> ABU'LFED. AL BOEHAR. AL JANNAB. ABU HOREIR EBN ISHAK, AL KODAI, alique scriptor. Arabic. piff. <sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>x</sup> AL BOEHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, EBN AL KAYEM, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c. <sup>y</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 370. <sup>z</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xlvii. v. 20. JALLALO'DDIN, GAGN. ubi sup. p. 370. <sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. AL SOHEILI, AL KOR. MOHAM. AL BEIDAWI, EBN ISHAK, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.

<sup>b</sup> AL GHAZAL. POCKOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 274. GAGN. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> AL SOHEILI, ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. ABU'LFED. <sup>e</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 83. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. v. v. 7. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 371. <sup>f</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>h</sup> MOSELM, JALIL EBN ABD'ALLAH, ABU'LFED. &c. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> Commentat. in AL KOR. MOHAM.



HE will be the first of the sons of *Adam* that shall rise from the dead, and advance to the place of judgment, on his beast *Al Borâk*, escorted by 70,000 angels <sup>1</sup>.

HE will be called by his own proper name to the place of judgment, and will appear there dressed in the most magnificent robes of paradise, on a glorious footstool, on the right hand of the great tribunal <sup>m</sup>.

HE will then carry in his hand the standard of glory, under which *Adam*, and all his followers, will range themselves <sup>n</sup>.

IN the day of judgment, he will be the *Imâm*, or great pontiff, of the faithful, their orator and conductor <sup>o</sup>.

HE will be the first who, after the resurrection, shall lift up his head, who shall be permitted to look at God, and to adore him <sup>p</sup>.

HE shall be the first intercessor, and the first whose intercession shall be accepted <sup>q</sup>.

HE will be the first who shall pass over the bridge called *Al Sirât*, that is to say, *the strait* and *the sharp*; after which, he will command all his attendants to look downwards till his daughter *Fâtema* has done the same <sup>r</sup>.

HE will be the first who shall knock at the door, or gate, of paradise, when he shall be immediately admitted; after which, his daughter *Fâtema* shall enter, and then both of them shall drink large draughts of the water of *Al Cawthar*, a celebrated river in paradise <sup>s</sup>.

HE shall not be asked any questions at his admission into paradise, as the other prophets will. The pulpit in which he preached shall be placed before one of the gates of paradise, and he shall enjoy a most intimate and perpetual union with ALMIGHTY GOD <sup>t</sup>.

THE prophet's pedigree, or the genealogical succession of his ancestors, shall always remain; whereas all others shall be confounded and destroyed at the day of the resurrection <sup>u</sup>.

HE was forbidden to pay any tax or contribution whatsoever, and even to give any alms; from which his family was likewise exempted, according to the sentiments of the most approved *Mohammedan* authors <sup>v</sup>.

NONE of his family were ever to serve the office of collectors of the customs, as the members of it were to preach, and make expiation for others; which exempted them from the execution of all public offices <sup>w</sup>.

HE was not allowed to taste any thing that had a disagreeable odour, to cloath himself in cotton and fine linen, to be concerned in any species of fraud, finesse, or sinister dealings, in order to kill or get his enemy into his hands <sup>x</sup>.

HE was forbidden to espouse a repudiated woman, and, as some say, to lie with her also <sup>y</sup>.

HE was permitted to stay in the mosque, and to continue his prayers there, notwithstanding any pollution he might have contracted; as he never lost the purity he acquired, on any occasion, by the sacred ablution <sup>z</sup>.

HE was permitted to continue his prayers after mid-day, to kiss any woman upon a fast-day, and even, if his inclinations were very impetuous, to lie with her <sup>a</sup>.

HE was allowed to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* without putting on the *Ibrâm*, or sacred habit, to look at all the strange women there, and even to retire with them into a secret place, in order to enjoy them <sup>b</sup>.

HE was allowed to marry above four wives, to espouse a woman without any witnesses, and even to affiancé himself to her, tho' she was within the prohibited degrees <sup>c</sup>.

HE had several peculiar privileges in relation to the spoils taken from an enemy; that have been already mentioned in other parts of this work <sup>d</sup>.

HE was permitted to commit murder within the sacred territory, and even in the city of *Mecca* itself; to pass what sentence he pleased upon any of his followers; and to receive presents from his clients, which every other person was prohibited to do <sup>e</sup>.

HE was allowed to make what division of lands he pleased, and that even before he had made himself master of them; the *Moslems* supposing that God had put him in possession of the whole earth. And in consequence of this privilege, according to *Al Ghazâli*, he divided, in an arbitrary manner, some lands belonging to the *Banu Tamim Al Dûri* <sup>f</sup>.

HIS prayers were always heard, though his attention might have been sometimes interrupted in the course of them; a lie uttered against him was infinitely more insupportable to him than one advanced against any other person; and his urine, as well as his blood, was extremely pure, and even in many cases medicinal <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 376.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Idem

ibid. <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>r</sup> AL GHAZAL.

<sup>s</sup> Idem.

<sup>t</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 377.

<sup>u</sup> Idem

ibid. p. 378.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid. p. 381.

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. p. 382.

<sup>z</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. p. 383.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>d</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxiii.

<sup>e</sup> AL

KOR. MOHAM. ARU'LFED. &c.

<sup>f</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 383, 384.

<sup>g</sup> AL GHAZAL.

<sup>h</sup> GAGN.

ubi sup. p. 385.



a His hair was likewise clean and neat; he having been extremely remarkable for his purity, both of body and mind. Some *Moslem* writers pretend, that he was not guilty of any, even the minutest, sin; but the most approved commentators on the *Korân* are of a different opinion. *Jallalo'ddin* says expressly, that, after the revelation of the 110th *Sûra*, or chapter, of that book, he frequently asked pardon of God; which implies an acknowledgement of many actual transgressions <sup>1</sup>.

He always entertained the most pious sentiments, had a religious love of God, and the divine laws; and ever treated both his family and companions with marks of the most tender affection <sup>2</sup>.

b If any one treated him contemptuously, he easily forgave him; but frequently punished capital injuries that were offered him, and particularly false accusations, with death. This he thought himself, in a most particular manner, authorized to do. In some few instances, however, though the crimes were of the most heinous nature, he inflicted, as a punishment on the offenders, only double fustigation <sup>3</sup>.

His sleep itself was a divine revelation. The extasies and divine inspirations, by which he was so frequently agitated, exceeded both in number and duration those of the other prophets <sup>4</sup>.

ALL people were pleased with his decisions, than which nothing could be more equitable or just. Nor was any of his progenitors ever considered in the light of a tyrant or an oppressor <sup>5</sup>.

c As soon as he came out of his mother's womb, he adored God by prostration. He was born circumcised, surrounded with a luminous appearance that enlightened the castles and towns of *Syria*, in an extraordinary manner. He talked in his cradle, was sheltered from the heat of the sun by supernatural clouds, was prayed for and considered by all the *Arabs* after his death as their sovereign pontiff, or great *Imâm*, and his body remains in the tomb or sepulchre where it was at first interred, without being subject to decay <sup>6</sup>.

d SOME of the *Moslems* believe, that he is still living in his tomb, and that he says his prayers there every time the crier makes proclamation for the people to repair to the mosque. They also believe, that an angel is posted at his tomb, who gives him continual advice of the prayers of the faithful that are offered up for him; as likewise of the wicked actions of every individual of his nation, that he may ask pardon of God for them <sup>7</sup>.

A general sorrow spread itself over the whole *Arab* nation for his death, which will continue to the day of the resurrection. The lecture of his traditions is put upon the same foot by his followers with that of the *Korân*; which most authentic traditions, of the actions and sayings of *Mohammed*, are contained in the two books called the *Two Sabîhs*, compiled by *Moslem* and *Al Bokhârî* <sup>8</sup>.

e He feels a most sensible pleasure, and receives infinite satisfaction, when he understands, that the good *Moslems* perform the ablution, as well as perfume themselves, before they apply themselves to the lecture of those traditions, and afterwards read them on some public eminence. But it gives him great offence, when he is told, that any of the faithful retire into an obscure solitary corner, in order to read them there <sup>9</sup>.

THE faces of those who carry these traditions will always be pure, resplendent, and bright; and the books that contain them, in conjunction with the *Korân*, will be placed by the prophet on the throne of God at the day of the resurrection <sup>10</sup>.

He chose some of the justest and most upright men that ever lived for his companions; by which he discovered his own transcendent goodness, sincerity, and penetration. No wonder then, that the loss of a person endued with so many excellencies should be so sincerely regretted by the whole *Arab* nation; and that the women themselves, who have generally such an aversion to the visitation of sepulchres, should yet without the least repugnancy visit his tomb <sup>11</sup>.

f THE *Arabs* are the noblest nation upon earth, and will subsist longer than any other nation <sup>12</sup>.

THE prophet honoured them with two appellations, derived from two of the names of God himself, viz. MOSLEMS, or MUSULMANS, and THE FAITHFUL; and their religion he called *Islamism*, or *Islâm* <sup>13</sup>.

THEY are not obliged to the performance of any rash vow, as the nations before them were <sup>14</sup>.

THE prophet has exterminated all the places of impurity and pollution from amongst them <sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. cx. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. sup. p. 83. <sup>2</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 386. <sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. JALLALO'DDIN, &c. <sup>4</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 387, 388. <sup>5</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>6</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 388. <sup>7</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 110. <sup>9</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. pass.

<sup>10</sup> GAGN. ubi sup.

<sup>11</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi

<sup>12</sup> AL HAFEDH, ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB.

<sup>13</sup> ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. MOSLEM, AL

<sup>14</sup> AL GHAZAL. & GAGN. ubi sup. p. 389.

<sup>15</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 373. <sup>16</sup> Idem ibid.



HE has assigned the fourth part of their effects for the payment of taxes and contributions <sup>a</sup> of every denomination.

THEIR religion is infinitely purer than that of their pagan ancestors; the criminal licences and indulgences granted the *Arabs* in the times of ignorance having been cancelled by the prophet <sup>2</sup>.

HE left it to their choice either to slay a murderer, or to suffer him to expiate his crime with a sum of money, which they might look upon as the price of the blood that was spilt <sup>3</sup>.

HIS followers are preserved from falling into error. Disputes, indeed, may sometimes happen amongst them; but then these will be of such a nature, that they will rather intitle them to the divine compassion. On the contrary, the disputes that arose amongst their unbelieving progenitors will infallibly terminate in their destruction <sup>b</sup>.

THOSE who favour and obey them will always enjoy the sweets of a good conscience, and be intitled to mercy; but the reverse will happen to all those nations that are their enemies <sup>c</sup>.

THE fruit of their alms is the perpetual feast of a good conscience, and their sins are forgiven <sup>d</sup>.

THEY have a certain promise, that they shall never be totally extirpated by their enemies <sup>e</sup>.

THE good testimony of two of them is sufficient to insure to a man paradise <sup>f</sup>.

THEY labour less than other nations, and yet they shall hereafter meet with a greater reward <sup>g</sup>.

THEY have flourished fewer ages than other nations, and yet they have made a greater progress in every branch both of ancient and modern learning. Nor shall their nation want many searchers after truth through the remotest periods of time, even to the day of judgment <sup>h</sup>.

THEY abound with great princes prudent magistrates, valiant heroes, men of generous and noble dispositions, and religious persons, intirely devoted to the service of ALMIGHTY GOD <sup>i</sup>.

THEIR doctors are like the prophets of the children of *Israel* <sup>k</sup>.

AMONGST the *Moslems* there are three sorts of men; those who are the most perfect, <sup>d</sup> and first enter paradise; those who hold a middle rank in the scale of perfection; and those who are apparently wicked. But the latter, as well as the former, shall be received to mercy, tho not meet with so glorious a reward. Not a single believer shall hereafter eternally perish <sup>l</sup>.

THE angels are at hand to support them in all their general actions and engagements, as they formerly sustained their progenitors at the battle of *Bedr*; of which we have already given our readers a full and particular relation <sup>m</sup>.

MOHAMMED has prescribed them the very same rites, by the divine command, that God himself prescribed the prophets of old, as well as the other ministers sent to instruct his people; and consequently these rites are of divine institution. Such were the ablution denominated *Wodû*, that called *Ghoûl*, enjoined after conjugal embraces, the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the holy war, and others that it would be too tedious to enumerate here <sup>n</sup>.

THEY perform many works of supererogation, as did likewise the prophets; for whose memory they express so profound a regard, and whom they so frequently propose to themselves as a pattern for their imitation <sup>o</sup>.

THEY are addressed in a very particular stile, and greatly preferred to all other nations, by the *Korân* <sup>p</sup>.

THEY shall rise from the dead before the people of any other nation <sup>q</sup>.

THEY shall appear in great numbers on the day of the resurrection, incircled with a most pure and resplendent light, the effect of the sacred ablution called *Wodû*, by which they <sup>f</sup> will be purified in this world, and consequently qualified for the enjoyment of the pleasures in the next <sup>r</sup>.

THEY will be placed on an eminence at the day of judgment above all other nations <sup>s</sup>.

THEY will be distinguished then from all other nations by a mark imprinted upon their faces, the natural effect of the adoration practised by them in this world <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. pass.  
p. 374.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. v. 91. JALLALO'DDIN.

<sup>d</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM.

<sup>e</sup> GAGN. ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> GAGN. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 374, 375.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. p. 375.

<sup>k</sup> GAGN. ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. lvi. v. 12.

<sup>m</sup> AL BOKHAR. ABU'LFED. EBN ISHAK, AL JANNAB. AL BEIDAWI,

JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.

<sup>n</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. pass.

<sup>o</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. & GAGN.

ubi sup. p. 376.

<sup>p</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. pass.

<sup>q</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 378.

<sup>r</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM.

<sup>s</sup> GAGN. ubi sup.

<sup>t</sup> Idem ibid.



a THEY shall then produce their books as evidences of their faith, their little ones running before them. And though a frightful catalogue of the sins they had committed was inscribed in these books, when they entered their sepulchres, yet they shall find this intirely effaced at the day of the resurrection; their fidelity intitling them to an absolute remission of all those sins <sup>u</sup>.

THEY shall carry with them not only their own good works, but likewise those of others that were wrought for them; whereas the nations preceeding them shall only carry with them, and reap the benefit of, their own <sup>w</sup>.

JUDGMENT shall pass in their favour, before any other nation is summoned to appear before the great tribunal; and they shall immediately take possession of the habitations b assigned them by the favourable decision of ALMIGHTY GOD. When they enter paradise, which they shall do before any other nation, 70,000 of them shall be admitted without examination, or having a single question asked them. Their little ones also shall attend them on this occasion, and be conducted to the mansions of ineffable bliss, as well as themselves <sup>x</sup>.

IN order to qualify themselves for this happiness, they are enjoined to offer up their prayers every day the number of times above-specified, to keep their teeth clean and neat, to sacrifice victims on the day prescribed, to hold a council of war, before they march against the enemy, to perform the ablution every *Wednesday* and *Friday*, to engage the enemy with resolution, however superior to them in point of numbers, to animate one another on c such occasions, and not to be intimidated by the fear of death, or the apprehension of a future judgment. To the last of which their leaders encourage them, by representing to them, that all those who die in battle, inrolled amongst the *Moslems*, ought not to regret the loss of what they enjoyed in this world; as, immediately after death, they will enter paradise, and be introduced to the beatific vision. But if, notwithstanding this, they should conceive any inquietude on account of their sins, they are to ask pardon of God for them seventy times before the beginning of the action; which, in conjunction with their prophet's intercession, will infallibly procure them an easy admission into a state of eternal and inconceivable felicity <sup>y</sup>.

WE find in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* an *Arabic* manuscript, intitled, *The Prophetic* <sup>The prophet's</sup> d *Physic*, or, more simply, *The Physic of the Prophet*; wherein the anonymous author under-takes to prove, from the most authentic traditions, that *Mohammed* was perfectly well versed in every branch of physick. He remarks, after *Al Khattabi*, that, in the time of the prophet, physick, or the medicinal art, was divided into *methodic* and *empiric*. The former was founded upon reasoning, and practised over a great part of the world; the latter depended intirely upon experience, and was then in vogue amongst the *Arabs* and the *Indians*. This was the species of physick followed by the prophet, who regulated his practice by experience, as it was then the most admired by his countrymen. However, according to this writer, *Mohammed* had a thorough knowlege of every particular relative to the art of medicine, taken in its utmost extent; which knowlege, continues the same author, he did not e acquire by labour or study, but, as the immediate gift of God, it was infused into him. Hence 'tis not to be wondered at, that he should arrive instantaneously, as it were, at the highest degree of perfection in this art; and that he should neither say nor do any thing herein, but what was exactly agreeable to truth, and precisely adapted to the fixed and invariable laws of nature. For, as the whole circle of nature, if we will believe some of the *Moslem* historians, lay open to his view, he must have perfectly understood the whole frame and structure of the human body, the nature of all the parts of which it is composed, the mutual dependency they have on one another, their respective functions, the causes, effects, nature, and symptoms, of every disease incident to human kind, and the essential qualities of all things used in medicinal compositions. From whence it will follow, that he must f have instantly discovered what every distemper was from the symptoms it exhibited, and consequently could never have been at a loss for an immediate remedy on any, even the most critical, occasion whatsoever <sup>z</sup>.

WE are told by *Ebn Al Kayem*, that the prophet had three ways of curing all maladies and disorders; the first by the application of natural remedies, the second by having recourse to those that were divine, or supernatural, and the third by a mixture or composition of the other two. He attributed, according to the author of the aforesaid manuscript, the origin of physick to *Solomon*; which notion he must undoubtedly have received from one of the inspired writers, who intimates, that this prince understood the nature of all trees and plants, from

<sup>u</sup> GAGN. ubi sup. p. 379.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>x</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. AL GHAZAL. Vide etiam GAGN. ubi sup. p. 379. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 277, 278. Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 423. Parisiis, 1647.

<sup>y</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. AL BORHAR. in Son. AL GHAZAL. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JAHALLODDIN, &c.

<sup>z</sup> MSS. HUNTING. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 333. 1 KINGS, iv. 33.



the cedar of *Lebanon* even to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. However, he did not pretend to stop the progress of death, nor to deliver men from the infirmities of extreme old age; which he considered as the necessary effect of destiny, inevitable fate, or rather the divine decree <sup>a</sup>.

THE aforesaid author observes, that the human body is composed of the four elements, and consists of 360 limbs or joints, every one of which contains 360 bones, and 36 little bones. He has also compiled a vast number of aphorisms, said to have been drawn up by the prophet, relative to these parts, to diet, to the conservation of health, and to the practice of physic, intermixed with some very curious histories or relations, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here. He likewise produces a great number of passages, extracted from *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, *Avicenna*, and other celebrated physicians, both ancient and modern, in order to support and confirm the prophet's method of practice, and to evince the truth of all the sentiments advanced by him on this occasion <sup>b</sup>.

BESIDES which, he exhibits a long catalogue of remedies, both simple and compounded, for the cure of all diseases; as also of trees, fruits, liquors, plants, &c. together with their virtues properties, &c. and the methods of preparing them for use, and applying them. Which catalogue, as well as the descriptions attending it, is said to be drawn up in the very words of the prophet. Of this manuscript the learned Mr. *Gagnier* has obliged the world with several extracts, which we have not time now to touch upon. Our curious readers, therefore, may either consult his *Life of MOHAMMED*, so often cited in this work, or have recourse, for their farther satisfaction in the point before us, to the manuscript itself, which is very carefully preserved in the public library at *Oxford* <sup>c</sup>.

The visitation  
of Moham-  
med's tomb.

THE pilgrimage to, or visitation of, *Mohammed's* tomb, according to the unanimous opinion of the *Moslem* doctors, is one of those duties that approaches nearest to the obligatory precepts that are of divine institution; the performance of it being a work of great merit, especially if any favourable opportunity of doing it offers, tho' it be not expressly enjoined by any positive command. When a *Moslem* turns his face towards *Medina*, at his first setting out for that place, on this pilgrimage, or visitation, he repeats several times a formula of prayer for the prophet, drawn up for the occasion. And when he first perceives the trees in the territory of *Medina*, at a great distance from that city, he repeats it more frequently; beseeching God to grant, that the journey he has undertaken may be conducive both to his present happiness and future salvation. Before he enters *Medina*, after he has approached the frontiers, he ought to purify himself with the ablution, put on his most rich and splendid apparel, perfume himself with the most odoriferous aromatic compositions, and set apart as large a sum for alms as his circumstances will permit. Then he enters the city, with a passage of the *Korân* in his mouth; and, being arrived at one of the gates of the mosque, says the following ejaculation: O God be favourable to Mohammed, and to the family of Mohammed; O God pardon my sins, and open to me the gates of thy mercy and thy grace. From thence he advances directly to the glorious parterre of flowers, as the tomb of the prophet is called; and, at the place where *Mohammed* frequently said his prayers, he prays for the prosperity of that mosque. After which, having made what other stations he thinks proper, he prostrates himself upon the ground, adores God, thanks him for his happy arrival in that glorious valley, begs that this visitation may be agreeable to him, and that his divine grace may attend him through the whole course of it. Then approaching the sepulchre, he stands upright at the head of it, turns his face towards the south, or the city of *Mecca*, which is to the south of *Medina*, and takes care not to touch the wall that surrounds it, according to the custom observed by the companions of the prophet themselves. This being done, at the distance of about five or six feet, he repeats again the form of prayer for *Mohammed*, and also prays for the repose of his two successors *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, who are deposited near him. Then he retires backwards about a pike's length, or a little less, according to the decision of *Abu'l Laith*, the *Al Fakih*, or doctor of the law, and others of the sect of *Abu Hanîfa*. But, according to *Al Shâfeî* and *Mâlec*, he ought to turn his back towards the *Kebla*, and consequently his face towards the glorious vestibule, and the illustrious inclosure, as the *Arabs* term the spot on which the sepulchre stands, in order to salute the prophet with the greater cordiality and affection <sup>d</sup>.

WHEN the pilgrim performs this ceremony, he ought to stand upright, with his eyes fixed upon the ground, filled with sentiments of the most profound respect and veneration. He ought to have his heart likewise intirely detached from all wordly affections and concerns, and his mind solely occupied by the thoughts of the majesty of the place; considering himself then as exposed to the immediate view of the prophet, who had formerly been himself visibly present there in the same posture. In this disposition he is to pronounce

<sup>a</sup> EEN AL KAYLM. <sup>b</sup> MSS. HUNTING. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> MSS. HUNTING. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> AL JAN-NAB. ubi sup. p. 305, &c. Al Kor. MOHAM. sur. xvii. v. 81.



- a with a soft low voice, and a true sense of devotion, a form of prayer, too long to be inserted here. Then he prays for himself, his wife, children, and friends, in what manner he pleases; and if any person had desired him to salute the prophet in his name, and recommend him to his prayers, he makes use of another short form, drawn up for that purpose. After which, he takes a turn, posts himself over-against the prophet's face, and, in an erect posture, repeats the formula of appreciation and salutation two or three times. Then he stands opposite to the top of *Abu Becr's* tomb, that *Khalif's* head answering to the level of the prophet's shoulders, according to the common opinion, and prays there for the repose of his soul. From thence he advances to the right, and stops upon a spot over-against the head of *Omar's* tomb, corresponding with the line of *Abu Becr's* shoulders, where
- b he pronounces with an audible voice a prayer for that *Khalif*; and afterwards retiring a little backwards, between *Abu Becr's* and *Omar's* sepulchres, he repeats another; which is succeeded by one for himself, his wife, children, and the whole body of the faithful. The Friday following the conclusion of this ceremony, he performs his devotions in the burying-place called *Al Baki*, on account of a traditional saying of *Mohammed*, viz. *That there were two burying places in the world, which shone to the inhabitants of heaven, as the sun and moon did to those of the earth; that is to say, the cemetery of Al Baki at Medina, and that of Ascalon in Palestine.* The *Kâdi Ayad*, in his book, intituled, *Medarec*, affirms, upon the authority of *Mâlec*, that about 10,000 of the prophet's companions died at *Medina*; and that almost all those whose death preceded his, were interred in *Al Baki*. The pilgrim like-
- c wise, before his departure from *Medina*, visits the tombs of the principal ladies of the prophet's family, as well as those of his chief domestics, followers, successors, and companions; particularly that of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, the emperor of the faithful, situated in a separate place, under a dome erected by *Osâma Ebn Menân*, the *Salckite*, one of the *Emirs* of *Salâb'-oddin Yusef Ebn Ayub*; that of *Al Abbâs*, under a dome called by his name; that of *Al Hâsan Ebn Ali*, emperor of the faithful, *Zain Al Abidin Ebn Hosein*, *Ebn Mohammed Al Bâker*, with his son *Jaafar*, surnamed *Al Sâdek*, all whose bodies are deposited in one tomb; that of *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, erected by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*; that of *Fâtema Bint Asad*, the mother of *Ali*, which has a fine dome built upon it; that of *Ibrahim*, the prophet's son, near the remains of *Othmân Ebn Matân*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Okail*
- d *Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, the three last of which are supposed to have been interred in the same sepulchre; that of *Ismael Ebn Jaafar Al Sâdek*, to the west of the dome of *Al Abbâs*, with those of four of the prophet's wives; and that of *Mâlec Ebn Awf*, with others at a small distance from him, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this place <sup>e</sup>.

WITHOUT the walls likewise of *Medina* there are other tombs that demand the attention of the devout and religious pilgrim; the most remarkable of which are the following. The sepulchre of *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who died a martyr in the *Khalifat* of *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, on which a structure is erected, intended for a dome, but not yet finished. The sepulchres of the martyrs who fell in the battle of

e *Ohod*, and particularly that of *Hamza*, the prophet's uncle; which contains likewise the corps of his nephew *Abd'allah Ebn Hajash*, who commanded in an expedition undertaken on the side of *Nakbla*. The tombs of *Mosaab Ebn Omaïr*, *Saad Ebn Al Rabi'*, *Anas Ebn Al Madre*, *Abu'l Dada*, *Majadder Ebn Ziyâd*, and many others that lie mixed together at the feet of *Hamza*, without any manner of distinction, who are supposed to have lost their lives in defence of the *Mohammedan* faith, and are consequently looked upon as martyrs by the *Moslems* <sup>f</sup>.

THE pilgrim also visits the mosque at *Koba*, the day after his visitation of *Al Baki* and the afore said sepulchres, that is, on *Saturday*, if it be possible. Here, in a most devout manner, he says his prayers with two inclinations <sup>g</sup>.

- f FROM thence he goes to the well named *Aris*, in which the prophet is reported to have spat. It is likewise said, that *Mohammed's* seal fell out of *Othmân Ebn Affân's* hand into this well; and that he would not suffer any of the *Arabs* ever to look after it; so that it has remained there undiscovered to this day. The well *Aris* is near a mosque, that stands at the entrance of a garden. The pilgrim drinks copiously of its water, and also supplies himself with a sufficient quantity of it for the performance of the sacred ablution. Then he visits the mosque of *Victory*, constructed near the ditch or trench, which gave name to the signal victory obtained there over the nations that had entered into a confederacy against the prophet. After which, he pays his respects to all the other mosques and oratories of *Medina*, which amount to about thirty in number. The inhabitants shew these, as also the wells,
- g in which the prophet used to bathe himself, and of whose waters he frequently drank, to

<sup>e</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. p. 305, 306, &c.  
NAB. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. AL MAKIN. p. 102.

<sup>g</sup> AL JAN-



the pilgrims that come thither; and this that they may not only follow his example herein, a but procure for themselves likewise health and benediction. The names of these wells are *Aris*, *Gbars*, *Rawma*, *Bada*, *Bir-Hâ*, and *Al Abn*, whose waters are greatly celebrated by some of the *Moslem* historians <sup>b</sup>.

*The excellency of Medina.*

IN fine, as the prophet resided the last ten years of his life chiefly at *Medina*, was buried there, and conferred some very singular privileges upon the inhabitants of that city, as well as upon the *Moslems* who should at any time perform their devotions in his mosque; the *Mohammedans* have always entertained, as they do at present, the most exalted sentiments of the nobility and excellency of that place. To this likewise they have been farther excited by the exemplary punishment, which they apprehend to have been inflicted upon *Moslem Ebn Okba*, who massacred a great number of the citizens of *Medina* in the 63d year b of the *Hejra*, and *Yezid Ebn Mezayab*, who also behaved in a very hostile manner towards them; both of whom were taken off by a sudden death, and greatly agitated by a desponding sense of their crimes before they expired. As a considerable part of the *Korân* was likewise revealed at *Medina*, and the sepulchre of the prince of the prophets, as the *Moslems* term *Mohammed*, as well as those of his wives, children, and companions, is so frequently visited there, they are induced from hence to think, that it ought to be esteemed as the asylum of the elect, and, consequently, that a superior degree of respect and veneration is due to it. Hence it comes to pass, that some of the *Mohammedan* doctors consider *Medina* as the most excellent place in the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*; tho' others are of a different opinion. *Abu Hanîfa* prefers *Medina* even to *Mecca* itself; but *Mâlec* espouses the contrary c notion. However, the *Moslems* unanimously agree, that the spot on which the prophet's tomb stands is the most respectable place in the world. *Al Zamakhshari* mentions a tradition, which asserts, "that he who finishes his days either at *Mecca* or *Medina*, is assured by God " of being resuscitated with the just on the day of the resurrection <sup>1</sup>."

*The conclusion.*

THUS have we brought to a conclusion our history of the life and actions of *Mohammed*, the prophet and legislator of the *Arabs*, who laid the foundations of an empire, that, in less than a century, spread itself over a greater part of the world than the *Romans* could ever make themselves masters of. 'Tis true, this mighty empire did not continue in the zenith of its power much above two hundred years; the *Khalîfs* being first in a great measure stripped of the regal authority they had all along assumed, by the governors of provinces, d about the year of the *Hejra* 325, and afterwards by others, who scarce left them the faintest traces of their former grandeur. As for *Arabia*, in particular, the source of the *Moslem* power, it remained, for about three centuries after the time of *Mohammed*, under the *Khalîfs* his successors. But in the aforesaid year of the *Hejra* 325, a great part of that country was in the hands of the *Karmatians*, a new sect, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, who had committed great outrages and disorders even in *Mecca* itself, and to whom the *Khalîfs* were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed. Afterwards *Yaman* was governed by the house of *Tbabateba*, descended from *Ali*, the son-in-law of *Mohammed*, whose sovereignty in *Arabia* some place so high as the time of *Charlemagne*. However, it was the posterity of *Ali*, or pretenders to be such, who reigned e in *Yaman* and *Egypt* so early as the tenth century. The present reigning family in *Yaman* is probably that of *Ayub*, a branch of which reigned there in the thirteenth century, and took the title of *Khalîf* and *Imâm*, which they still retain. They are not possessed of the whole province of *Yaman*, there being several other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of *Fartach*. The crown of *Yaman* descends not regularly from father to son; but the prince of the blood royal, who is most in favour with the grandees, or has the strongest interest, generally succeeds. The governors of *Mecca* and *Medina*, who have always been of the race of *Mohammed*, also threw off their subjection to the *Khalîfs*, since which time four principal families, all descended from *Hasan*, the son of *Ali*, have reigned f there, under the title of *Sbarîf*, which signifies *noble*, as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent. These are the *Banu Kâder*, the *Banu Mûsa T'hani*, the *Banu Hasbem*, and the *Banu Kitâda*; which last family now is, or lately was, on the throne of *Mecca*, where they have reigned above 500 years. The reigning family at *Medina* are the *Banu Hasbem*, which also reigned at *Mecca* before those of *Kitâda*. So that, for above 300 years, the successors of *Mohammed* enjoyed little more than the empty title of *Khalîf*, which was at last likewise taken from them; a total end having been put to the very name and being of the *Khalîfs*, as well as their power and authority, in the year of the *Hejra* 656, or of CHRIST 1258, when *Hulaku*, or *Holagu*, the *Tartar*, over-ran all the dominions of *Al Mosta'sem Ebn Al Mostanser*, and made himself master of *Baghdâd* <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> AL JANNAB. ubi sup. vit Al Râdi. LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 255, 153, 273, 254, &c. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. dyn. x. p. 517—521.

<sup>1</sup> AL JANNAB. AL MAKIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR.

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, in



- a As for the *Korân*, or the collection of tenets, precepts, and institutions, left the *Arabs* by *Mohammed*, we shall speak of it more largely in another place. That book being put into the form in which we find it by *Abu Becr*, the prophet's immediate successor, who found the pretended revelations it contains in great disorder; an account of its peculiarities, doctrines, and injunctions, of the manner of its being written and published, of the general design and genius of it, will be more naturally introduced in the life of that *Khalif*. And this our readers will be induced to expect, as without it they can by no means be enabled to form a proper and adequate idea of *Islamism*, the established religion of three of the most potent empires now on earth; nor, consequently, to understand the *Mohammedan* history. We need not inform them, that the empires here hinted at are those of the *Othmans*, commonly called *Ottomans*, or *Turks*, the *Persians*, and the *Indians* under the great *Mogul*<sup>1</sup>.
- b

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, in vit. Abu Becr. ABU'LFED. alique scriptor. Arabic. pass.

## C H A P. II.

*The History of the Empire of the Arabs, under the first four Khalîfs, and those of the families of Ommiyah and Abbas, to the taking of Baghdâd by the Tartars.*

- a **T**HE death of *Mohammed* occasioned such a consternation in *Mecca*, that *Otâb Ebn Osaid*, the governor, hid himself, fearing to be called to an account for his former conduct; and the inhabitants, upon the arrival of this melancholy news, considered themselves as destitute of all manner of protection. But, after the first impressions of fear were worn out, they began to meditate a revolt, and to entertain thoughts of resuming their ancient form of government. Upon which, *Sobail Ebn Amru*, one of the principal of the *Koreish*, who had before been sent by his tribe to treat with *Mohammed* of a peace in his camp at *Al Hodeibiya*, assembled the chief of them at the door of the *Cacba*, and addressed himself to them in the following terms: O ye Meccans, ye were the last of the Arabs that embraced *Islamism*, and will ye be the first that shall renounce it? Can such a procedure as this be pleasing in the sight of God? These words gave their minds a different turn, and prevented them from taking any step that had the least tendency to a defection<sup>a</sup>.
- b

- BUT the tumults at *Medina*, consequential to the prophet's death, were not so easily appeased. The news of this sad event was no sooner published there, than a numerous concourse of people appeared before his door, crying out, *How can our apostle be dead? Our intercessor, our mediator, has not entirely left us; he is taken up into heaven, as was Jesus, or Isa; therefore he shall not be buried.* Nay, *Omar*, being of the same opinion, drew his sword, and swore, that if any person affirmed *Mohammed* to be dead, he would cut off his hands and his feet. For, said he, *the apostle of God is not dead, but only gone for a season; as Moses, the son of Amrân, was gone from the people of Israel for forty days, and then returned to them again.* The populace, therefore, kept the corps above ground, even after the belly began to swell; nor could the prophet's uncle *Al Abbâs*, notwithstanding this, convince them of the reality of his death. Of which *Abu Becr* being apprized, he immediately posted from *Al Sonoh*, another quarter of the city, and expostulated with them in the following manner: *Do you worship Mohammed, or the God of Mohammed? If the latter, he is immortal, and liveth for ever; but if the former, you are in a manifest error, as he is certainly dead.* The truth of which assertion he clearly evinced from several passages of the *Korân*. This produced the desired effect, and not only satisfied *Omar*, but likewise perfectly calmed the minds of the people. The arrival also of *Osâma Ebn Zeid* from the camp at *Jorf*, immediately after *Mohammed* expired, not a little contributed to the preservation of the public tranquillity. For,
- c
- d that general ordered the standard of *Islamism* to be planted before the prophet's door, and disposed his troops in such a manner as effectually prevented all commotions, or, at least, all the bad effects of them, and enabled the *Moslems* to proceed to the election of a *Khalif*, or successor of *Mohammed*, without any effusion of blood, as will presently more fully appear<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxii. p. 138.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. & p. 139. AL SOHAILI, AL SHAHRESTAN. AL JANNAB. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 179. AL BOKHAR. in Son. ex tradit. Ayesb. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 138, 139.



**Abu Becr.** **elekted Khalif.** THE prophet having left no directions before his death concerning a successor, or at least none but such as were known to his wives, who were in the interest of *Omar*, very warm debates arose between the *Mohajerin* and the *Ansars* about the right of electing a *Khalif*. The former insisted upon that right, as having attended *Mohammed* in his flight to *Medina*, and declared themselves in his favour before any of the other *Arabs* came to him; the latter, as having supported him when he was expelled his native city, and enabled him to make head against his enemies, when he and his followers were in a state of persecution. In fine, the disputes on this occasion between the two principal branches of the *Moslems* came to such a height, that a rupture between them must have immediately commenced, had not an expedient for the determination of this arduous affair been proposed by one of the *Ansars*, who desired that each of the contending parties might be allowed to choose a *Khalif*. This for the present a little amused them; but the *Mohajerin* not entirely relishing the proposal, *Abu Becr* offered to recommend two persons, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* and *Abu Obeidah*, to their choice, and to recognize him of the two upon whom the suffrages of both parties should fall. But this producing no decision, *Omar* swore fealty to *Abu Becr*, and all the *Moslems* upon the spot followed his example; upon which, *Abu Becr* was saluted *Khalif* by both the *Mohajerin* and the *Ansars*, and acknowledged the rightful successor of *Mohammed*. It appears from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Abu Becr* was proclaimed *Khalif*, in the portico or piazza of the *Saëdites*, the very same day that *Mohammed* died <sup>a</sup>.

**Abu Becr.** **owes his election chiefly to Omar.** It has been asserted by several of the *Moslem* writers, that *Mohammed*, in his last sickness, appointed *Abu Becr* to officiate for him at the mosque in *Medina*; by which it should seem to appear, that he intended him for his successor. Nay, the prophet's two wives, *Ayesha* and *Hafsa*, who were then present, understood the order given on this occasion as a sort of nomination to the high post that *Abu Becr* afterwards filled, and opposed it to the utmost of their power; but without effect; *Mohammed* telling them in a passion, that they were as bad as *Joseph's* mistress *Zoleikha*, and that none but God had given the preference to *Abu Becr*. However, the contest, which happened after the prophet's death, clearly proves that these words of his had no influence in the election of his successor; but that *Abu Becr's* good fortune was chiefly, if not solely, owing to *Omar's* resignation. Notwithstanding which, the last person shewed afterwards an apparent dislike of his former conduct, when he prayed, "that God would avert the ill consequences which, it was to be feared, would attend so indiscreet a choice;" adding withal, "that such behaviour would for the future merit capital punishment;" and "that both the person elected and the electors hereafter ought to be put to death, unless the consent of all the *Moslems* rendered valid their election." Nor was *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who, by hereditary right, ought to have succeeded the prophet, at all pleased with what had been done. He expostulated with *Abu Becr* about the manner of his elevation to the *Khalifat*, which was effected without his knowledge; and received for answer, by way of apology, from the new *Khalif*, that the exigency of affairs would not admit of deliberation; and that had the election not been so sudden, the power would have been wrested out of their hands by the opposite party. *Ali* was in *Fâtema's* apartment, when *Abu Becr* had the good fortune to be appointed *Khalif*; where, upon the arrival of the news, he expressed great dissatisfaction at that event. But he found himself obliged to change his note, when the new *Khalif* sent *Omar* with orders to burn the house where he and his friends were assembled, unless he concurred with the other *Moslems* to support the election. However, the better to conciliate his affections, *Abu Becr* seemed desirous of resigning the government; to which *Ali* thought the right of succession belonging to him authorized him to aspire. But perceiving that the people in general were prejudiced in favour of *Abu Becr*, and that therefore, by opposing him in any shape, he should expose himself to their resentment, *Ali* declared that they would not accept of his resignation. Notwithstanding which, some relate, that he looked upon himself as injured, and did not absolutely come in till after the death of his wife *Fâtema*, who survived her father *Mohammed* but a very few months. It is intimated by *Eutychius*, or *Said Ebn Batrick*, that *Othmân Ebn Affân*, as well as *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, greatly contributed to *Abu Becr's* election <sup>a</sup>.

**Many of the Moslems favour Ali's pretensions.** By *Ali's* acquiescence in the measures that had been taken, *Abu Becr* seemed to be thoroughly settled in the government of *Arabia*; tho' many of the *Moslems* were still of opinion, that *Ali* ought to be deemed the lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Which notion has been entertained by a very considerable part of the *Mohammedans* even to this day. Nor are there at present wanting a numerous body of them, who maintain, that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to *Ali's* descendants, notwithstanding they

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN. hist. Saracen. c. ii. p. 15, 16. edit. Tho. Erpen. Lugd. Batavor. 1625. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. hist. dynastiar. dyn. ix. p. 172. edit. Pocock. Oxon. 1663. EUTYCH. Alexandrin annal. tom. ii. p. 251. edit. Pocock. Oxon. 1656. <sup>d</sup> AL BOKHAR. in Son. ex trad. Ayesha, AL JANNAB. p. 291. AHMED EBN MOHAM. EBN AZDI RABBIHI, MS. Arab. HUNTINGT. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 554. AL MAKIN. hist. Saracen. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.



- a may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. These, however, are called *Shiites*, or *Seſtaries*, and looked upon by the *Sunnites*, or *Traditionists*, who consider the *Khalifs* preceding *Ali* as the lawful successors of *Mohammed*, as the worst and most detestable heretics; from whence proceeds that invincible aversion, which has so long reigned between the *Turks* and the *Persians*. Our readers will observe here once for all, that the *Khalifs* did not only succeed *Mohammed* in his regal character, but likewise in his pontifical authority; so that they governed the *Arabs* as the *Maccabean* princes, who were kings and chief priests at the same time, did the *Jews*. Their pontifical authority chiefly consisted in interpreting the *Mohammedan* law, as well as praying and preaching in the public mosques, which on all solemn occasions they used to do. And, indeed, at last this was all the
- b authority they had left them, being stript of all the rest by the governors of provinces, who set up for themselves, as will hereafter more fully appear. The followers of *Ali* teach, that the office of *Imâm* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the prophet himself could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people. Which tenet seems to be levelled at the conduct of the *Moslems*, in their election of *Abu Becr* and the two succeeding *Khalifs*. But, though *Ali* was *Mohammed's* cousin-german, and married his daughter *Fâtema*, yet the prophet seems to have had a superior respect for *Abu Becr*, who was his father-in-law, as having been of the most signal service to him. For he did not only most strenuously support him, when he first assumed the prophetic character, but also resolutely asserted the truth of *Mohammed's* account of his night-journey to heaven; from whence he received the honourable surname of *Al Seddik*, or the *faithful witness*, as has been already observed. Once as the prophet saw him approaching, he said to those about him: *If any one is pleased with viewing a person who has escaped hell-fire, let him look upon Abu Becr. God, whose name be blessed, has given man his choice of this world, or that which is with him; and this servant (meaning Abu Becr) hath chosen that which is with God.* Such marks of esteem as these could not fail of endearing him to the *Moslems*, and consequently of facilitating his promotion to the *Khalifat*. We must not omit remarking, that when *Ali* acknowledged *Abu Becr* the rightful successor of *Mohammed*, he secured to him the affection of the whole family of *Hâshem* <sup>e</sup>.
- d Soon after *Abu Becr's* accession, many of the *Arabs* refused to pay the *zacât*, or *alms*, *A rebellion ex-* and tribute, *Mohammed* had exacted of his followers, and attempted to shake off the yoke *tinguished by* he had imposed upon them. This so alarmed the *Khalif* and his subjects at *Medina*, that, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid.* fearing a general revolt, they sent all not able to bear arms to the cavities of the rocks and mountains, and put themselves in as good a posture of defence as the little time allowed them to do this in would permit. In the mean time, *Abu Becr* sent *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* with an army of 4,500 men, to reduce the rebels; who soon coming up with them, gave them a total defeat, brought off a vast quantity of plunder, and made many of their children slaves. Nor was he content with this. For, being dispatched by *Abu Becr* to *Mâlec Ebn Noweirab*, an eminent person amongst the *Arabs*, famous for his skill in poetry, as well as his horsemanship and bravery, who refused to pay the *zacât*, to bring him over by fair means, he
- e ordered *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, who attended him, to strike off his head: which, as he was the chief of the revolters, intirely extinguished all remains of the rebellion, and fixed *Abu Becr* upon the throne. However, as *Mâlec* returned to *Islamism*, offered to pay the money required of him, and was strongly interceded for by *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* and *Kobâdab*; the *Khalif* was not a little displeased at *Khâled's* barbarity, and would have put him to death, as he had exceeded the limits of his commission, had not *Omar* greatly exerted himself in his favour. As for *Khâled*, he was undoubtedly an excellent general, extremely kind to his soldiers, and a zealous *Mohammedan*: but then it must likewise be allowed, that he was a most bitter enemy to the *Christians*, and to those *Moslems* who apostatized; always, when
- f in his power, exercising great cruelties upon them. However, by his conduct and bravery, he conquered *Syria*, and greatly contributed to the establishment of the *Mohammedan* religion and polity. We are assured by *Eutychius*, that, in the first year of *Abu Becr*, *Yazdejerd*, or *Yezdejird*, the last king of *Persia*, began to reign <sup>f</sup>.

It may not be improper here to acquaint our readers, that in the latter days of *Mohammed*, *Many of the* and after his death, considerable numbers of the *Arabs* quitted his religion, and returned *Arabs re-* to *Paganism*, *Judaism*, or *Christianity*. *Al Beidawi* reckons them up in the following order. *nounce Mo-* *hammedism.*

1. Three companies of the *Banu Modlaj*, seduced by *Dbu'lhamar Al Aswad Al Anfi*, who set up for a prophet in *Taman*, and grew very powerful there.
2. The *Banu Honeifa*, who followed the famous false prophet *Moseilama*.
3. The *Banu Asad*, who acknowledged *Tolcika Ebn*

<sup>e</sup> AL SHAHRESTAN. p. 261. FRID. life of Mahom. p. 68. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 1. AB'UL FAR. ABU HOREIR AL JANNAB. IERAHIM EEN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, MS. Arab. LAUD. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon, 806.

<sup>f</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 173. AL MAKIN. in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. ii. p. 16, 17. ISM. ABU'LFED. hist. gen. EUTYCH. annal. Alexandrin tom. ii. p. 256.



*Khowailed*, another pretender to divine revelation, for their prophet. All these fell off in *Mohammed's* life-time. 4. Certain of the tribe of *Fezârah*, headed by *Oyema Ebn Hosein*. 5. Some of the tribe of *Ghatfân*, whose leader was *Korrah Ebn Salma*. 6. The *Banu Soleim*, who followed *Al Fajâab Ebn Abd Yalil*. 7. The *Banu Yarbu*, whose captain was *Mâlec Ebn Noweirab Ebn Kaïs*. 8. Part of the tribe of *Tamîm*, the profelytes of *Sejaj*, the daughter of *Al Mondar*, who gave herself out for a prophetess. 9. The tribe of *Kendab*, led by *Al Asbatb Ebn Kaïs*. 10. The *Banu Becr Ebn Al Wayel*, in the province of *Babrein*, headed by *Al Hotam Ebn Zeid*. The last six of which apostatized in the *Khalifât* of *Abu Becr*. 11. Some of the tribe of *Ghassân*, who with their prince *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, renounced *Mohammedism* in the time of *Omar*, and returned to their former profession of *Christianity*. To which we may add, 12. *Osud Al Abbasi*, who likewise aspired to the dignity of a prophet, in the reign of *Abu Becr*. Nay, we are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that, immediately after the death of *Mohammed*, the whole body of the *Moslems*, except the cities of *Medina*, *Mecca*, and *Al Tâyes*, renounced the *Mohammedan* faith; whose defection, the commentators pretend, was foretold by the *Korân*, long before it came to pass. They likewise affirm, that, in conformity to the latter part of the same prediction, the loss of so many renegades was supplied by a considerable, if not equal, number of new converts. Some will have the latter to have been the inhabitants of *Yaman*, and others the *Persians*; the authority of *Mohammed* himself being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, suppose them to have been 2,000 of the tribe of *Al Nakha*, who dwelt in *Yaman*, 5,000 of those of *Kenda* and *Bajilab*, and 3,000 of unknown descent, who were present at the famous battle of *Kadesia*, fought in the *Khalifât* of *Omar*, who put an end to the *Persian* empire. The followers of the impostor *Moseilama* now growing formidable to the *Moslems*, the *Khalîf* resolved to send an army against him <sup>a</sup>.

Moseilama  
vanquished  
and killed by  
Khâled Ebn  
Al Walid.

*MOSEILAMA*, as has been already observed, was of the tribe of *Honeifa*, who inhabited the province of *Yamâma*, and a principal man amongst them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to *Mohammed*, in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, and professed himself a *Moslem*; but, on his return home, being desirous of sharing with *Mohammed* in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God. Some, however, pretend, that he might have been a partner with *Mohammed* in his imposture; but that considering himself as superior to him, he renounced all manner of correspondence with him. Be that as it will, he is said to have published written revelations, in imitation of the *Korân*, of which *Abu'l-Faraj* has preserved the following passage, viz. *Now hath God been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels*. Whatever might have been his former sentiments, considering afterwards that he might run less risque by acting in conjunction with *Mohammed*, he sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him, in these words: *From Moseilama, the apostle of God, to Mohammed, the apostle of God. Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine*. But *Mohammed*, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: *From Mohammed, the apostle of God, to Moseilama the liar. The earth is God's: He giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him*. During the few months which *Mohammed* lived after this revolt, *Moseilama* rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable; but *Abu Becr*, his successor, now in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, resolved to reduce him. He, therefore, first sent *Akramah* and *Serjabil*, two of his experienced commanders, with a body of troops to *Yamâma*, with orders to destroy him; and afterwards that consummate general *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, with a powerful army to support them. After the junction of these forces, the *Moslem* army amounted to 40,000 effective men; with which *Khâled* engaged *Moseilama* at *Akreba* in a bloody battle, but was at first repulsed with the loss of 1,200 men. However, rallying his troops, he renewed the fight with so much vigour, that the rebels were dispersed, leaving 10,000 of their men dead upon the spot. The impostor himself was slain by *Wahsha*, the negro slave, with the same lance that had before dispatched *Hamza*, the uncle of *Mohammed*. In fine, the victory was so complete, that the apostates, who survived this action, never afterwards gave *Abu Becr* the least trouble, but returned of their own accord to *Mohammedism* <sup>b</sup>.

Al Ola defeats  
another body  
of rebels.

AFTER this decisive action, the *Khalîf* sent a considerable army under the command of *Al Ola*, to reduce another body of rebels, who committed great disorders in the province of *Babrein*. This body was formed out of the *Banu Becr Ebn Al Wayel*, and headed by *Al*

<sup>a</sup> AL BEIDAWI, ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & de vit. Moham. p. 138. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. v. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 226. POCCOCK. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 77. AL MAKIN, & ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. general. de vit. Moham. p. 159, 160. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 16, 17. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 164, 173, &c. AL BEIDAWI. in Kor. f. v. AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. p. 159, 160.



a *Hotam Ebn Zeid*. *Al Ola* soon obliged them to submit to *Abu Becr*, and return to the *Mohammedan* religion; having put great numbers of them to the sword, and plundered their country in a dreadful manner. In fine, he executed the *Khalif's* orders with uncommon bravery, and then returned to *Medina* with the immense spoils acquired in the expedition <sup>1</sup>.

THE next impostor, who found employment for *Abu Becr's* troops, was *Toleiah Ebn Khâled de-Khowâiled*, of the tribe of *Asad*, which adhered to him, together with part of the tribes of *Ghatfân* and *Tay*. Against these the *Khalif* ordered *Khâled* to advance at the head of a strong detachment of the *Moslem* forces. *Khâled* coming up with the enemy, engaged them; put them to flight, and obliged *Toleiah*, with his shattered troops, to retire into *Syria*, where he remained at a town called *Acleb* till the death of *Abu Becr*. Then he went to *Omar*, embraced *Mohammedism* in his presence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people. *Al Makin* seems to intimate, that, about this time, the *Asbite*, or rather *Anbite*, and *Dibanian* rebels were also overthrown with great slaughter by *Abu Becr* <sup>k</sup>.

IN the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, and the first of *Abu Becr*, *Sejâj Bint Al Mondar*, sur-*Sejâj* set up named *Omm Sâder*, of the tribe of *Tamîm*, and the wife of *Abu Cabdala*, a soothsayer of *Tamâma*, likewise set up for a prophetess, in opposition to the *Khalif*. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to *Moseilama*, and married him; but after she had staid with him three days, she left him and returned home. What became of her afterwards we do not find. *Ebn Shohnab* has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration; but the same is a little too immodest to be translated. 'Tis probable, that, after the death of *Moseilama*, she was either cut off by the *Khalif*, or ceased to disturb the repose of his subjects by her delusions <sup>l</sup>.

ABU BECR having now no enemy to contend with in *Arabia*, and being free from all apprehensions of a competitor, resolved next to turn his arms against the *Greek* emperor. He, therefore, ordered *Osâma Ebn Zeid*, who was upon the point of making an irruption into *Syria* at the time of *Mohammed's* decease, in order to revenge his father's death, who was killed in the battle of *Mûta*, to destroy with fire and sword the country on the confines of *Balka* and *Al Darûm*. This enterprize *Osâma* conducted with great success, advanced as far as *Obna*, killed the person who had slain his father *Zeid*, and laid waste the neighbouring territory. Nay, we are told by an *Arab* writer, that this invasion struck the emperor *Heraclius* himself, who was then at *Hems*, or *Emesa*, with terror, and even obliged him to leave *Syria*. But this, for several reasons, we are not inclined to believe strictly true. However, the *Arabs* did undoubtedly penetrate into the imperial territories on the side of *Syria*; and after having done the *Greeks* considerable damage there, retired, without sustaining any remarkable loss, into their own dominions <sup>m</sup>.

Soon after, the *Khalif* sent *Khâled Ebn Al Wâlid*, at the head of a powerful army, to invade *Irâk*, and put an end to the kingdom of *Hira*. The province of *Irâk*, answering to the *Babylonia* of *Ptolemy*, is bounded on the east by *Susiana*, or *Kbûzestân*, and the mountainous region comprehending part of *Assyria*, *Media*, &c. on the north by part of *Mesopotamia*, or *Diyar Becr*, &c. on the west, by the desarts of *Shâm*, or *Syria*, and the solitudes from it denominated the desarts of *Irâk*, &c. and on the south by the last desarts, and part of *Arabia Deserta*, or the province of *Najd*. We are told by *Khondemir*, that *Khâled* was sent at this time by the *Khalif* with a body of troops to sustain *Mothana*, another of his generals, who had been detached before to penetrate into *Irâk*; and that, after the reduction of that province, the last officer was left to preside there. *Khâled's* usual success attended him in this expedition. He obliged the people of *Irâk*, as well as the inhabitants of the towns and villages of *Sawada*, to pay tribute to *Abu Becr*; which, according to *Al Makin*, was the first tribute money ever brought to *Medina*. He possessed himself of *Anbar*, *Dawmat*, *Al Fandal*, and several other places of note, which surrendered at the first summons. He took the city of *Hira*, and fought many battles, wherein fortune always declared in his favour. In fine, he put a period to the kingdom of *Hira*, which had been founded by *Mâlec*, of the descendants of *Cablân*, in *Irâk*; tho', after three descents, the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*, called also the *Mondars* (the general name of those princes, as has been already observed), who preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the *Persians*, till this time, when *Al Mondar Al Maghrûr*, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, *Abu Becr's* general; who likewise carried away his son *Judi*, and a great number of his subjects, captives with him. Several thousands of them were also slain. The kingdom of *Hira* lasted 622 years eight months. The sum exacted, by way of tribute, of the province of *Irâk*, on this occasion, if *Eutychius* may be

<sup>1</sup> AL BEIDAWI, in Kor. f. v. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 17. <sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, & AL BEIDAWI, ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> EBN SHOHNAB, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 16. <sup>m</sup> AL JANNABI, AL NAISA, &c. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'Ised. ubi sup. p. 134.



credited, amounted to 70,000 pieces of money. As the *Mondars* were under the protection a of the kings of *Persia*, whose lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, as the kings of *Ghassân* were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*, this invasion of the *Moslems* was understood as undertaken against the *Persians*. *Hira* stands at a small distance from a branch of the *Euphrates*, and about a parasang to the west of *Cûfa*. We must beg leave to inform our readers, that Mr. Ockley is guilty of a mistake, when he asserts *Hira* to have been the imperial seat of *Al Saffah*; since *Anbâr*, on the northern bank of the *Euphrates*, and not far from its confluence with the *Tigris*, in the district of *Baghdâd*, was the residence of that prince. He was the first *Khalîf* of the house of *Abbâs*. Mr. Ockley's inattention to *Golius* seems to have occasioned this mistake <sup>n</sup>.

The Khalîf  
sends an army  
into Syria.

BUT the exigency of the *Khalîf's* affairs in *Syria* put a stop to the rapid progresses of *Khâ-* b  
led, and obliged him to recall that general out of *Irâk*. Before the departure of the army under his command, *Abu Becr* came to a resolution to attempt an invasion of *Syria*; and having communicated his design to the principal officers of his court, he had the satisfaction to find that they all intirely approved of it. He, therefore, thought fit to send circular letters to the petty princes of *Yaman*, the chief men of *Mecca*, *Al Tâyes*, and the other *Moslem* prefects of *Arabia*, ordering them to repair with all the forces they could raise as soon as possible to *Medina*. The purport of the letter was to this effect: *That Abd'allah Atik Ebn Abu Kohâfa wished health, happiness, and the divine mercy and benediction, to them and all true believers; that, after praising the most high God, and praying for his prophet Mohammed, he signified to them his intention of taking Syria out of the hands of the infidels; and that he begged leave to inform them, that a war undertaken for the propagation of the true religion was an act of obedience to God.* Nor were they deficient in paying a proper regard to the *Khalîf's* commands, all of them appearing at the head of their troops in a very short time at *Medina*, and pitching their tents round the city. Here they staid, though with some little uneasiness, on account of the scarcity of provisions, till the *Moslem* army, destined to act against the emperor, was completely formed, and in a capacity to begin its march. Then the *Khalîf*, with some of his friends, viewed the troops drawn up in order of battle from the top of a hill; and, after praying to God, to inspire them with courage, and grant them success, he attended the generals a little way on foot. As they were on horseback, they could not forbear expressing some concern at the *Khalîf's* thus demeaning himself; d  
but he told them, *that it signified little whether they walked on foot or rode, as they all had the same views, viz. the service of God, and the propagation of the true religion.* Having then taken leave of them, he addressed himself to *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, whom he had invested with the supreme command, in the following terms. *Take care, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, to treat your men with tenderness and lenity. Consult with your officers upon all pressing occasions, and encourage them to face the enemy with bravery and resolution. If you should happen to be victorious, destroy neither old people, women, nor children. Cut down no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Spare all fruit-trees, and slay no cattle, but such as you shall take for your own use. Adhere always inviolably to your engagements, and put none of the religious persons you shall meet with in monasteries to the sword. Offer no violence to the places they serve God in.* e  
*As for those members of the synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns, cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, except they embrace Islamism, or pay tribute.* After this salutary and humane advice had been delivered, he returned to *Medina*, and the army resumed its march for the borders of *Syria*. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that the first body of troops that was ordered to advance towards the frontiers of *Syria*, under the command of *Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerah*, consisted of 20,000 men <sup>o</sup>.

The emperor  
Heraclius is  
alarmed at the  
approach of the  
Moslem army,  
which defeats  
his forces.

THE approach of the *Moslem* army, and the preparations made to attack him, greatly alarmed the emperor; who calling a council, upon the arrival of this news, inveighed in a very pathetic strain against the wickedness and insincerity of his subjects, whose flagrant impieties, and repeated violations of the rules of the gospel, he considered as the principal f  
causes of the dangers that now threatened him. However, he took all the necessary precautions for the defence and security of his dominions. Being then, according to *Eutychius*, at *Damascus*, he detached a body of troops to reconnoitre, and even, if a proper opportunity offered, to engage the *Arabs*. In the mean time *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, the *Moslem* general, pursuing his march, advanced first to *Ilab*, and afterwards to *Tadun*, a small town in the neighbourhood of *Gaza*, and not far from the confines of *Hejâz*. Here they seem to have met with the imperial detachment, sent to get intelligence of their motions; upon which a battle immediately ensued, which ended in the defeat of the *Greeks*, who had their

<sup>n</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 17. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 118, 119. KHOND-DEMIR, in Khelassâ Al Akh. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 66, 74. PROCOR. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. EUTYCH. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 256, 257. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 123, 124. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 30. <sup>o</sup> AL WAKED. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 174. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 251, 259. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



- a commander and 1,200 men killed upon the spot, the *Arabs* losing only 120 men in the action. This was succeeded by many skirmishes and rencounters, wherein the *Christians* generally came off with the worst. The rich spoil acquired by the *Arabs* was conducted to *Medina*, as the first-fruits of their expedition, for a present to the *Khalif*, who thereupon sent an express to *Mecca* with the news of the advantages his troops had gained. This so animated the inhabitants of that city, that they furnished the *Khalif* with a strong reinforcement, which was immediately ordered to take the rout of *Syria*. In the mean time an accident happened, that might have proved of bad consequence to the *Moslems*, had they not been determined to make every thing, even ill usage itself, subservient to the propagation of their religion <sup>p</sup>.
- b *ABU BECR*, for some particular reasons best known to himself, appointed *Said Ebn Khâled*, an officer of distinguished merit, to command his forces in *Syria*. But understanding afterwards that this choice was disagreeable to *Omar*, by the advice of *Ayesha*, whom he consulted on all emergent occasions, he removed him from that post, and substituted *Amru Ebn Al As*, an excellent soldier, who afterwards conquered *Egypt*, in his room. *Amru* had before applied to *Omar* to procure him the post, as soon as he was informed of its being vacant, and that in a very instant and pressing manner. But *Omar* being unwilling to concern himself in the affair, advised him *not to be solicitous for superiority and dominion in this world, but to consider that he who was not a prince to-day would be one to-morrow*, meaning in a future state. However, the *Khalif*, without any application, being perfectly well acquainted with his abilities, made him general of his army, and, at the same time, exhorted him “to have the salvation of his soul always principally in view; to consider that he must be called to a strict account hereafter for all his actions; not to be inquisitive about other people’s affairs; to oblige his men frequently to read the *Korân*; and not to suffer them to discourse of any thing that happened in the times of ignorance, or before the introduction of *Islamism*, as this might probably be the occasion of dissensions amongst them.” Then he ordered him to march into *Palestine*, and to support the body of troops commanded by *Abu Obeidab* with such reinforcements, from time to time, as the circumstances of affairs should render necessary. When a messenger was sent by the *Khalif* to *Said*, to demand the standard of him, he resigned it with great patience and alacrity; saying, “It was matter of indifference to him who had the standard, as he was resolved to fight under it, however it might be disposed of, for the propagation of the true religion.” So determined were these men, whom God had raised up to be a scourge to the *Christian* church, for the crying iniquities, insincerity, and uncharitable disposition, of its members, to carry their point, that even such gross affronts as these, which would have excited resentment in others, served only the more to animate and confirm them in their resolutions <sup>q</sup>!
- c THE emperor receiving advice of the defeat of his forces, that were sent to get intelligence of the *Arabs*, ordered another body of troops to advance towards the frontiers, and join the imperial army assembled at *Gaza*. They did not continue long inactive here; but soon found an opportunity of engaging the enemy’s forces under the command of *Abu Obeidab*, a person of great piety, but not so well versed in military affairs, and gave him an intire defeat. This blow so intimidated the *Moslems*, that *Abu Obeidab* found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive; which so incensed the *Khalif*, that he dismissed him from his post, and recalled *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* from *Irâk*, to put him at the head of the army in *Palestine*. However, *Abu Obeidab* commanded under *Khâled*, and gained good reputation afterwards by his conduct, as will farther appear in the sequel of this history <sup>r</sup>.
- d *KHALED*, upon his arrival in the *Moslem* camp, found that *Abu Obeidab* had detached *Serjabil* with a body of 4,000 horse towards *Bostra*, a city of *Syria Damascena*, extremely rich and populous, which we have already described. The garison of this place, at that time, consisted of 12,000 horse; so that it seemed capable of making a brave defence even against the whole *Arab* power. *Romanus*, the governor, being informed of *Serjabil*’s approach, resolved to have a personal conference with him; and therefore meeting him at a small distance from the town, he demanded of him the reason of this irruption into his master’s dominions. *Serjabil* replied, that they came with a design to force the emperor’s subjects either to turn *Mohammedans*, or become tributaries to the *Khalif*; adding, that they had already made themselves masters of *Aracca*, *Sachna*, *Tadmor*, and *Hawrân*, and doubted not but they should easily reduce *Bostra*. This so intimidated the cowardly governor, that he would have persuaded the people of *Bostra* to pay tribute, rather than stand a siege; which they refusing, he made all the proper dispositions for a vigorous defence. And to convince *Serjabil* of their resolution, the garison made a sally upon his troops, as soon as he came within sight of the town, with so much bravery, that they forced him to retire; and had

<sup>p</sup> AL WAKEDI, EUTYCH. Alexandrin. annal. ubi sup. ubi supra. p. 258, 259.

<sup>q</sup> AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 174.

<sup>r</sup> EUTYCH.



cut all the *Arabs* to pieces, had not *Kháled*, the new general, come in the critical moment with all his forces to their relief. This changed the fortune of the day, and the assailants were beat back with great slaughter into the town. We are told, that, before the beginning of the action, *Serjabil* said the following prayer: *O Eternal Being, Creator of heaven and earth, who art infinitely great and munificent, who hast promised us victory by the tongue of thy prophet Mohammed, and even the conquest of Syria, Irák, and Persia, confirm our hopes, and assist those who assert thy unity. O God, support us as thou didst thy prophet Mohammed. O LORD, endue us with patience, keep our feet sure, and help us against the infidels.* Hence it appears, that the *Arab* generals at this time were gifted men, and could pray as well as fight, tho' they were engaged in a very unjust and iniquitous war; in which they have been followed by other more hypocritical fanatics, in a political country, of a much later date. *Kháled* having reprimanded both *Serjabil* and *Abu Ol Moh* for offering to attack a town defended by so numerous a garison with such an inconceivable force, immediately invested the place. The following day after he and his troops had performed their morning devotions, some of the soldiers purified themselves with the sacred ablution, and others with the *Al Taïamom*, or friction of themselves with sand. Then he ordered part of his army to possess themselves of certain posts, the occupation of which would facilitate the reduction of the town, and drew up the rest in order of battle. This he did, in order to let the enemy see what they had to expect, and at the same time to be in a posture to repel all the sallies of the besieged.

The Christians  
defeated by the  
Arabs.

WHILST matters were in this situation, and the garison had posted themselves in the plains of *Bostra*, with a full resolution to engage the *Moslem* army, the traitor *Romanus* found means to have an interview with *Kháled*, in which he promised not only to embrace *Islamism*, but likewise to deliver up the place to the *Arabs*. However, in order to cover his villainous design, it was agreed between the two commanders, that they should engage in single combat, tho' without any considerable damage to either of them. But *Kháled* fearing lest the enemy should look upon it as a sham engagement, and thereby the plot laid between him and *Romanus* should be rendered abortive, treated his pretended antagonist so roughly, that he very narrowly escaped being killed. After his return, therefore, to the garison, he endeavoured to inspire them with the most exalted sentiments of the enemy's power, as well as of *Kháled's* personal bravery and conduct; which so enraged them, that had they not been afraid of the emperor's resentment, they would have immediately put him to death. However, they divested him of his authority, and prepared to give the *Arabs* a warm reception, in case they continued the siege. They also elected for their governor an experienced commander, that the emperor had sent some time before at the head of a strong reinforcement into the town. Having made these dispositions, the new commandant challenged *Kháled* to fight him in single combat; but whilst that general was preparing to meet him, a young *Arab*, named *Abd'alrahmán*, obtained his permission to answer the challenge. At their first interview, *Abd'alrahmán* called him a *Christian dog*, and defied him; and afterwards, using his horse and lance with great dexterity, he forced his antagonist to take to his heels, who, being better mounted than the *Arab*, tho' with some difficulty, made his escape. However, this brought on a very brisk action, in which the *Christians* were defeated, and forced to retire with great slaughter into the town; the *Moslems* losing only 230 men on this occasion. Before the beginning of the action, *Kháled* and *Serjabil* offered up their prayers in the following terms: "O God, help us, we beseech thee, against these wretches, who pray with idolatrous expressions, and take to themselves another God besides thee. Help us, O God, who acknowlege thy unity, and affirm that there is no other God but thou alone, for the sake of thy prophet *Mohammed*, against these idolaters." After which, *Kháled* cried out, "Fight, fight! Paradise, paradise!" which so animated his men that they fought like lions, insomuch that nothing could stand before them.

Bostra delivered  
up to  
the Arabs by  
treachery.

IN the mean time, *Romanus*, the former governor, found an opportunity of withdrawing himself privately to the *Moslem* camp; where he informed *Kháled* of the miserable situation to which he had been reduced by his attachment to the *Arabs*. Here also he formed a plan, for the delivery of the town into his hands; which had the desired effect. For *Kháled* detaching *Abd'alrahmán* with 100 men to attend *Romanus*, he easily introduced him into the place; where the *Arab* dividing his detachment into four parties of 25 men each, they scoured the four principal streets of the city, crying out, *ALLAH ACBAR, &c.* GOD IS GREAT, &c. and, with very little opposition, opened the gates to the *Moslem* army. To complete this important conquest, and facilitate the admission of the *Moslem* forces, *Romanus* had conducted *Abd'alrahmán* to the governor, whom he told that he had brought "his friend *Abd'alrahmán* with him to send him to hell." Upon the governor's attempting to make his escape, *Abd'alrahmán* killed him upon the spot, saying, "Though you fled from

\* AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in geogr. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 141. & f. v. v. 7. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. p. 83, 84. Vide etiam GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ibid. \* AL WAKEDI, ubi sup.



- a "me once in the day-time, it shall not be in your power to serve me so again." After the place was lost, the *Arabs* put many of the miserable inhabitants to the sword; till at last the principal men crying out for quarter, *Khâled* put a stop to the carnage, declaring that the prophet himself used frequently to say, "If any one be killed after he has desired quarter, that fault is not to be laid to my charge." The next day, *Romanus*, with unparalleled impudence, notified to the people the infamous part he had acted in favour of the *Arabs*; and at the same time gave them to understand, that he had commenced a zealous professor of *Mohammedism*. This so incensed them, that, had he not been defended by a *Moslem* escorte, he would have met with the just reward of his treason and apostasy. The besieged had an intention, after the late defeat, to have wrote for succours to the emperor,
- b whose forces, according to *Said Ebn Al Batrik*, were a little before assembled in a body at *Gaza*. But the progress of the *Arabs* was so rapid, and they pushed the siege with so much vigour, that, had the traitor *Romanus*'s machinations not taken effect, that prince's whole power in *Syria* would scarce have been able to support them\*.

WE are told by the last-mentioned writer, that the emperor's forces fortified their camp at *Gaza*, out of fear, as it should seem, of the *Moslem* army; and that *Patricius*, the imperial general, soon after *Khâled*'s arrival from *Irâk*, inquiring of *Amru Ebn Al As*, one of *Abu Becr*'s commanders, the reason of their irruption into *Syria*, received the same answer from him that *Romanus* had before from *Serjabil*, viz. that they came either to convert the emperor's subjects to *Islamism*, or to exact an annual tribute of them. We must not forget to observe, that the reduction of *Bostra* happened in the twelfth year of the *Hejra*†.

- THE emperor, who was then at *Antioch*, receiving advice of the loss of *Bostra*, and that the *Arabs* were in motion with all their forces to form the siege of *Damascus*, sent *Calous*, one of his generals, with a body of 5,000 men, to reinforce the garison of the latter of those places. *Calous*, upon his arrival at *Hems*, or *Emesa*, being informed of the depredations committed by the *Arabs*, and that they were in full march for *Damascus*, thought fit to halt at that place, which was well furnished not only with provisions of all kinds, but likewise with men, arms, and military stores. *Hems*, the *Emesa*, or *Emessa*, of *Ptolemy*, is situated in a plain between *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, at an equal distance, or five days journey, from each of those cities. The inhabitants breathe a very salubrious air, and the town is surrounded
- d by beautiful gardens and fruitful orchards, which are plentifully supplied with water by a branch of the *Orentes*, called by the *Arabian* geographers *Alâsi*, whose stream approaches within half a mile of the town. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that the water of this rivulet is of such a nature, that if a garment be washed by it, neither scorpion, serpent, nor any other venomous creature, will come near it, till it has been soaked in some other water. The same author, from *Ebn Hawkal*, likewise observes, that its inhabitants have the finest complexions, and are the most beautiful, of any people in *Syria*; as also, that no noxious animals will live in the territory belonging to it. This historian deduces its origin from the *Amalekites*, and places it in long. 61° lat. 34° 20'. From thence *Calous* advanced to *Baalbec*, where he received the same intelligence as before, and found this place in all respects
- e as capable of sustaining a siege as the former. *Baalbec* is a most splendid city of *Syria*, about three days journey distant from *Damascus*. It is seated on a mountain, and defended by a large and strong citadel. It abounds with trees, rivers, fountains, and all the necessities, as well as elegancies, of life. Its buildings are most magnificent and superb, and the surprizing remains of antiquity still visible in it indicate a most noble and polite taste. The *Sabians* pretend, that it formerly belonged to them; from whence, in conjunction with other concurring circumstances, we may infer, that it was the *Heliopolis ad Libanum* of the ancients, as *Baal*, amongst the *Syrians*, denoted the sun. *William of Tyre* calls it *Malbec*, as the *Arabs* called *Becca Mecca*. The tract between *Baalbec* and *Damascus* is one of the finest countries in the world. *Abu'lfeda* places the former city in long. 60° lat. 38° 50'. From
- f this place *Calous* marched to *Damascus*, where he safely arrived, without meeting with the least obstruction from the enemy\*.

AFTER the reduction of *Bostra*, *Khâled* ordered *Abu Obeidab* to join him with the body of troops under his command, and then sent an express to the *Khâlif* to acquaint him with the success of his arms in *Syria*. The forces at this time under the conduct of *Amru Ebn Al As* in *Palesline* amounted to 7,000 men, those led by *Abu Obeidab* to 37,000, and those who obeyed the orders of *Khâled* himself only to 1,500 horse; so that after the junction of them all, which happened a few days after the surrender, or rather the delivery, of *Bostra*, the *Moslem* army consisted of no more than 45,500 men. With these *Khâled*, having left a garison in *Bostra* of 400 men, marched to *Damascus*, in order to lay siege to that place.

\* Idem ibid. SAID EBN AL BATRIK, sive EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 258, 259.

† EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 260. 261. \* AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. PTOL. geogr. lib. v. c. 15. COLLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 127. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. SHARIF AL EDRISI, sive GEOGR. NUBIENS. p. 118. EBN HAWKAL. apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. GUL. TYR. AL AZIZI, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup.



Upon his arrival there, he found the citizens divided into parties and factions, and in a very a ill humour, on account of an order they had received from the emperor, to admit *Calous* for their governor, and send *Izraïl*, his predecessor, out of the town. For *Izraïl* being a man of known bravery, and acknowledged abilities, and *Calous* an utter stranger to them; they were extremely unwilling to comply with that order at this critical juncture, when they were threatened with a siege. However, when the *Moslems* approached the town, they found the *Christians* drawn up in order of battle without the walls, and ready to receive them. The two armies no sooner faced each other, than *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, at *Khâled*'s command, who exhorted him to behave valiantly for the propagation of his religion, charged a body of the *Christians*, of whom he killed four troopers, and six of the infantry; but was at last forced to retire with considerable loss. He was seconded by *Abd'alrahmân*, who distinguished b himself at the attack of *Bosra*; but with no better success. However, this bad beginning did not discourage *Khâled*, who challenged to fight in single combat any man in the *Christian* army. *Calous*, the new governor lately sent by the emperor, being excited thereto in a taunting manner by his predecessor *Izraïl*, accepted the challenge; but was foiled by his antagonist, and taken prisoner. Nor had *Izraïl*, who afterwards found himself likewise obliged to fight *Khâled*, any better success. For, after *Khâled* had rallied him on account of his name, the angel of death being called *Izraïl*, or *Azraïl*, by the *Arabs*, telling him that "his name's-sake was at his service, and just ready to carry his soul to hell," he vanquished him, and conveyed him to the *Moslem* camp; where he ordered the heads of both the *Christian* commanders he had in his power to be struck off, because they refused to c embrace the *Mohammedan* faith. *Damascus*, pronounced by the *Arabs* *Dimesjk*, and *Dimask*, is the metropolis of *Syria*, and, by reason of the delightful country in which 'tis situated, the fertility of its territory, its beautiful trees, variety of fruits, plenty of fountains, magnificent buildings, &c. is denominated by the eastern writers the paradise of that country. It is a place of vast antiquity, and by some supposed to have derived its name from that of its founder, who, they say, was the son of *Canaan*. It is seated in a plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, some of which seem to be the *Trachones* of *Strabo*. The inhabitants believe, that *Cain* killed his brother *Abel* in a cave here; and that in another, not far from it, forty prophets were destroyed by the *Israelites*. The air of *Damascus* is most salubrious, and the water excellent. The villages and castles about it are innumerable, and the verdure, d the beauty of the flowers, and the abundance of all kinds of the most delicious fruits, of the neighbouring tract so infinitely delightful, that this tract may pass for the *Tempe* of *Asia*. It extends to about a day's journey out of the city. At the western gate there begins a valley three miles broad and twelve long, planted with various kinds of trees, that is called by the natives *the valley of violets*. Its river, the *Chrysorrhoas* of the *Greeks*, the fountains of which are in mount *Lebanon*, or *Hermon*, at a village called *Canwa*, five parasangs from the city, is an exceeding great ornament, and of vast advantage, to the place. The *Moslems* pretend, that the four earthly paradises are the *Gouta*, or green garden, of *Damascus*; the *Shibo Bawân*, a most beautiful district in *Persia*; the *Nabar Obulla*, a charming tract, or rather island, near the confluence of the *Obulla* and the *Tigris*; and the *Soghd* of *Samarkand*. e *Abu'lfeda* makes the longitude of *Damascus* to be  $60^{\circ}$ , and its latitude  $38^{\circ} 30'$ . It was a city of so great note and eminence, that all the neighbouring part of *Syria* had from it the name of *Syria Damascena* assigned it by the ancients<sup>y</sup>.

The emperor  
sends an army  
of 100,000  
men to the re-  
lief of *Damaf-*  
*cus*.

AFTER the inhuman butchery above-mentioned, *Khâled* commanded the heads of the two *Christian* chiefs, or rather martyrs, to be thrown over the walls into the town, in order to intimidate the besieged; but this did not produce the desired effect. For the garison made frequent sallies upon the besiegers, and killed them abundance of men; tho' in these they were generally repulsed, and at last obliged, for the preservation of their men, whose numbers were greatly diminished since the beginning of the siege, to confine themselves within the walls of the town. This so animated the *Arabs*, who were before acted by an enthu- f stastic spirit, which rendered them insensible of danger, that they redoubled their attacks; *Khâled* having pitched his tent opposite to the east-gate, as *Abu Obeidah* had done his before that called the gate of *Al Jâbiyah*, that they might the more easily sustain each other in case either of them should be pushed. *Al Makin* seems to intimate, that about this time *Khâled Ebn Said* gained a considerable advantage over a body of the enemy, commanded by one of the imperial captains called *Maban*, and pursued them to the gates of *Damascus*; which probably is to be understood of a party of the garison, that made a sally, and was repulsed by the *Arabs*. The city being thus straitly besieged, an express was dispatched to the emperor; who eluded the vigilance of the enemy, to inform him of the progress made by the *Arabs*, and to desire speedy succours. This so alarmed that prince, that he immediately g gave orders for the march of the army he had then on foot, consisting of 100,000 men,

<sup>y</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 120, 121, 128. HADR. RELAND. in Palest. illustrat. p. 314, 324.



a under the conduct of one *Werdân*, who refused at first to accept of the commission, as apprehending himself slighted, because he had not been employed at the beginning of the war, to the relief of *Damascus*. However, at last he took upon him the command of the army; and, after he had taken leave of the emperor and several of the nobility, who attended him part of the way, he marched towards *Damascus* with the utmost expedition; the emperor having above all things recommended it to him, to cut off all supplies from the *Moslem* army that lay then encamped before the town <sup>2</sup>.

In the mean time the garison of *Damascus* was reduced to such extremity, that the citizens offered 1,000 ounces of gold, and 200 suits of silk, to the enemy, provided they would immediately raise the siege. But this *Khâled* absolutely refused to do, unless they would either embrace *Islamism*, or become tributaries to the *Khalîf*. Which inflexible firmness of the *Moslem* general was really surprizing, as both he and *Abu Obeidah* had been but just before greatly alarmed by a courier, who had brought them advice, that the imperial army was advanced almost as far as *Ajnadîn*. Upon the arrival of this news, *Khâled* proposed marching with all his forces, and giving the enemy battle; but this was opposed by *Abu Obeidah*, as such a measure would enable the inhabitants of *Damascus* to procure fresh supplies both of arms and provisions, and consequently render more difficult the reduction of that place. In about six weeks time, the approach of the *Christian* army was sufficiently notified to the besiegers, by the acclamations and other expressions of joy they could perceive in the town; upon which, *Khâled* was again desirous of fighting the *Greeks*; but *Abu Obeidah* still persisted in his former opinion. It was, therefore, at last agreed to detach a body of troops under the command of *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr*, an excellent officer, but a most implacable enemy of the *Christians* (as, indeed, were all the rest of the *Moslem* generals, except *Abu Obeidah*), to attack the enemy; whilst *Khâled* and *Abu Obeidah*, with the rest of the *Arab* forces, continued the siege. It is intimated by some of the oriental writers, that every gate of *Damascus* had a *Moslem* commander posted with a body of troops before it; and that these commanders were all so attentive to the motions of the besieged, that they were repulsed in every sally they made <sup>3</sup>.

*KHALED* fearing least *Derâr's* intemperate zeal, and violent aversion to the *Christians*, should prove prejudicial, if not fatal, to his troops, told him, before his departure in quest of the *Greeks*, that tho' they were commanded to fight for the propagation of their religion, yet they were not allowed to throw away the lives of their men; and therefore ordered him to retire to the main body of the army, in case he found himself pushed by a superior force. But *Derâr* being deaf to this salutary admonition, with his small body engaged the whole *Christian* army, notwithstanding the vast disproportion of numbers; *Rasî Ebn Omeirab* telling his soldiers, who were struck with terror at the approach of such a multitude, that "the *Moslems* had frequently defeated very formidable armies with a handful of men." He charged the enemy with such bravery, that he penetrated to the spot where the general gave his orders, killed a man by his side, laid his standard-bearer dead at his feet, and carried off the standard itself, that had a cross in it richly adorned with precious stones. Nay, he would, in all probability, have put *Werdân's* army to the rout, had not his son, the commandant of *Hems*, arrived in the heat of the engagement with a body of 10,000 men, and fallen upon the *Moslems* with such fury, that he forced them to retire, and took *Derâr* prisoner. This so discouraged them, that they would have taken to their heels, had not *Rasî Ebn Omeirab* endeavoured to animate them with the following words. "What! don't you know, that whosoever turns his back upon his enemies offends God, and his prophet? And that the prophet declared, that the gates of paradise should be open to none but such as fought for religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your captain be dead, or taken prisoner, yet your God is alive, and sees what you do." After which exhortation, they returned to the charge with greater fierceness than ever, and maintained their ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, till succours arrived, with unparalleled bravery. In the mean time, *Khâled* being informed of *Derâr's* fate, and that the *Moslems* under his command were upon the point of being ruined, after having consulted with *Abu Obeidah*, hastened to their relief with all possible expedition; having left *Meisarah Ebn Mesruk*, in conjunction with *Abu Obeidah*, by the direction of the latter, with a considerable body of infantry and 1,000 horse, to repel all the sallies of the besieged. The arrival of a fresh reinforcement, with so able a general as *Khâled* at the head of it, so intimidated the enemy, that a party of them lately come from *Hems* went over in a body to the *Arabs*; upon which, the imperial forces immediately began to give ground, and at last betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Nor did *Derâr* himself, tho' a captive, fail of partaking of the good fortune of this auspicious day. For *Khâled* receiving intelligence, that *Werdân* had ordered

<sup>2</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 2. p. 17. not. ad Alfragan. p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. GOLII



him to be conducted to *Hems* by a party of 100 horse, to be presented to the emperor, he immediately sent after him a strong detachment, which coming up with him at *Wadi'l Hoyât*, defeated the escorte, and carried him off in triumph to the *Moslem* army, at that time in full pursuit of the *Greeks*. However, the imperial general having rallied his shatter'd troops at *Ajnadin*, and received a reinforcement from the emperor, upon a review, found his army to consist of 70,000 effective men. With these forces, in a council of war, it was resolved to advance towards *Damascus*, and make a second attempt to force the enemy to abandon the siege. *Said Ebn Batrík*, or *Euty chius*, gives us an account of a conference held between *Amru*, whom he wrongly calls *Omar*, *Ebn Al As*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, and *Patricius*, the general who commanded the imperial troops at *Gaza*; as also of a design formed by the latter to assassinate the former, which was discovered by *Werdán* or *Wordán*, a boy that attended *Amru* to the *Christian* camp; but it is so indistinct and confused, and withal so repugnant to what has been advanced by *Al Wakedi*, whose authority is preferable to that of *Euty chius* in the point before us, that it merits not the least attention <sup>b</sup>.

The garison of Damascus repulsed in a vigorous sally they made, with great loss.

*KHALED* having received advice, that the *Christian* army was soon to be in motion, in order to relieve *Damascus*, sent a circular letter to *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián*, then at *Balka*, a territory upon the confines of *Syria*; *Serjabil Ebn Hasana*, in *Palestine*; *Meád*, in *Harrán*; *Nooman Ebn Al Mondar*, at *Tadmor*; and *Amru Ebn Al As*, in *Irák*; with orders to repair to *Ajnadin* at the head of their respective forces. The purport of this letter was to the following effect. “In the name of the most merciful God. From *Kháled Ebn Al Walíd* to *Amru Ebn Al As*, &c. health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the *Moslems* intend to advance to *Ajnadin*, where there is an army of 70,000 *Greeks*, who are upon the point of marching against us, that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God preserveth his light in spite of the infidels. As soon, therefore, as this letter of mine reacheth thee, come with those that are with thee to *Ajnadin*, where thou shalt find us, if it pleases the most high God.” Then, in pursuance of his plan, *Kháled* raised the siege of *Damascus*, and put himself in march for *Ajnadin*, with a full resolution to offer the enemy battle. Immediately after *Kháled*'s departure, the garison of *Damascus* issued out of the place in a body, consisting of 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse, under the conduct of two officers, called *Peter* and *Paul*, the latter of whom commanded the cavalry, and the former the infantry. *Paul* fell upon *Abu Obeidah*, and the rear of the *Moslem* army, with so much courage, that he put them into disorder; whilst *Peter* seized upon the women, children, wealth, and baggage, which all had a place assigned them in the rear. *Kháled* being apprized of this, after a short reflection upon the advice he had before given to *Abu Obeidah*, detached *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, *Abd'alrahmán*, and *Derár Ebn Al Azwár*, with a body of 8,000 horse, to sustain *Abu Obeidah*; which they did so effectually, that the *Christian* cavalry were all cut to pieces, except about 100 men, who with great difficulty escaped into the town. As for *Peter*, with the infantry, he was so far from supporting *Paul*, as he ought to have done, that, after he had pillaged the *Arabs*, he left him intirely to himself, and made no diversion in his favour. *Paul* was taken prisoner in the action, and would have been immediately put the sword, had not the *Moslems* been afraid that this barbarity would have been retaliated upon their wives and children, who had all been carried off by *Peter*. Amongst these there were several women of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who rode on horseback, and fought after the manner of the ancient *Amazons*; as also *Kharwlab*, the sister of *Derár*, a woman of great courage and beauty. *Peter* fell desperately in love with this lady. But she was so far from complying with the proposals he made her, that, at the head of the female prisoners, with *Ofeirah*, one of the most resolute of them, she prepared to attack him and his men with some tent-poles they had procured; which so exasperated *Peter*, that he commanded them all to be put to the sword. But when these *Arabian Amazons* were at the last extremity, they had the good fortune to be rescued by *Kháled* and *Derár*; who, after a very brisk action, killed *Peter* and 3,000 of the *Greek* infantry upon the spot, and pursued the rest to the very gates of *Damascus*. Then they immediately rejoined *Abu Obeidah*, to prevent his being insulted by *Werdán*. After *Kháled* had shewn *Peter*'s head to *Paul*, which is said to have drawn tears from him, the barbarian insisted upon his renouncing the *Christian* faith; and, upon his refusing to do this, commanded him instantly to be beheaded. In the mean time, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián* arrived from *Balka*, *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* from *Palestine*, *Meád* from *Harrán*, *Amru Ebn Al As* from *Irák*, and *Nooman Ebn Al Mondar* from *Tadmor*, in the neighbourhood of *Ajnadin*, with their respective forces, all the very same day, being *Friday, July 13th*, in the year of *CHRIST* 633, or of the *Hejra* 12, according to *Al Wakedi*; though, from several circumstances, and particularly from the day *Damascus* was taken, which was the very same day on which *Abu Becr* died, that event indisputably appears to have happened the following year. To which we may

<sup>b</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 260—265.



- a add, that the express testimony of *Al Makin* may likewise be produced in support of this opinion. It will not be improper here to remark, that *Balka*, or *Albelkan*, is a tract of a considerable extent, belonging to *Syria*, whose principal city is *Amman*, or *Ammon*, a place that we have already taken notice of. The river *Zerkaa* passes by it, and the lake *Zaira* is about a day's journey distant from it. Many remains of antiquity are still visible about *Ammon*, which the inhabitants believe to have been built by *Lot*; who certainly, if he really was the founder of it, chose one of the finest spots of ground in the world for its situation. As for *Harrân*, *Cherrân*, *Haran*, *Charræ*, or *Arran*, for it went by all these names, it is a very ancient city of *Diyar-Modar*, supposed to have been the first that was built after the deluge; its vicinity to *Ararat*, on which the ark rested, giving some countenance to such
- b a notion. It stood about one day's journey from *Edeffa*, and two from *Racca*, or *Aracca*, upon the *Euphrates*. The eastern writers tell us, that this city was the principal seat of the *Sabians*. *Abu'lfeda* makes its longitude  $68^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 50'$ , as we find in the copious description he has given us of it. Another town of the same name, called the *Lesser Charrân*, or *Harrân*, by some of the oriental geographers, is situated in the province of *Babrein*. In the district of the city we are now upon, there is a small tract called *Bettan*, or *Bittân*, famous for the birth of *Mohammed Ebn Jabbar Ebn Senân*, surnamed from this place *Albettani*, or *Al Battani*, the *Sabian*, whose works, as well as those of *Thabet Ebn Korra*, born at, or in the neighbourhood of, *Harrân*, are so well known in *Europe*. *Harrân* was lately inhabited by only a few *Turks* and *Jews*, who had rendered themselves infamous
- c by their robberies and depredations; it having been in a great measure ruined by *Hulaku*, or *Holagu*, the *Tartar*, after he had made himself master of *Baghdâd*. *Tadmor*, *Tadmora*, or *Tamor*, the other city here mentioned, stands in the deserts of *Sham*, or *Syria*, about five days journey from *Aleppo*, two from the *Upper Syria*, and one from the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* called it *Palmyra*, which name seems very well to correspond in signification with that of *Tadmor*, or rather *Tamor*. This place was the residence of *Zenobia*, which rendered it famous to all succeeding ages. Some suppose it to have been built by *Solomon* the son of *David*, king of *Israel*; which notion seems to be strongly countenanced by Scripture; but others take it still to be of an earlier date. For a further account of this town, which, according to *Abu'lfeda*, is situated in long.  $52^{\circ}$ , and lat.  $34^{\circ}$ , as well as the noble remains
- d of antiquity still visible amongst the ruins of it, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors cited here <sup>c</sup>.

- AFTER the junction of all the *Moslem* forces, the imperial troops likewise appearing to *The Christian* the number of 70,000 men, the two armies faced each other at a small distance from *Ajna-* and *Moslem* *dîn*. The *Arabs* were struck with terror, at the sight of so numerous a body; tho' all their commanders, and *Khâled* in particular, animated them to the utmost of their power, <sup>armies prepare for an engagement.</sup> and exhorted them by all the motives they could suggest to behave like men on the present occasion. *Khâled* told them, that "if they could defeat this army, the *Greeks* would never afterwards be able to make head against them; that if the enemy put them to flight, they would most certainly be damned for their pusillanimity; that they were not to begin
- e "the attack till a proper signal was given; and that they must behave with the utmost "bravery." Then he detached *Derâr* with a small party to reconnoitre them more fully, that he might have a better account of their countenance and numbers. *Derâr*, upon his approach, was attacked by a detachment of 30 horse, that *Werdân* had sent to bring him off to the *Christian* camp, and with great difficulty made his escape; notwithstanding which, he assured *Khâled* of success, telling him that the enemy would not stand before him. Upon this, that general immediately drew up his army in order of battle; at the same time intreating *Khawlah*, *Ofeirah*, and the other *Arabian* women of distinction, as well as those of an inferior rank, not only to be active themselves, but likewise to make use of all their influence, in order to induce the men to exert themselves in the approaching engagement.
- f This they all promised faithfully to do, declaring that they were ready to lose their lives for the sake of their religion, as well as in defence of every thing else that was dear to them. *Mcâd Ebn Jabal* and *Noomân Ebn Al Mokarren* led the right wing; *Said Ebn Amer* and *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* the left; *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân* guarded the baggage, women, and children, all posted in the rear, with a body of 4,000 horse; and *Khâled* himself, with *Amru Ebn Al As*, *Abd'alrahmân*, the *Khalîf's* son, *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, and other superior officers, commanded the main body. Before the beginning of the action, a venerable old man, belonging to the *Christian* army, had a conference with

<sup>c</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geograph. GOLI notæ ad Alfragan. p. 249, 250. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. 8. c. 6. 2 CHRON. viii. 4. 1 KIN. ix. 18. APPIAN. ALEXANDER. de bel. Syr. p. 201. AL AZIZI, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. Vide etiam ind. geograph. in vit. Saladin. ab Alberto Schult. edit. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732. LOWTHORP'S Philosph. Transact. abr. vol. iii. p. 492—527. SELLERS'S antiquities of Palmyra, aliàs Tadmor, &c. Lond. 1705. Inscript. Græc. Palmyren. cum vers. Latin. & schol. EDWARDI SMITHI, &c. Rotterd. 1716.



*Khâled*, wherein he endeavoured to dissuade the *Moslem* general from engaging the imperial forces, and consequently to prevent the effusion of human blood; but without effect. The *Arab* was determined, unless the *Christians* would renounce their faith, or submit to pay an annual tribute, to leave the decision of the present dispute between the *Khalîf* and the *Roman* emperor intirely to the sword<sup>d</sup>.

The Moslems  
too hard for  
the Greeks.

THE *Greeks*, finding *Khâled* so averse to an accommodation, made the proper dispositions on their part for an engagement. *Werdân* endeavoured to inspire his men with courage, by representing to them, that they were now to fight for their wives, children, properties, and religion, in fine for every thing that could be esteemed dear and valuable to them; and that if they were overthrown, they must inevitably become slaves to the vilest of enthusiasts and barbarians. Nor did he fail to remind them, that they were more than double the number of the enemy; and that therefore nothing could be more ignominious, or render them more contemptible, than a defeat. After which, the *Armenian* archers began the battle by a general discharge of their arrows, which killed and wounded a great number of the *Moslems*. However, the latter charged the *Greeks* with so much bravery, being animated by the hopes of receiving a crown of martyrdom, and terrified by the apprehension of future eternal punishment, that they forced them to give ground, and would have intirely routed them, had not *Werdân*, by a stratagem, prevailed upon *Khâled* to sound a retreat. As the action hitherto was extremely hot, many of the *Moslems*, but more of the *Christians*, were slain. Of the stratagem just mentioned, tho' it may rather be considered as an instance of the *Arab* genius than a real fact, we shall here beg leave to give our curious readers a short and succinct relation<sup>e</sup>.

Werdân's  
stratagem.

WERDÂN finding his men not capable of coping with the *Arabs*, dispatched a messenger, called *David*, to *Khâled*, to desire that the two generals might have an interview the next morning at an appointed place, in order to settle the preliminaries of a future treaty, and thereby prevent the farther effusion of human blood; and, to facilitate this, that the action might be suspended till next morning. In the mean time, *Werdân*, as he was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the place he proposed to *Khâled* on this occasion, posted an ambuscade of ten men to seize upon the *Arab* as soon as he should appear; of which *David*, who was chiefly instrumental in the deception and circumvention of *Khâled*, had been previously apprized. But this faithless wretch opened the whole affair to the *Moslem* general, who surprized *Werdân*'s ambuscade, and placed ten of his own men on the spot they had occupied, that very evening, and the next morning met *Werdân*, as he had desired. *Khâled* first told the imperial commander, that he had received orders not to grant him a peace, but upon condition that he either consented to pay the *Khalîf* an annual tribute, or prevailed upon the people committed to his care, that is, the emperor's *Syrian* subjects, to embrace *Mohammedism*. But *Werdân* refusing to listen to such ignominious terms as these, *Khâled* shook him, and treated him with great indignity; upon which, he immediately called out to the ambuscade, not knowing that it consisted of *Arabs*, to come and rescue him. His words were scarce uttered, when *Derâr*, with only a pair of breeches on, attended by his nine companions, appeared, seized upon him, and struck off his head. Then they stripped him, carried off the costly garments, gold chains, and jewels, with which he was adorned; and, with his head fixed upon the point of a lance, advanced towards the *Moslem* army. The *Arabs* at first mistook them for *Werdân* and his men, marching in triumph with *Khâled*'s head towards them; but were immediately undeceived by *Abu Obeidah*, who knew *Khâled* and *Derâr* at a considerable distance. This is the substance of the account given us of the affair in view by *Al Wakedi*, though stript of all the most improbable, not to say fabulous, incidents with which it has been so beautifully embellished by that historian<sup>f</sup>.

Khâled de-  
feats the  
Christian  
army.

ABU OBEIDAH, who commanded in *Khâled*'s absence, immediately informing his troops of what had happened; they fell upon the *Greeks* with such fury that they almost instantly put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter of them. *Al Wakedi* relates, that, in this fatal battle, the *Moslems* killed 50,000 of the enemy upon the spot; and that the rest escaped to *Cæsarea*, *Antioch*, and *Damascus*. The *Arabs*, according to the same author, took an immense quantity of plunder of inestimable value, consisting chiefly of banners, crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, gold and silver chains, and arms without number; of all which *Khâled* proposed to make a proper division, after the reduction of *Damascus*. As for the *Moslems*, if *Al Wakedi* may be credited, they lost only 474 men on this occasion; as will more fully appear from the letter *Khâled* wrote the *Khalîf* immediately after the action, which has been transmitted down to us by that historian, and is to the following effect. "IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD. From *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* to the successor of the apostle of God, upon whom be the divine benediction. I g

<sup>d</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii. v. 15, 16. MOHAM. ubi sup. & alib. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. liv. vii. c. xv p. 380, 381. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. <sup>f</sup> AL WAKEDI.



- a " praise God, who is the only God, and there is none other besides him. I pray also for  
 " his prophet *Mohammed*, upon whom be the divine benediction. I praise him likewise,  
 " and give thanks to him still more, for delivering the true believers, destroying the idola-  
 " ters, and extinguishing the light of those that err. I acquaint thee, O emperor of the  
 " faithful, that we met with the *Grecian* army under the conduct of *Werdân*, the prefect of  
 " *Hems*, who swore by CHRIST, that they would either conquer or die. However, we fell  
 " upon them, calling on and trusting in God, who supported us, and gave us a complete  
 " victory. As it was decreed, that our enemies should be overcome, we slew them on all  
 " sides, to the number of 50,000 men. The loss we sustained amounted to no more than  
 " 474 men. I date this letter on the 30th of the former *Jomâda*, whilst on my march  
 b " from *Ajnadin* to *Damascus*. Pray for our farther prosperity and success. Farewell. The  
 " peace and blessing of God be upon thee, and all true *Moslems*." The *Khalif*, upon the  
 arrival of the courier with this great news, prostrated himself; adored ALMIGHTY GOD;  
 and returned him, in the most devout manner, thanks for the divine blessing that had so  
 manifestly attended his arms. Then he read the letter over to himself, and afterwards  
 communicated the contents of it to the grandees of his court. This had such an effect  
 upon the *Arabs*, and particularly the *Koreish*, that many of that tribe, as well as a vast  
 number of others, pressed the *Khalif* for leave to share with their brethren the glory and  
 riches acquired in the *Syrian* expedition. This at last, though with considerable reluctance,  
 he granted them, at the earnest request of *Arak* and *Abu Sofiân*, who engaged in the most  
 c solemn manner, to distinguish themselves for the cause of God, and the propagation of  
 their religion. Of this *Abu Becr* informed *Khâled*, in the answer he wrote him; ordering  
 him at the same time, after the arrival of the reinforcement under the command of *Amru*  
*Ebn Maadi* and *Malec Al Ashtae*, to lay siege again to *Damascus*, and, after the reduction  
 of that place, to make himself master of *Hems*, *Mearrah*, and *Antioch*. He likewise enjoined  
 him to think upon mortality, and to treat with kindness the *Moslems*. This letter was sealed  
 with *Mohammed's* seal, according to *Al Wakedi*; though this must be a mistake, if we can  
 depend upon what has been advanced by *Al Jannâbi*, who assures us, that the prophet's  
 seal fell into the well of *Aris* from *Othmân Ebn Affân's* finger, and was never afterwards  
 found. Be that as it will, the letter was carried to *Khâled* by *Abd'alrahmân*, the same courier  
 d who had brought the *Khalif's* advice of the defeat of the *Christian* army, with all possible  
 expedition<sup>e</sup>.

In the mean time, *Khâled* arrived with the *Muslim* army before *Damascus*, and formed a *Khâled forms*  
 second time the siege of that important place. The first thing he did after his arrival was *the siege of*  
 to assign the officers of his army their respective posts, in such a manner that the siege *Damascus a*  
 might be carried on with the utmost vigour. *Abu Sofiân* was posted at the little gate; *Ser-* *second time.*  
*jabil Ebn Hasanah* at the gate of *St. Thomas*, with a body of 2,000 horse; *Amru Ebn Al As*  
*at the gate of paradise*; and *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* at the gate called *Kaisân*. As for the gate of  
*St. Mark*, neither the *Arabs* nor the garison approached it; for which reason, amongst the  
 former, it went under the name of *Babo' Isalâmah*, or *the gate of peace*. *Khâled* himself  
 e pitched his tent before the *east gate*, and commanded *Derâr*, with a flying camp, consisting  
 of 20,000 horse, to be in perpetual motion, in order to have an eye upon the enemy's  
 parties, and prevent a surprize. The day after he had made these dispositions, that general  
 received the *Khalif's* letter, and the besieged made a vigorous sally. The action was very  
 hot, and continued almost the whole day; but the *Moslems* being flushed with their late  
 success, and animated by their commanders, who promised them paradise, as well as all the  
 riches of those parts of the East, repulsed the garison, and beat them back into the town  
 with very considerable loss. After the end of the action, *Khâled* sent the letter brought  
 him by the courier to the officers posted at the several gates, for their perusal, and parti-  
 cularly to *Abu Obeidah*; who had taken up his station before the gate named *Al Jabiya*, at  
 f some distance from the city. This blow so intimidated the besieged, that they would imme-  
 diately have proposed terms of capitulation to *Khâled*, had they not been diverted from their  
 resolution by one *Thomas*; who, according to *Al Wakedi*, was the emperor's son-in-law,  
 and an excellent soldier, tho' not at that time vested with any commission. He represented  
 to them, that the *Arabs* were little better than a contemptible rabble, and much inferior to  
 them in point of conduct, military discipline, and personal bravery. This, however, at  
 first made little impression upon them; they having been witnesses of their surprizing intre-  
 pidity on several occasions. But at last it was agreed, that the next morning, under his  
 command, they should sally out of the place, and make a vigorous effort to carry the enemy's  
 camp<sup>h</sup>.

THE *Arabs*, at the time the sally was made, were preparing to make a general assault;  
 but *Thomas*, at the head of his troops, did not only prevent them from carrying that design

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. AL JANNAB. p. 305, & seq. GAGN. ubi sup. p. 402.  
 notæ ad Alfragan. p. 129, 130.

<sup>h</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. GOLII



into execution, but likewise drove them from the posts they had occupied with very great a slaughter. He killed many of the enemy with his own hand, and, amongst the rest, one of their commanders, named *Abân Ebn Said*, whom, as the *Arabs* say, he shot with a poisoned arrow. This so incensed a virago, to whom *Abân* had been lately married at *Ajnadin*, that she shot the standard-bearer of the *Christians* in the hand upon the very spot where *Abân* was slain. Upon which, the standard fell into the hands of the *Moslems*; who instantly carried it off. Nor could *Thomas* afterwards recover it, tho' he attacked *Serjabil*, in whose possession it was, with unparalleled bravery. For, notwithstanding the military engines from the walls greatly favoured him, having received a wound in the eye from *Abân's* widow, who levelled an arrow at him, he found himself obliged to retire into the city. The *Arabs* very closely followed him for some time, and cut off 300 of his men in b the pursuit; but the engines planted on the walls kept them in awe, and, by plying them with repeated vollies of arrows and stones, destroyed abundance of them. This forced them at last to retreat, and permit the besieged to repose themselves after the fatigues they had sustained <sup>i</sup>.

The besieged  
make another  
sally, but are  
repulsed.

HOWEVER, *Thomas* resolved to make another effort to force the besiegers trenches, and oblige them to abandon the siege. Having, therefore, dressed his wound, and left a detachment of the garison to defend the gates and the walls, he ordered all the gates to be opened at the same instant; and, at the head of the rest, without any noise, sallied out upon the enemy. As he imagined that part of the camp where *Serjabil* was posted to be the most exposed, he attacked the *Arabs* stationed there with so much courage, that he soon forced c them to give way; and would have taken *Serjabil* himself prisoner, or put him to the sword, had not *Abd'alrahmân* and *Abân Ebn Othmân* advanced to his relief with a body of horse. This checked the fury of the *Greeks*, and gave the *Moslem* troops that had been thrown into confusion time to rally. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah*, who was posted at the gate *Al Jabiyah*, as has been already remarked, observing what had happened, possessed himself of a spot of ground between that body of the *Christian* forces which issued out of the last-mentioned gate and the town, which enabled him to cut off their retreat. The body, therefore, being charged and surrounded on all sides, could neither sustain the shock of the enemy, nor retreat; so that not a single man of it escaped. The other bodies likewise of the *Christians*, engaged in different parts, were at last every-where repulsed, and driven back d into the town. The loss of the *Greeks* in this vigorous action was computed by the *Arabs*, according to *Al Wakedi*, to amount to several thousand men <sup>k</sup>.

They agree to  
surrender to  
Abu Obeidah.

THIS last defeat so disheartened the *Christians*, who had lost above half of their men since the beginning of the siege, that they pressed *Thomas*, in order to prevent their total destruction, to permit them to beat a parley; but that commander prevailed upon them to defend the place till he had given the emperor an account of their situation, and learned from him whether or no they were to expect any succours. In the mean time, the *Arabs* pushed the siege, and the garison, greatly dejected by the bad success that attended the emperor's arms, made but a feeble defence. Nay, the troops that composed it desired *Khâled* for the present to discontinue his attacks, and give them time to come to some resolution about the e surrender of the town. But that general being desirous of carrying the place by storm, that the inhabitants might be all put to the sword, and the city plundered by his troops, refused to comply with their request. However, *Abu Obeidah*, a man of quite a different disposition, readily listened to their proposal. For having one night sent a messenger out of the gate before which he was posted, and offered to become tributaries to the *Khalif*, he dispatched to them *Abu Hobeirah*, a person in whom he could confide, to let them know that he accepted of their offer. The officers of the garison then asked this *Arab* whether or no he had been one of the prophet's companions, as they entertained a great opinion of them, and thought that they might absolutely depend upon their veracity. To this he replied in the affirmative; but at the same time told them, that they might have equally depended f upon the faith of the meanest slave in the camp. "For," said he, "we all of us think " ourselves under the strictest obligation to perform and make good all the engagements " we enter into; this being enjoined every one of us by the *Korân*." Upon this, an hundred of the clergy, and other principal citizens, went to the *Moslem* camp, and were conducted to *Abu Obeidah*; who took them into his tent, and treated them in a very polite manner. They begged to be continued in the possession of their churches, in return for the tribute they had agreed to pay to the *Khalif*; but *Abu Obeidah* would not promise them the use of above seven of them. To this they found themselves obliged to submit; and *Abu Obeidah* delivered them an instrument, drawn up by his secretary, tho' without either his name, or those of any witnesses, affixed to it, as he was not the commander in chief. He g then demanded hostages of the garison, and sent a detachment of an hundred men to take

<sup>i</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.



a possession of one part of the town. We must beg leave to observe here, that *Al Wakedi* seems to be mistaken in the name of the person whom *Abu Obeidab* sent to communicate his intentions to the besieged, or at least that his text has been corrupted by some transcriber here. For we are not told by any other *Arab* writer, that *Abu Hobeirah* was the name of one of *Mohammed's* companions; whereas 'tis very well known, that *Abu Horeira* was one of the most celebrated of them. We would, therefore, if our learned readers would give us leave, emend either *Al Wakedi*, or his translator, by substituting *Abu Horeira* for *Abu Hobeirah* here <sup>1</sup>.

b WHILST matters were in this situation; *Khâled Ebn Said* was killed by a poisoned arrow, Damascus that came from the town; which so exasperated *Khâled*, the *Moslem* general, that he instantly resolved to make a general assault. In the mean time, one *Jostas*, a priest, made his escape to the camp, and informed *Khâled*, that the prophet *Daniel* had predicted the future greatness of the *Moslem* empire, and offered to introduce him into the city, if he would take him and his family under his protection. To which *Khâled* readily agreed, and sent with him a detachment of an hundred *Hamyarites*, whose tribe was one of the most warlike of the *Arabs*, with orders to open the gates, immediately after they had taken post in the town, to the *Moslem* army. This they did without the least opposition; so that *Khâled* made himself master of the place without the loss of a single man; notwithstanding which, he put a great part of the garison, together with a vast number of the citizens, to the sword, and pursued the rest to *St. Mary's* church, where *Abu Obeidab* had before posted himself with the troops under his command. As soon as *Khâled* came up, *Abu Obeidab* said to him aloud, *God has saved the believers the trouble of fighting, by delivering the city into my hands in a pacific manner.* At which *Khâled* was extremely incensed, and declared, that as he had taken the place by storm, all the inhabitants, and the garrison, should be put to the sword. This occasioned no small bickering between the two commanders; *Abu Obeidab* insisting, that the agreement between him and the citizens should be executed in every part, and *Khâled*, on the other hand, refusing his consent to what was done without his participation. However, several of the officers inclining to the merciful side, as considering that many towns were still to be reduced, which would be defended to the last drop of blood, if it was once known that the *Moslems* violated a treaty they had concluded. *Abu Obeidab* in a great measure carried his point. For it was determined, that *Khâled* should have the disposal of that part of the town which he took sword in hand, and *Abu Obeidab* that of the other which surrendered to him upon terms, at least till the *Khalif* himself had decided the affair. After this, *Abu Obeidab* prevailed upon *Khâled* to give quarter to every one of the citizens and soldiers of the garrison that survived the late carnage, not excepting even *Thomas* and *Herbîs* themselves, who were the most disagreeable to him. We must not forget to inform our readers, that *Khâled* forced the east gate at his attack, and that *Damascus* was taken on the tenth of *Rajeb*, after six months siege; or, according to *Al Makin*, on the twenty-third of the latter *Jomada*, and the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 634 <sup>m</sup>.

c THE reduction of *Damascus* was not only of great importance in itself, but likewise opened a way to farther conquests, and added a new lustre to the *Moslem* arms. However, the *Arabs* sustained a very considerable loss at this juncture, by the death of *Abu Becr*, who died the same day that *Damascus* was taken. With regard to the cause of his death, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, that he was poisoned by the *Jews*, together with *Hareth Ebn Khaldab*, about a year before he died; but, according to *Ayesha*, he got a fever, by bathing himself on a cold day, which carried him off in fifteen days; during which time, *Omar* officiated for him publicly in the mosque. *Abu'l-Faraj* affirms, that he departed this life on *Monday*, the eighth of the latter *Jomada*; which runs counter to what we find asserted by *Al Makin*. Be that as it will, a little before he expired, the *Khalif* ordered f his secretary, *Othmân Ebn Affân*, to draw up his last will and testament in the following terms <sup>n</sup>.

“ IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD. This is the testament of *Abd'allah His last*  
 “ *Ebn Abu Kohâfa*, when he was in the last hour of this world, and the first of the next; <sup>testament.</sup>  
 “ an hour in which the infidel shall believe, the wicked person be assured of the reality of  
 “ those things that he denied, and the liar speak truth. I appoint *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*  
 “ my successor; therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he acts right, he will answer  
 “ the opinion I have always entertained of him; if otherwise, he must be accountable  
 “ for his own conduct. My intention herein is good, but I cannot foresee future events.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxxii. p. 158. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. v. p. 339.

<sup>m</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 174. GEORG. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 17, 18. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. ubi sup. p. 130.

<sup>n</sup> AYESHA, AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN ABDI RABIHI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 18. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 174. MS. Arab. Pocock. Oxon. num. 362.

“ However,



“ However, those who do ill shall hereafter be made fully sensible of the consequences a  
 “ of their behaviour. Fare ye well, and may ye always be attended by the divine mercy  
 “ and benediction.” After the *Khalif* had dictated this will to *Othmân*, he fainted away;  
 but as soon as he came to himself, he asked his secretary whose name he had inserted in  
 the instrument just written? who replied, that of *Omar*. “ Then,” said *Abu Becr*, “ you  
 “ have punctually observed my directions; tho’ had you inserted your own, I should not  
 “ have had an unworthy successor.” *Omar* was no sooner apprized of the *Khalif*’s inten-  
 tion to nominate him, than he discovered an uncommon aversion to the supreme authority  
 with which he was soon to be vested; however, he was at last prevailed upon to acquiesce  
 in what *Abu Becr* had done. Before the *Khalif* expired, he prayed to God to bless the b  
 choice he had made; to inspire the *Moslems* with sentiments of concord and unanimity; to  
 render their affairs prosperous and flourishing; and to enable them to propagate the doctrines  
 of the *Korân* in the most effectual manner, as by the prophet *Mohammed*, in his last moments,  
 they had been most strictly enjoined °.

When, and by  
 whom, the  
*Korân* was  
 digested into its  
 present form.

WHEN *Mohammed* died, he left his pretended revelations in great disorder, and not  
 digested into the method in which we now find them. This, according to *Abu Jaafar*, was  
 the work of his immediate successor *Abu Becr*. That prince considering, after the defeat of  
*Moseilama*, that many of those who could read and repeat the *Korân* had been slain in  
*Yamâma*, was afraid lest any part of it should be lost; and therefore ordered the whole to c  
 be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and  
 which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had  
 gotten them by heart. This transcript formed a considerable volume, called by the *Arabs*  
*Al Moshâf*, which, in their language, signifies a *book* or *volume*. It was probably penned by  
*Othmân Ebn Affân* and *Zeid Ebn Thabet* under the inspection of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, who  
 succeeded *Abu Becr*. The whole, when completed, was committed to the custody of *Hafsa*,  
 one of the prophet’s widows, as has been already observed. This work seems to have been  
 begun in the first year of *Abu Becr*, soon after the defeat of *Moseilama*, as may be inferred  
 from *Al Makîn*; though in all likelihood it was not finished long before the death of that  
 prince. Nor does it appear from the *Moslem* historians, that *Abu Becr* did any thing more  
 than range the chapters of the *Korân* in their present order; which he probably did without d  
 any regard to time, the longest being generally placed first; though some have imagined,  
 that he was really the compiler of that book. *Mohammed* himself perhaps left every  
 chapter, or *Sûra*, as complete as we now have it, excepting such passages as his successor  
 might add or correct, from those who had gotten them by heart. Soon after *Abu Becr* had  
 finished his transcript of the *Korân*, many copies of that book found their way into *Irâk*, as  
 well as those parts of *Syria*, or *Shâm*, that bordered upon *Arabia* °.

BUT notwithstanding this, the original, in the care of *Hafsa*, the daughter of *Omar*, was  
 not published by authority, according to *Abu’lfeda*, till the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*. That prince  
 observing the great disagreement in the copies of the *Korân*, in the several provinces of the  
*Moslem* empire, those of *Irâk*, for example, following the reading of *Abu Musa Al Asbari*,  
 and the *Syrians* that of *Macdâd Ebn Aswad*, he by advice of the companions of the prophet, e  
 ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of *Abu Becr*. This was done  
 under the inspection of *Zeid Ebn Thâbet*, who had been before employed by *Abu Becr* on a  
 similar occasion, as has been already remarked, *Abd’allah Ebn Zobair*, *Saïd Ebn Al As*, and  
*Abd’alrahmân Ebn Al Hâreth*, the *Makbzumite*; whom the *Khalif* directed, where-ever they  
 disagreed about any word, to write it in the dialect of the *Koreish*, in which it was at first  
 delivered. These copies, when made, were dispersed, by *Othmân*’s command, in the  
 several provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Tho’ many things  
 in *Hafsa*’s copy were corrected by the above-mentioned supervisors, yet some few various  
 readings still occur. The *Korân* thus emended, by the care of *Othmân*, came out first in  
 the thirtieth year of the *Hejra*; which seems to have given occasion to *Eutychius*, as well as f  
*Joannes Andreas*, an eminent *Moslem* doctor of *Sciatinia*, in the kingdom of *Valencia*, who  
 became a convert to the *Christian* religion in the year of our Lord 1487, to assert, that the  
 chapters of the *Korân* were then first collected into one volume. But this can by no means  
 be admitted, as it runs counter to the express testimony of *Abu’lfeda*, an author of  
 superior credit; nor will it easily be believed, that a work of such importance could have  
 possibly escaped the diligence and zeal of *Othmân*’s two predecessors. To which we may  
 add, that *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Makîn*, as cited above, put the point now insisted on beyond  
 dispute °.

° GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 75. MS. Arab. Pocock. Oxon. num. 362. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch.  
 Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 264, 265. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup.

P ISM. ABU’LFED. in vitis Abu Becr & Othmân. ABU JAAFAR, AL TABAR. apud Georg. Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 18. ut et ipse AL MAKÎN, ibid.

° ISM. ABU’LFED. in vit. Abu Becr & Othmân, GAGN. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 349, 350. ABU JAAFAR & AL  
 MAKÎN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. OCKLEY’S hist. of the Sarac. &c. vol. i. p. 118. JOANNES ANDREAS, SALE’S  
 preliminary discours. p. 65, 66.



a As it is impossible to entertain just sentiments of the *Mohammedan* worship, and consequently to have a proper and adequate idea of many things related by the *Moslem* historians, without being acquainted with the genius, spirit, and design of the *Korân*; we shall here beg leave once for all to lay down a brief and succinct account of the peculiarities, doctrines, precepts, and institutions of that famous book. Nor will, we persuade ourselves, so useful and necessary a digression, tho' for some time it will interrupt the thread of the *Arab* history, prove unacceptable to our learned and curious readers.

As for the word *Korân*, derived from the verb *karaa*, to read, it signifies properly, in *Arabic*, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read; by which name the *Mohammedans* denote not only the entire book or volume of the *Korân*, but also any particular chapter or section of it; just as the *Jews* call either the whole Scripture, or any part of it, by the name of *Karâb*, or *Mikra*, a word of the same origin and import. The *Moslems* also call the collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the *Korân*, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, the *Sonna*; in like manner as the *Jews* have denominated the book containing their oral traditions the *Mishna*, which answers to the former piece, wrote in imitation of it, both in name and design. It may not be amiss to observe, that the *Korân* is stiled by the generality of *Christian* writers the *Alcoran*, or *Alkoran*; tho' this manner of writing does not so well become one even moderately versed in the *Arabic* language. For, the syllable *Al* in that word is only to be considered as the *Arabic* article, signifying *the*; and therefore it ought to be omitted when the *English* article is prefixed.

c THE *Mohammedans* likewise imitate the *Jews* in the division of their sacred volumes into *Divisions*. *Sûras*, *Sowar*, or chapters, and verses; as also in pointing out the various readings. There was lately, at least, if it be not still, extant a MS. of the *Korân*, written in this curious and accurate manner by *Mohammed Ebn Mahmud Ebn Mohammed*, of *Samarkand*, who flourished about the year of the *Hejra* 754, or of *CHRIST* 1353, according to *Marracci*. The *Korân* is sometimes honoured with the appellation of *Al Forkân*, from the verb *faraka*, to divide, or distinguish; in the same notion that the *Jews* use the word *Perek*, or *Pirka*, from the same root, to denote a section, or portion of Scripture. At other times it is called *Al Moshâf*, the volume, and *Al Kitab*, the book, by way of eminence, which answers to the *Biblia* of the *Greeks*; and *Al Dbikr*, the commemoration, or admonition, because the words of God are preserved from oblivion, and men admonished, by it. Several of the *Moslems* likewise frequently stile it THE WORD OF GOD, as we *Christians* do the sacred writings of the *Old* and *New Testament*. Other titles also it is distinguished by, which it would be superfluous and unnecessary to enumerate here.

It has been observed by *Reland* and *Marracci*, that the *Mohammedans*, in imitation of the *Jewish Masorites*, have numbered not only the words but even the letters of the *Korân*, in order to prevent any corruption or depravation of the text. They have likewise in some MSS. distinguished the word God with a red mark; which not a little contributes to the discovery of the sense and meaning of the passage wherein it occurs. As for the general, or primary, division of the *Korân*, this is made into 114 larger portions of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the *Arabs* *Sowar*, in the singular *Sura*, a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series; as a course of bricks in building, or a rank of soldiers in an army. It is the same in use and import with the *Sûra*, or *Tora*, of the *Jews*, who also call the fifty-three sections of the *Pentateuch* *Sedârim*, a word of the same signification. The first chapter of the *Korân*, stiled *Al Fâtibat*, is held in great veneration by the *Mohammedans*, who give it several honourable titles; as the chapter of prayer, of praise, of thanksgiving, of treasure, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole *Korân*, and often repeat it, as the *Christians* do the *Lord's prayer*, both in their public and private devotions. It is divided into seven parts, or verses, and repeated in prayer at every incurvation.

f It appears from the title *Al Fâtibat*, that the chapter last-mentioned is only a sort of preface or introduction to the rest; which seems to be the reason why the said title was neither taken from the matter treated of, nor the divine person mentioned therein, nor yet from the first word of note, in the same manner as the *Jews* named their *Sedârim*, as were those of the other chapters, by which they are distinguished in the manuscript copies, and not by their numerical order. It must here be remarked, that some of the chapters having

<sup>r</sup> LUDOVICUS MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. i. p. 33. Patavii, 1698. NEHEM. viii. SIMON. hist. crit. de vieux Test. lib. i. c. 9. SALE, ubi sup. p. 56, 57.

<sup>s</sup> GOL. in append. ad. gram. Arab. Erpen. 175, 177. MOHAMMED EBN MAHMUD EBN MOHAMMED AL SAMARKAND. apud Marracc. ubi sup. MAIMON. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxv. Vide etiam LUDOVIC MARRACC. ubi sup.

<sup>t</sup> HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammedic. lib. i. p. 24, 25. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717. MARRACC. ubi sup. GOL. ubi sup. 177. MAIMON. ubi sup. p. 55. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. i. ALBERTUS BOBOVIUS, de precib. Mahom. p. 3, & seq. AL HASAN, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. &c.



been revealed, according to the impostor, at *Mecca*, and others at *Medina*, the noting the different places that were the scenes of *Mohammed's* pretended revelations makes a part of the titles of several chapters. Some of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at *Mecca*, and partly at *Medina*; but as to others, the commentators on the *Korân* have not been able to determine to which place of the two they belong. Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses; but the *Arabic* word is *Ayât*, the same with the *Hebrew Oloth*, and signifies *signs*, or *wonders*; such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses. Many of these have their particular titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters. The first chapter of the *Korân* is so celebrated amongst the *Mohammedans*, that whole treatises have been written upon it, as we are informed by *Reland*, who met with a book that pretended to point out all the mysteries it contains <sup>a</sup>.

Editions.

THE principal editions, or ancient copies, of the *Korân* may be reduced to seven; two of which were published and used at *Medina*, a third at *Mecca*, a fourth at *Câfâ*, a fifth at *Basra*, a sixth in *Syria*, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first makes the whole number of the verses 6000; the second and fifth, 6214; the third, 6219; the fourth, 6236; the sixth, 6226; and the last, 6225. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely, 77639; and the same number of letters, viz. 323015. It must here be observed, that the *Mohammedans* have not only imitated the *Jews* in superstitiously numbering the very words and letters of their law, but have likewise taken pains to compute the number of times each particular letter occurs in the *Korân*. Of this *Reland*, from a manuscript in his possession, has given us an evident proof. That manuscript makes the number of words contained in the *Korân* to amount to 99464. The difference of the copies has prefixed to some chapters two or more titles. The *Moslems* believe, that not only every chapter and verse, but likewise every word of the *Korân*, had a divine original <sup>w</sup>.

Inequality of  
the chapters,  
auspiciary  
form, &c.

SOME of the chapters of the *Korân* are so short, that they do not consist of above three or four verses; tho' others contain three hundred, and in general they are of a sufficient length. But besides the foregoing unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the *Mohammedans* have also divided that book into sixty equal portions, which they call *Ahzâb*, in the singular *Hizb*, each subdivided into four equal parts, in imitation of the *Jewish* division of the *Mishna* into sixty portions, called *Massiêloth*. However, the most usual division of the *Korân* is into thirty sections only, named *Ajzâ*, from the singular *Joz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner subdivided into four parts. At the head of every *Sûra*, except the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the *Mohammedans* called the *Bismillab*, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD; which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being accounted a sort of impiety to omit it. The *Jews* for the same purpose used the expression, IN THE NAME OF THE GREAT GOD, or, IN THE NAME OF THE LORD; and the eastern *Christians*, that of, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST. But *Mohammed* seems to have derived his form from that of the ancient *Persians*, prefixed to their books, especially those of the highest antiquity amongst them, *Benâm Yezdân bakhaïshgher dâdâr*, that is, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL JUST GOD. This may be inferred not only from the similitude, or rather identity, of expression observable in both forms, but likewise from the word YEZDAN, answering to the *Arabic* ALLAH, which was a name held in great veneration anciently amongst the *Persians*, and appropriated by them to the Supreme Being alone <sup>x</sup>.

IN relation to the authority of the auspiciary form above-mentioned, as well as that of the titles of the chapters, the *Moslem* doctors differ in their opinions. The more moderate consider them only as human additions; whereas the more staunch and rigid part of them think, that they are no less the word of God than the text itself. The same origin they seem to assign to certain letters of the alphabet, with which twenty-nine chapters of the *Korân* begin, some with a single one, others with more. These the *Mohammedans* believe to be the peculiar marks of the *Korân*, and to conceal several profound mysteries, which were perfectly understood by no one but their prophet. However, several conjectures, the uncertainty of which sufficiently appears from their disagreement, have been offered upon them. As the signification, therefore, of these characters, which are not always the same, has not hitherto been determined, and as the more sober *Mohammedans* confess that God alone knows the meaning of those prefixed to the seventh chapter of the *Korân*;

<sup>a</sup> LUDOVIC. MARRACC. not. & refutat. in sur. prim. Alcoran. p. 1, 2, 3. Patavii, 1698. HADRIAN. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 89. Vide etiam MARRACC. prodr. par. prim. p. 34.

MARRACC. de Alcoran, c. i. p. 33, 34.

MAIMON. ubi sup. p. 57. HYDE, hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. i. p. 14. & c. xi. p. 177.

<sup>w</sup> RELAND. ubi sup. p. 25, 26, 27.

<sup>x</sup> HADRIAN, RELAND. ubi sup. GOL. ubi sup. p. 178.



a it would be altogether superfluous, if not wholly impertinent, to expatiate farther upon them here <sup>y</sup>.

THE *Arabs* give us very pompous descriptions of the stile of the *Korân*, which is gene- *Stile.*  
rally taken to be beautiful and fluent, or, as we would rather chuse to express it, calculated to please the ear, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner, and Scripture phrases; which are, however, not seldom very improperly applied. That the author of the *Korân* affected the prophetic stile, not only in the words he chose, but likewise in the sentences he sometimes thought proper to select, as also in the change of tenses and persons that frequently there appears, must be allowed by every one who reads that book, and is but moderately versed in the sacred writings. He uses the preterperfect and future tenses reciprocally for each other; and passes from the third person to the first, as well as the second, and *vice versâ* from the first to the third, as we find done by the prophets of the *Old Testament*. The stile is concise, and often obscure, adorned with bold figures, after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent. Tho' the book be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continue rime, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made; the *Arabs* being so mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of and allusions to the *Korân*. It is next to impossible, therefore, to understand them, without being tolerably well acquainted with that book, which is written with the utmost elegance, as the critics in this kind of literature assert, in the dialect of the tribe of *Korcish*, the most noble and polite of all the *Arabians*, but with some mixture, tho' very rarely, of other dialects. It is looked upon to be the standard of the *Arabic* tongue, and inimitable by any human pen; tho' some sectaries have been of a different opinion. However, as these are considered as a sort of heretics, the orthodox *Moslems* insist upon the *Korân's* being a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead, and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original. *Al Ghazâli* maintains, that it subsisted in the essence of God from all eternity; and *Ahmed Ebn Abd'albalim*, that it contains all other sacred books, and all times, past, present, and to come. The generality of the *Mohammedans* esteem it as infinitely superior to the production of any created being, which is, indeed, asserted in the *Korân* itself; tho' some of them mentioned by *Ismael Shabinshab*, *Shabar Settani*, and others, are of a different opinion. But of these, and the principal tenets they maintain, we shall speak more fully hereafter <sup>z</sup>.

THE principal, or grand, article of faith insisted on in the *Korân*, as has been already *Disfig.*  
observed, is the unity of God; to restore which point *Mohammed* pretended was the chief end of his mission. In the belief of this he proposed to unite the *Christian*, *Jewish*, and *pagan Arabs*; the last of which were by far the most numerous and powerful. The worship of one eternal invisible God he established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution. These he enforced by setting before his followers rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal; obliging them at the same time to pay obedience to him, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who, after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontif in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal. He maintained, that there never was, nor ever can be, more than one true orthodox religion; since tho' particular laws, or ceremonies, are subject to alteration, yet the substance of it, being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. He moreover taught that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, God reformed and readmonished mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom *Moses* and *Jesus*  
f were the most distinguished, till the appearance of *Mohammed*, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage the *Moslems* to hearken to him, a great part of the *Korân* is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories, or some circumstances of them, are taken from the *Old* and *New Testament*, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the *Jews* and *Christians* of those ages, set up in the *Korân* as truths in opposition to the Scriptures, which the *Jews* and *Christians* are charged with having altered. Such are the histories of *Adam* and *Eve*, of *Cain* and *Abel*, of *Enoch*, of *Noah*, of *Abraham* *Isaac* and *Jacob*, of *Ismael*, of *Moses*

<sup>y</sup> GOTTUS, in append. ad gram. Arab. p. 182. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 59, 60. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. not. & refutat. in sur. sept. Alcoran. p. 275.

<sup>z</sup> LUDOVIC. MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. ii. p. 34. AHMED EBN ABD'ALHALIM, apud Marracc. de Alcoran. c. vi. p. 43. AL GHAZAL. apud Marracc. ubi sup. p. 44. ISM. SHABINSH. SHAHAR. SETTAN. alique scriptor. apud Marracc. ibid. Vide etiam GREG. ABUL FAR. & SALE's prelim. disc. sect. iii. &c.



and *Pharoah*, of *Saul David* and *Solomon*, of *Ezra*, of *Jesus Christ* and the blessed Virgin *Mary*, &c. as also of the *seven Sleepers*, of the martyrs under the tyrant *Dunaan*, &c. To which may be added those of *Alexander the great*, *Æsop*, and others extracted from profane authors. A considerable part of the *Korân* is likewise taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true God, and resignation to his will. Besides which, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For, whenever any thing happened which perplexed and gravelled *Mohammed*, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases; and he found the success of this method answer all, even his most sanguine expectations. It was certainly a politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole *Korân* at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve. But as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as God saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. This shews him to have been a man of genius and art, and to have answered at least in part the character already given of him. In his descriptions of the joys of paradise, of the torments of hell, and of the day of judgment, he is pretty prolix; tho' these are chiefly made up of most absurd and ridiculous fables. He enjoins in the strongest terms frequent prayer, alms, the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the fast of *Ramadân*, and, in fine, an observance of all his other rites and institutions. The points in the *Korân* that relate to moral and theological virtues he undoubtedly borrowed of the *Christians* and *Jews*; the former of which he treated with more lenity than the latter. In several places of this book, he is very severe upon those who had incurred his displeasure, and especially such of these delinquents as were his own relations. However, amongst the articles it contains, many excellent things occur, which seem not unworthy of even a *Christian's* perusal. According to *Al Zamakhshari*, the matter of the *Korân* is divided into *assimilated* and *wisely disposed*; the former of which contains every thing obscure; parabolical, ænigmatical, and abrogated by God, that is to be met with in this book; and the latter every thing clear, open, indisputable, free from all doubt, of standing and perpetual obligation <sup>a</sup>.

The author.

Tho' *Mohammed* was undoubtedly the principal author, and chief contriver, of the *Korân*; yet that he had no small assistance both in the formation and execution of his design from others, is beyond dispute. This the *Meccans* failed not to object to him, when he insisted, as a proof of its divine original, that a man so utterly unacquainted with learning as himself could not possibly compose such a book. They urged, as an objection to its authority, that he had one or more assistants in the forgery; tho' he had taken his measures so well, that they found it extremely difficult to discover the person, or persons, suspected of this confederacy. One says it was *Jabar*, or *Habar*, a *Greek*, servant to *Amer Ebn Al Hadrami*, who could read and write well; another, that they were *Jabar*, or *Habar*, and *Yesâr*, two slaves, who followed the trade of sword-cutlers at *Mecca*, used to read the Pentateuch and Gospel, and had often *Mohammed* for their auditor, when he passed that way. Another tells us, that it was one *Aish*, or *Yâish*, a domestic of *Al Haweiteb Ebn Abd Al Uzza*, who was a man of some learning, and had embraced *Mohammedism*. Another supposes it was one *Kais*, a *Christian*, whose house *Mohammed* frequented. Another, that it was *Addâs*, a servant of *Otha Ebn Rabiâ*; and another, that it was *Salmân* the *Persian*, as has been already observed. So far the commentators on the *Korân*, whose traditions differ greatly in this affair. Nor are the *Christian* writers less divided in their opinions, in relation to the person, or persons, who enabled *Mohammed* to draw up a plan of, and compose the *Korân*. Some of them pretend, that *Abd'allah Abn Salâm*, the *Jew*, who was so intimate with *Mohammed*, and whom Dr. *Prideaux* confounds with *Salmân*, the *Persian*, a very different man, was assisting to him in compiling his pretended revelations. The greatest part of them, however, maintain, that the chief help *Mohammed* had in contriving the *Korân*, was from a *Nestorian* monk, named *Sergius*, supposed to be the same person with the monk *Bokeira*, with whom *Mohammed* in his younger years had some conference at *Bosra*, a city of *Syria Damascena*, where *Bokeira* then resided. Mr. *Sale*, indeed offers a frivolous objection to this opinion, of no manner of weight; which we have already answered in the life of *Mohammed*, and therefore shall pass it over here. Nor can any thing be more weak than what the impostor himself advances in opposition to this notion, viz. that neither the *Jews*, nor the *Christians* could afford him any assistance in the composition of the *Korân*, since both of them spoke a foreign language; whereas the person who composed this piece, drew it up in the most

<sup>a</sup> GOLIUS, in append. ad gram. Arab. Erpen. p. 176. LUDOVIC. MARRAC. de Alcoran. c. iii. p. 34, 35. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. apud Marracc. ibid.



- a elegant *Arabic*, and consequently must have been an *Arabian*. For, tho' the language made use of in the *Korân* be the *pure, perspicuous*, or, as the *Moslems* stile it, the *defecated Arabic*; yet the tenets and sentiments therein contained might have been derived from a foreigner, as, for the most part, they undoubtedly were, who was even a stranger to the beauties and elegancies at least of the *Arabic* tongue, if not to the very rudiments and first principles of it. In fine, there were both *Christians* and *Jews* amongst the *Arabs* themselves, when *Mohammed* first entered upon his mission; some of whom might either have translated into the politest *Arabic* the materials sent by *Bohcira*, or, in conjunction with that monk, furnished the pretended prophet with materials for the *Korân*. Nay, it may be inferred from even what has been admitted by Mr. *Sale*, that *Warakab Ebn Nawfal*, a *Christian Arab*, who could write in the *Hebrew* character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures, *Khadijah's* cousin, was at least one of *Mohammed's* coadjutors in framing the book of the *Moslem* law. For, in confirmation of what *Mohammed* had declared to *Khadijah* concerning his mission, he assured her, that the same angel, who had formerly appeared unto *Moses*, was then sent to *Mohammed*. From whence it appears, that from the very beginning he acted a part with *Mohammed* in the propagation of his imposture; and therefore may be justly suspected to have had a hand in the *Korân*. To what has been said we may add, that, according to *Al Zamakhshari*, *Abu Fakiah* affirmed *Nodbar Ebn Hareth Ebn Abd Al Dar*, an *Arab* of some learning, to have instructed *Mohammed* himself in the tenets and doctrines of the *Korân*; which, if admitted, will amount to an evident proof, that
- c the pretended prophet was not the author of every part of that book. Nay, some of the *Arab* writers themselves have allowed, that the monk *Sergius*, or *Boheira*, instructed *Mohammed* in the principles both of the law and the gospel. We are told by St. *John of Damascus*, who flourished about an hundred years after *Mohammed*, and lived at *Damascus*, in his days the residence of the *Khalifs*, that *Mohammed* had, and therefore received from others, a thorough knowlege of the holy Scriptures, both of the *Old* and *New Testament*. He also relates, that the impostor formed the plan of his new religion from the conferences and conversations he had with the *Arians* of that time <sup>b</sup>.

- But however this may be, the *Mohammedans*, at least the generality of them, deny that the *Korân* was either composed by their prophet, or any other mortal for him. They believe
- d it to be of divine original, nay eternal and uncreated; maintaining that the first transcript <sup>Manner of publishing the Korân.</sup> of it has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the *preserved table*, on which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future. They also affirm, that a copy of the *Korân* from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the angel *Gabriel* sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of *Ramadân*, on the night of *power*; from whence *Gabriel*, according to them, revealed it to *Mohammed* by parcels, some at *Mecca*, and some at *Medina*, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required. However, he had the whole shewed him, which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise, once a year; but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it
- e twice. Many of the aforesaid parcels consisted only of a few verses, say they, brought by *Gabriel* at once from the lowest heaven, or, in the stile of the *Arabs*, the orb of the moon; which were afterwards written down from time to time by *Mohammed's* amanuenses, in such or such a part of such or such a chapter, till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel himself. The ninth and hundred-and-fifth chapters only are supposed to have been delivered whole to *Mohammed*; so that it is not to be wondered at that little or no connection should be visible between the parts of the others. As for the twenty-second chapter, the eleventh and twelfth verses of it were said to be revealed at *Medina*, and the others at *Mecca*. There are many repetitions in the *Korân*, which render it very disagreeable to an elegant ear. The want of connection, so visible almost throughout the
- f whole, gives a great degree of incertitude to many expressions, makes several passages appear little better than down right jargon, and introduces into various parts of this book a strange mixture of absurdity and confusion. The first parcel pretended to be revealed, is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter. The confusion above-mentioned, which is acknowledged by an eminent *Mohammedan* writer, amounts to a sufficient proof, that some passages of the *Korân* at least are so absolutely unintelligible as not to admit of an exposition <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, Liber Agar, GUADAGNOL, tract. c. x. sect. 1. JOANNES ANDREAS, de confusio. sectæ Moham. c. i. BELLONIUS, lib. iii. c. 2. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvi. & f. xxv. YAHYA, JALLALO'DDIN, RICARDI confutat. legis Saracenicæ, c. xiii. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 23—29. Lond. 1718. GAGN. not. in Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. p. 74. AL MASUDI, ABU'1 HASAN AL BECRI, in Kor. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. de Alcoran. c. iv. p. 35—42. & SALE's notes on the *Koran*, p. 223, 224. JOAN. DAMASCEN. lib. de hæresib. <sup>c</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xcvi. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL GHAZAL. ABU JA'AFAR apud Al Makin, YAHYA, MOHAM. ERN AED'AILAH ZEMANIN, AL 'LABAR. apud Marraccium, de Alcoran. p. 39, 40 ut & i. se MARRACC. ibid. & p. 41—45.



Not only the prophet's amanuenses, but likewise several of his followers, took copies <sup>a</sup> of the revealed passages, after they had been communicated by him to the former of these, for their private use; but the far greater number of the *Moslems* got them by heart. The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, without any order of time; for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were said to be revealed. The *Korân* does not only contain many articles extracted out of the sacred writings of the *Old and New Testament*, but many fictions likewise out of the *Talmud*, as well as some out of *Mohammed's* own brain; so that he was supplied with materials for it by the *Christians*, *Jews*, idolatrous *Arabs*, and his own fertile imagination. That the devil also, after he had transformed himself into an angel of light, or at least assumed the form of such an angel, and taken the name of *Gabriel*, might have suggested some points to him, is judged not improbable by *Marracci* <sup>d</sup>. b

Various readings.

BESIDES the variations in the copies of the *Korân* already mentioned, there are others occasioned by the different manner of reading of the *Mekri's*, or *readers*, whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the *Korân* with its proper vowels. This the want of vowels in the *Arabic* character, when the prophet's pretended revelations were first committed to writing, rendered absolutely necessary. The greatest part of the variations at present observable in the copies of the *Korân* are such as have arisen from the diversity of vowels affixed to the same words by different *readers*, seven of whom especially are in great repute amongst the commentators on the *Korân*. For the characters, or marks, of the *Arabic* vowels were not used till several years after *Mohammed*. We must beg leave here to remark, that the *Korân* was first penned in the *Cufic* character; and that par. of this book in that character on vellum <sup>c</sup> was brought from *Egypt* by Mr. *Greaves*, which is still preserved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* <sup>e</sup>.

Passages abrogated.

As there are many passages in the *Korân*, which are manifestly contradictory, and destructive of each other, in order to obviate any objection that may be drawn from thence to the authority of that book, the *Moslem* doctors are obliged to have recourse, how absurd soever this may be, to the doctrine of *abrogation*. They pretend, that God, in the *Korân*, commanded several things, which were afterwards, for good reasons, abrogated and revoked; all which have been collected in one small volume by the *Imâm*, *Abu Hashem Hebatallah*, who, in the preface to his work, has given us a particular account of the nature of them. That author distinguishes them into three kinds: the *first*, where the letter and the sense <sup>d</sup> are both abrogated; the *second*, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains; and the *third*, where the sense is abrogated, tho' the letter remains. In this manner do they endeavour to fix the inconsistencies and absurdities of their own capricious and most infamous impostor upon that Divine Being, who is the source and fountain of all truth, which is ever uniform and consistent with itself, and *with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning* <sup>f</sup>.

Of the first kind of abrogated passages were several verses, which, by the tradition of *Ans Ebn Malec*, were, in the pretended prophet's life-time, read in the chapter of *repentance*, but are not now extant; for a farther account of which we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the aforesaid *Imâm*, *Abu Hashem Hebatallah*, and *Marracci*. Of the <sup>e</sup> second kind is a verse called the verse of *stoning*, which according to the tradition of *Omar*, afterwards *Khalif*, was extant while *Mohammed* was living, tho' it be not now to be found; for the words of which the curious may have recourse to the above-mentioned authors. Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty-three different chapters, to the number of 225; all of which have been enumerated by the above-mentioned *Imâm*. It must be here observed, that tho' for the most part the abrogated passages precede those that revoke them, as in the order of nature they ought to do, yet there are not wanting instances in the *Korân* of passages abrogating those that follow them; of which two, contained in the second and thirty-third chapters, are particularly eminent. This, which by the way Mr. *Sale*, with his *usual ingenuity*, has thought fit not to touch upon, is as absurd as if a prince should repeal a law before <sup>f</sup> he had enacted it, or at least before the promulgation of it. No good reason, certainly, can be assigned either why some of *Mohammed's* moral decisions, perfectly right and rational in themselves, as they undoubtedly were, should have been cancelled, or why the preposterous method of *abrogation* here mentioned should have been observed. But these are only a taste of the numerous absurdities with which the book of the *Mohammedan* law, however it may have been cried up by some pretended *Christians* in this wicked and licentious age, abounds <sup>g</sup>.

Disputes concerning the creation of the Korân.

BUT notwithstanding this, the *Korân* is held in the highest reverence and esteem amongst the *Mohammedans*. They stile it, by way of eminence the book of God, as the *Christians*

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. MARRACC. ubi sup. c. iii. p. 34, 35, 38, 41, &c. <sup>e</sup> SALE's prelimin. disc. p. 66. Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 254, 255. <sup>f</sup> ABU HASHEM HEBATALLAH, apud Ludovic. Marracc. ubi sup. p. 42, 43. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. JAM. 17. <sup>g</sup> ABU HASHEM HEBATALLAH & MARRACC. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii. xxxiii. SALE's prelimin. disc. p. 66, 67.



- a do their bibles, believing that every part, nay every word, of it came from heaven. They call it the *true book*, the *book sent by God*, the *rule void of all obliquity*, the *director of men and demons*, the *perpetual miracle*, the *greatest of miracles*, the *most excellent of all holy books*, the *most elegant of compositions*; and honour it with many other very extraordinary appellations. Nay, *Ahmed Abd'alhalim* affirms the *Korân* to be the quintessence of all other sacred books; and *Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyed Hasan*, surnamed *Al Jannâbi*, says it contains 60,000 miracles. However, tho' it is the belief of the *Sunnites*, that the *Korân* is uncreated, and *Mohammed* himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary; yet the sect of the *Motâzalites*, and the followers of *Isa Ebn Sobeih Abu Mîsa*, surnamed *Al Mozdâr*, accused those who maintained that opinion of infidelity, looking upon them as
- b assertors of two eternal beings. Nay, this point was controverted with so much heat, that it occasioned a sort of persecution under some of the *Khalîfs* of the family of *Abbâs*; *Al Mamûn* making a public edict, declaring the *Korân* to be created, which was confirmed by his successors *Al Môtâsem* and *Al Wâthek*, who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length *Al Motawakkel*, who succeeded *Al Wâthek*, revoked the former edict, released those who were imprisoned on that account, and permitted every man to believe what he pleased in the point before us. *Al Ghazâlî* intimates that the original idea of the *Korân* only was really in God, and consequently co-essential and co-eternal with him; but that the copies of it were created, and the work of man; by which he seems to have reconciled, however difficult at first sight that may appear to be, both the foregoing
- c opinions <sup>h</sup>.

- It must likewise be here observed, that *Ismael Shabînsab* and *Shabar Settani* assure us, that the *Motâzalites*, together with their leader *Al Mozdâr*, and *Ibrahim Al Nodbâm*, asserted the *Korân* to have nothing miraculous in it, in respect to stile or composition, excepting only the prophetic relations of things past, and predictions of things to come. Nay, they scrupled not to maintain, that had God left men to the guidance and direction of their own natural faculties and powers, the *Arabs* might have composed something even superior to the *Korân* in eloquence, method, and purity of language. However, these sectaries, or rather heretics, are censured by the afore said writers, as well as the body of *Sunnites*, for holding such impious tenets. *Al Jahedh*, the chief of a sect bearing his name, used to term the *Korân*
- d a body, which might sometimes be turned into a man, and sometimes into a beast; which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the *Korân* to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beast; thereby probably alluding to the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit. It was *Ahmed Ebn Abu David Ebn Abd'al-malec*, his *Visîr* or *Wazîr*, who excited the *Khalîf Al Wâthek* to the cruelties above-mentioned <sup>i</sup>.

- We must beg leave here farther to remark, that *Al Mozdâr* had two disciples, who had both the name of *Jaafar*, and who settled the point relating to the creation of the *Korân* in the following manner. God, said they, created the *Korân* on the *preserved table*, from whence it cannot be transferred any whither else, since it is impossible for the same thing to be in two places at once. But the copies of the *Korân* read by the *Moslems* are written by
- e human hands. Which seems equivalent to what has been advanced by *Al Ghazâlî*, who tells us, that the *Korân* is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in the memory; and yet is eternal, subsisting in God's essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmissiion into mens memories, or the leaves of books. But this amounts to no more than a bare assertion, that the original idea of the *Korân* was in the divine mind from all eternity; which may, with equal truth and propriety, be affirmed of the original ideas of all created beings, and therefore infers no superior excellency in that book. The foregoing distinction of the contents of the *Korân* into *assimilated* and *wisely disposed*, or, in other words, *allegorical* and *literal*, is admitted by all the orthodox *Mohammedans*. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and ænigmatical passages, as well
- f as such as are repealed or abrogated; the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force. For the explication of these the knowledge of many things is requisite; as namely, whether the passage was revealed at *Mecca*, or at *Medina*; whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage; whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed; whether it be distinct from the context, or depends thereon; whether it be particular or general; and, lastly, whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words. But for a farther account of the rules observed by the commentators on the *Korân*, in their expositions of that celebrated book, our curious readers may have recourse

<sup>h</sup> AL JANNÂB. & AHMED BEN ABD'ALHALIM apud Marracc. ubi sup. p. 43, 44. AL GHAZAL. ibid. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 220. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & Pocock. p. 219. GREG. ABU'L FAR. p. 245, 253, 257, 262. AL MAKIN, in vit. Al Mamûn. AL GHAZAL. in prof. fid. Vide etiam ABU JAAFAR AL TAEAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. & MARRACC. ubi sup. p. 43, 44, 45.

<sup>i</sup> ISMAEL SHABINSHAH & SHABAR SETTANI, apud Marracc. ubi sup. 44. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. ABU'LFED. & AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 222. AL JAHEDH. apud Marracc. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



to the writers cited by *Marracci*, which we have pointed out here, who will give them full and ample satisfaction in this affair <sup>k</sup>.

*The honour  
accrued to it.*

As the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe such extraordinary things of the *Korân*, 'tis no wonder they should hold it in so exceeding high a veneration. They will not suffer it to be read, possessed, or even touched by any of a different persuasion; so that if it is found in the possession of either a *Jew* or a *Christian*, it may prove of fatal consequence to him. Nor do the *Moslems* themselves so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified; which lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "*Let none touch it, but they who are clean.*" They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it on all weighty occasions, carry it with them to war, write sentences of it in their banners, as they formerly at least did upon their coins, and adorn it with gold and precious stones. In fine, they consider it as the most perfect composition that ever appeared in the world; as predicted by the law and the gospel, and corroboratory of both; as preserved in a particular manner by the immediate hand of providence, and as containing mysteries that are fully comprehended and understood by God alone. But notwithstanding these exalted notions, they are so far from thinking the *Korân* to be either profaned or debased by a translation, that they have taken care to have it translated into the *Persian*, *Malayan*, and other tongues; tho', out of respect to the original *Arabic*, these versions are generally, if not always, interlineary. However, they entertain by far the highest sentiments of the original *Arabic*; believing, that God will never suffer it to receive the least addition, defect, or alteration <sup>l</sup>.

*Islâm the pro-  
per name of the  
Mohamme-  
dan religion.*

BEFORE we take upon us to particularize the doctrines and positive precepts of the *Korân*, which relate to faith and religious duties, we must beg leave to inform our readers, that *Mohammed* gave to his religion the name of *Islâm*, or, as 'tis frequently termed by *Christians*, *Islamism*; which word properly denotes *resignation*, or *submission*, to the service and commands of God. Some, however, interpret it *the saving religion*, and derive it from the *Arabic* word *Aflama*, the fourth conjugation of *Salama*, importing *to enter into a state of salvation*. From which root is likewise deduced the word *Moslem*, denoting, in the *Arabic* language, *a true believer*, or *professor of Islamism*. Some of the *Mohammedans* pretend, that the true religion was generally professed till *Abel* was murdered; but others, that it remained till the days of *Noah*. They also believe that *Islamism* was the religion of all the prophets; and that it universally prevailed in *Arabia* till the time of *Amru Ebn Lokai*, king of *Hejâz*, the great introducer of idolatry in that country <sup>m</sup>.

*The division  
and fundamen-  
tal points of  
Islamism.*

It has been already observed, that *Mohammed* comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith; viz. that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God. By virtue of the latter of which articles all such ordinances, as he thought fit to establish, are received by his followers as of divine institution. The *Moslems* divide their religion into two parts; *Imân*, i. e. *faith*, or *theory*, and *Dîn*, i. e. *religion*, or *practice*. The former consists of the two articles, or propositions, above-mentioned; which include in them the six following particulars: a belief in God; in his angels; in his scriptures; in his prophets; in the resurrection, and day of judgment; and in God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil. The points relating to practice are prayer, as well as every thing relative and preparatory to it; *zacât*, or alms, the payment of which *Mohammed* very artfully made one main article of his religion, as it enabled him always to keep on foot a considerable body of troops; fasting in the month of *Ramadân*; and the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. The definition of *Islamism* laid down here, as it includes both the *Imâm* and *Dîn*, is no other than that given by *Mohammed*, as the *Moslems* pretend, to the angel *Gabriel*. Which definition, or description, according to them, was likewise approved of, and rendered absolutely authentic, by the testimony of that angel <sup>n</sup>.

*The existence  
of angels as-  
serted in the  
Korân.*

A BELIEF of the existence of angels, and their purity, is strongly insisted on in the *Korân*. Nor can he escape the imputation of infidelity, who either denies that there are such beings, or hates any of them, or asserts any distinction of sexes amongst them. They believe them to be the servants of God, that are constantly employed in his immediate presence, and execute his commands on all occasions. Their pure and subtil bodies, they think, were created originally of fire, or rather light, and are free from those animal functions that distinguish the inhabitants of this terraqueous globe from those of the aerial regions. They maintain, that these excellent beings can assume various forms; that some of them

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL GHAZAL, ubi sup. AL ZAMAKHSHAR, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. AHMED EBN MOH. AL THALEBI, in princip. expos. AL YAHYA EBN SALAM AL BASRI, in princip. expos. MARRACC. ubi sup. 44, 45.

<sup>l</sup> LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, ubi sup. p. 45. HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammedic. p. 265. & p. 25, 26, 27. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 69. <sup>m</sup> JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 50. Vide etiam AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. & f. xxxvi. GOLII lex. Arab. in voce *Salama*, & PRID. life of Mahom. p. 11.

<sup>n</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. pass. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. et alib. SALE, ubi sup. p. 71.



a adore God in different postures, whilst others either sing praises to him, or intercede for mankind. They likewise believe, that they are of different orders; but that the highest of these ought not to be considered as objects of worship. Some of them, according to the *Moslems*, are deputed to take an account of our actions here, others to convey the souls of men to the places assigned them after their departure out of this world, and others to preside over hell, and keep guard against the devils there. They moreover hold, that some of them carry the throne of God; and that, in general, they are impeccable. *Al Beidawi* relates, that the tribes of *Khozâab* and *Kenâna*, in particular, denominated the angels the daughters of God <sup>a</sup>.

b THE principal of these angels, according to the *Mohammedans*, are *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Azraïl*, and *Israfil*. *Gabriel* they call *the holy spirit*, and *the angel of revelations*, because he appeared to *Mohammed* sometimes in his own and sometimes in a human form, and revealed to him the *Korân*. *Michael* they take to be the friend and protector of the *Jews*; which notion is not only countenanced, but even confirmed by the prophet *Daniel*. *Azraïl* they denominate *the angel of death*, because he is supposed to separate mens souls from their bodies; and they apply the name of *Israfil* to the angel whose office it will be to sound the trumpet on the day of the resurrection. It is to be observed, that the offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal gospel of *Barnabas*, only the two last are there called *Raphael* and *Uriel*. The *Orientals* believe *Michael* to be one of the *Cherubim*, which Dr. *Hyde* takes to have been the same order of angels with that of the *Seraphim*; though from the *Psalmist* we may possibly infer the truth of the contrary opinion. Be that as it will, this learned gentleman seems not to be much mistaken, when he insinuates, that the *Seraphim* of the *Hebrews* answered to the *Teraphim* of the *Chaldees*; the *Schin* of the former frequently corresponding with the *Thau* of the latter. The *Teraphim* were probably images of the angels, which the ancient *Chaldees* and *Syrians* carried about with them. These the *Arabs* denominated *Israfin*; and one of their authors has defined them to be *the angels of figures*, or *images*, i. e. angels of whom the aforesaid nations made themselves images, which they considered as a sort of tutelary deities, and consulted them on all extraordinary occasions <sup>b</sup>.

c THE *Mohammedans* also believe, that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions; and that they are changed every day. Which notion, as well as almost every other concerning angels, their prophet and his disciples seem to have borrowed from the *Jews*; who, according to the *Jerusalem Talmud*, learned the names and offices of those beings from the *Persians*. This last nation, from the remotest antiquity, acknowledged the ministry of angels, and their superintendency over the affairs of the world. *Gabriel* they called *Sorûsh* and *Revân bakhsh*, or *the giver of souls*; *Azraïl* went amongst them by the name of *Mordâd*, or *the giver of death*; and to *Michael* they assigned that of *Beshter*, supposing him to provide sustenance for mankind. The usual appellation given by the *Moslems* to the devil is *Eblis*, which Mr. *Reland* deduces from a word signifying *despair*; though we are rather inclined to believe it a corruption of the Greek name *Diabolos*. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers pretend, that he worshipped God 80,000 years before the creation of *Adam*, but was then infected both with envy and infidelity. He was expelled heaven, according to the *Korân*, for refusing to pay homage to *Adam* at the command of God. The first name of *Eblis*, whilst in a state of innocence, was *Azazil*, derived, as should seem, from the *Hebrew* word *azazel*, signifying a goat; which has induced *Reland* to imagine, that *Mohammed* received that name from the *Jews*; and that therefore this people looked upon goat as an animal sacred to the devil. *Eblis* is sometimes also stiled *Al Skeitan*, or *Satan*, in the *Korân*; which name is likewise applied by *Al Jaubari* to the rebellious *Genii*, whom the *Arabs* take to be distinct from devils, wicked men, and even the most obstinate of brutes themselves <sup>c</sup>.

f THE *Genii* here mentioned, according to the *Moslem* notion of them, are an intermediate order of creatures, created of fire, but of a grosser fabric than angels. These the *Mohammedans* suppose to be mortal, to eat and drink, and even to propagate their species. Some of them, we are told, were converted on hearing the *Korân*; *Mohammed* having pretended to be sent for their conversion, as well as that of men. Some of the *Orientals* believe them to have inhabited the world for many ages before *Adam* was created, and relate many fabulous particulars of them, and their princes. The *Arabs* imagine, that these *Genii*,

<sup>a</sup> Al KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. & xxxviii. JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. YAHYA, AL BEIDAWI, HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 13—17. <sup>b</sup> Al KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, vi, xiii, lxxxvi. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, HYDE, hist. rel. vet. Perf. p. 262, 271, 272. DAN. x. 13, 20, 21. TARG ad Psalm. cxxvii. 7. MENAGIAN. tom. iv. p. 353.

<sup>c</sup> Al KOR. MOHAM. f. x. TALMUD HIEROS. in Rosh nashana. HYDE, ubi sup. c. xix, xx. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 189, 190, 193. SHAHABODDIN ABU'L ABBAS AHMED, apud HADR. Reland. ibid. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. xv, xviii. ABU'L KASEM, in observ. MSis ad Alcoran. apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 194. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. vii, viii. AL JAUBARI. AL BEIDAWI.



whom they call *Jin*, haunt all solitudes and deserts in the evening; so that, when they find themselves in such places at that time, they generally address themselves to the chief of these *Genii* in the following terms: *I fly for refuge to the Lord of this valley, that he may defend me from the foolish amongst his people.* Hence it appears, that the *Arabs* believe the *Genii*, some of whom, or at least of a species similar to them, they call *Peri*, or *fairies*, some *Div*, or *giants*, and others *Tacwîns*, or *fates*, to be placed at a very small distance from the surface of the earth, if they may not be considered as proper inhabitants of it. That *Mohammed* and his followers borrowed their notions of these beings also from the *Jews*, appears from hence, that the latter entertain almost the very same sentiments of a sort of demons called *Shedim* that the *Moslems* do of their *Jin*, or *Genii*; as also of their *Peri*, *Div*, and *Tacwîns* <sup>a</sup>.

Of the Scriptures.

THE *Moslems* hold it necessary for a believer to admit, that God vouchsafed mankind several revelations of his will that preceded the *Korân*. All which revelations, or, in other words, the books that contained them, they consider as the word of God, and consequently assign them a divine original. The number of these sacred books were, according to them, an hundred and four; of which ten were given to *Adam*, and not twenty-one, as we find intimated by *Hottinger* and *Marracci*, the authors followed by them seeming only to assert, that the first book revealed to *Adam* consisted of one-and-twenty leaves. Fifty of them were revealed to *Seth*; thirty to *Enoch*, from his knowlege surnamed *Edris*, supposed by *Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Sokeiker Anbaswâli* to have been translated to heaven on the tenth day of the month *Al Moharram*; ten to *Abraham*; one, comprehending the *Pentateuch*, to *Moses*; one, containing the *Psalms*, to *David*; another, or the *Gospel*, to *Jesus*; and the last, after which no more revelations are to be expected, by his followers denominated the *Korân*, to *Mohammed*. All which divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now intirely lost, and their contents unknown; though they stigmatize with the name of *infidel* every person who entertains the least doubt of their real existence in former ages. The *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, and the *Gospel*, they say, have been so grossly corrupted by the *Jews* and the *Christians*, that the copies of those books at present in their hands are by no means to be depended upon. The principal reasons urged in support of this opinion may be seen in the beginning of *Ismael Ebn Ali's* history, and the *Prodromus* of *Marracci*; but as they have been all fully answered by the last author, and several others, it would be superfluous to enumerate them here. The *Jews*, in particular, are frequently reflected on in the *Korân* for falsifying and corrupting their copies of the *Law*; several instances of such pretended falsifications and corruptions being hinted at in that book. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers also, and particularly *Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabeddin*, a noble *Persian*, who penned a treatise in *Persic* against the *Christian* religion, assert, that not only the *Pentateuch*, but the *Psalms* likewise, and even the *Gospel*, have undergone many alterations; but herein they follow merely their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. The *Moslems* have an *Arabic* and a *Persic* version of the *Psalms* of *David*, translated, according to Mr. *Reland*, from some of our copies; to which are added certain prayers of *Moses*, *Jonas*, and others; but Mr. *D'Herbelot* considers this version as a manifest and palpable corruption of that sacred book whose name it bears. We are told by an eminent traveller, that a copy of the *Pentateuch*, though very much corrupted, is to be found amongst them; the truth of which seems to be doubted by Mr. *Sale*. Be this, however, as it will, they most certainly have a *Gospel* in *Arabic*, attributed to St. *Barnabas*, wherein the history of *Jesus Christ* is related in a manner very different from what we meet with in the true *Gospels*, and corresponded to those traditions which *Mohammed* has followed in his *Korân*. From these, or some other forgeries of the same stamp, the *Mohammedans* quote several passages, of which there are not the least foot-steps in the *New Testament*. As for the *Korân*, they believe this not so liable to corruption as the *Pentateuch* and the *Gospel* have always been, and defy both men and *genii* to produce a chapter like any part of it <sup>b</sup>.

Of the prophets.

THE prophets, or messengers of God to mankind, were, according to the *Moslems*, endued with a power of performing miracles, free from great sins, and errors of a pernicious nature, professors of one and the same religion, that is *Islâm*, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions they observed. They communicated to mankind the knowlege of several occult points, relating to the divine nature and attributes, to the resurrection, to future rewards and punishments, &c. that God was pleased to reveal to them, for the instruction and edi-

<sup>a</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv. JALLALO'DDIN, in AL KOR. f. ii. & xviii. ut & ipse AL KOR. f. iv, lxxii, lxxiv, &c. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c. AL BEIDAWI, Lib. ZOHAR. Vide etiam GEMARA, in Hagiga. <sup>b</sup> HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. c. iv. p. 17—29. HOTTINGER. hist. Orient. p. 22. MARRACC. in prodrom. AL-CORAN. p. 80. KESSÆUS, JALLALO'DDIN, ISMAEL EBN ALI, in princip. sue hist. & apud Marracc. in prodrom. p. 12, 13, 14, ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. AHMED EBN ZIN ALABEDDIN, apud Marracc. ubi sup. p. 14. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 924. TERRY'S voyage to the East Indies, p. 277. SAÏE'S preliu. diic. p. 74. MENAGIAN. tom. iv. p. 321, &c. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xvii.



- a fication of his people. Some of these they allow to have been more excellent than others, though the lowest of them they believe to have arrived at a degree of perfection not attainable by any but those who were honoured with the prophetic function. The number of the prophets sent at various times into the world amounted, says one of the *Moslem* traditions, to no less than 224,000, or, as another will have it, to 124,000. Of these 313 were apostles, and six brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding, viz. *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Jesus*, and *Mohammed*. The first place they give to the revealers and establisers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles. *Mohammed*, according to them, was the most noble of the prophets, and the first of all creatures. The most excellent of men, next to the order of prophets, in the opinion of the
- b *Turks*, *Arabs*, and *Moors*, who are *Sunnites*, was *Abu Becr*, then *Omar*, then *Othmân*, and, lastly, *Ali*; but the *Persians*, the *Indians*, and some other *Moslems* subject to the *Persians*, who are *Shiites*, place *Ali* immediately after *Mohammed*. The next to these, in point of rank and dignity, according to the *Mohammedans*, were the six chief companions of the prophet, *Talha Ebn Obeid'allah*, *Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awwâm*, *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, *Zeid Ebn Saba*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Araf*, and *Abu Obeidab*. These are succeeded by *Mohammed*'s other companions, and they by that generation of men to whom the *Arab* prophet was more immediately sent, who, in the order of saints, are followed by *Al Ghazâlî*, and all the other *Moslems*, celebrated for their piety and good works. The *Mohammedans* take notice of the writings of *Daniel*, and several other prophets, which they cite on certain occasions, but esteem them as
- c inferior in point of authority to the sacred books above-mentioned<sup>1</sup>.

- As the *Moslems* are not agreed in their opinion of the precise number of the prophets, so a belief of any particular number of those holy men is not required of them as an article of faith. But whoever either denies the veracity of any of these prophets, or even doubts of it, or hates the meanest of them, is considered as an infidel. Nor is this to be wondered at, as *Mohammed* acknowledged the divine authority of the *Pentateuch*, wherein the names of some of these prophets are to be found, as well as of the *Psalms* and the *Gospels*, which likewise mention several of them. Nay, he often appeals to the agreement of the *Korân* with those sacred writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself, as proofs of his mission. His followers also failed not to produce several texts
- d even from our present copies of the *Old* and *New Testament*, in support of their master's cause. But, for a perfect account of these, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Prideaux* and *Marracci*, who in this point will give them full and ample satisfaction<sup>2</sup>.

- THE *Mohammedans* believe a general resurrection and a future judgment, as has been already observed. Some of them also maintain, that not only the whole race of mankind, but that likewise of genii, shall die, and then be raised again. They acknowledge an intermediate state both of the body and of the soul after death. As soon as the former is laid in the grave, they say it is received by an angel, who gives it notice of the approach of two terrible angels, named *Monker* and *Nakîr*, who order the dead person to sit upright, examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of God, and the mission of *Mohammed*, and punish him in a dreadful manner, if he does not give a satisfactory account of his belief in both those particulars. This notion, called by the *Moslems* the examination of the sepulchre, was certainly borrowed by *Mohammed* from the *Jews*, amongst whom it was very anciently received. It is not only founded on an express tradition of the prophet, but also plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the *Korân*, as the commentators agree; and yet it is utterly rejected by the *Motâzalites*, or the followers of *Wâsel Ebn Atâ*, the scholar of *Hasan* of *Basra*. With regard to the soul, they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked, it enters into that state which they call
- e *Al Barzakh*, or the interval between death and the resurrection. The word *Barzakh*, or *Barzakh*, primarily signifies any partition, or interstice, which divides one thing from another; but is used by the *Arabs* not always in the same, and sometimes in an obscure sense. They seem generally to express by it what the *Greeks* did by the word *Hades*; one while using it for the place of the dead, another while for the time of their continuance in that state, and another while for the state itself. It is defined by their critics to be the interval, or space, between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection. If the departed person was a good believer, they say two angels convey his soul to heaven, that a place may be assigned it there, according to its degree and merit. For they distinguish the souls of the pious faithful into three classes; the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into
- f

<sup>1</sup> RELAND. ubi sup. c. v. p. 29—47. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. & alib. SAÏE. ubi sup. p. 75, 76. <sup>2</sup> RELAND. ubi sup. p. 47. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 92—95. AL SHAHRESTAN. & SAFIODDIN, apud Pocock, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 183. AL JANNAB. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 185. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. p. 183—186. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. prodr. ad refut. Alcoran. p. 14—31.



paradise immediately; the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of a *Mohammed*, rest in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise; and the third of others, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection, there is a variety of opinions. We must beg leave here to remark, that infidels only, according to the *Moslem* notion of a future distribution of rewards and punishments, will remain for ever in hell; and consequently, that not a single believer, however vicious and abandoned his course of life may have been, shall perish everlastingly. However, they believe, that the wicked amongst the faithful, if that term may be allowed, shall be punished hereafter in one of the stories, or apartments, of hell, in proportion to the number and guilt of the sins they committed here; after which they are to enter paradise, where they will be for ever inconceivably happy. The *Moslem* doctors maintain, that a person b who either desires not paradise, or fears not hell, or has not an awful sense of the resurrection, is guilty of a most malignant and damnable species of infidelity w.

THOUGH some of the *Mohammedans*, and particularly *Ebn Sina*, have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and others, who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal; the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised. As to the manner of the resurrection, concerning which their doctors dispute with great subtilty, and the ridiculous notion of the incorruption, or rather incorruptibility, of the bone called by the *Arabs* *Al Ajb*, which we name the *os coccygis*, or rump-bone, we shall beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned Dr. *Pococke*, for a farther account of c them. It may not, however, be improper to observe, that *Mohammed* was supplied with the foregoing notion by the *Jews*; who report almost the same things of the bone *Luz*, that the *Arab* prophet does of his *Al Ajb*. The time of the resurrection, according to the *Moslems*, is known to God alone. However, they say the approach of that day may be known by certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts, the lesser and the greater; the former of which are in number eight, and the latter seventeen; a most particular and satisfactory account of which may be met with in Mr. *Salé's Preliminary Discourse*, extracted by Dr. *Pococke* from the best *Oriental* authors. We must not omit remarking, that, according to the *Mohammedan* belief, the irrational animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have d vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another whilst in this world; as also that *Azraël*, the *angel of death*, together with all the other angels, men, and brutes, then remaining, will die, the very moment *Israfil* shall sound the trumpet the second time at the resurrection. The first blast of this trumpet, which they believe will be sounded three times, the *Moslems* call *the blast of consternation*; at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to exempt from it. The second they denominate *the blast of exanimation*; when all creatures both in heaven and earth shall die, or be annihilated, except those which God shall please to exempt from the common fate. These, some say, will be the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Israfil*, and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards die, at the command of God. Some, however, suppose, that the creatures destined not to taste of death, which e are mentioned in the *Korân*, are the angels who bear the throne of God; as also the black-eyed damsels, and other inhabitants of paradise. The space between the second and third blasts, according to *Tâbya*, will be forty days: though others believe it will amount to as many years. The third and last blast the *Moslems* term *the blast of resurrection*, when *Israfil*, who, together with *Gabriel* and *Michael*, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of *Jerusalem*, shall, at God's command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, even the very hairs themselves, to judgment. This angel likewise having set the trumpet to his mouth, and called together the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the last sound, they will fly forth like bees, and fill the whole space between heaven f and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise; and the first who shall so arise, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, will be himself. Nothing, according to some of the *Moslems*, shall survive the general exanimation, preceding the resurrection, except God alone, with paradise and hell, the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory. Notwithstanding what has been advanced, the *Korân* seems to intimate, that *Israfil's* trumpet will sound but twice; however, in relation to this point, the commentators are divided in their opinions. To the creatures that shall be exempted from death some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne of God is placed, the *preserved table*, wherein are registered the divine decrees, and the pen

w AL GHAZAL. Poc. not. in port. Mosis, p. 241, &c. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii, xlvii, &c. HYDE, in notis ad Albertum Bobovium, de visit. agrot. p. 19, 20. AL SHAHRESTAN. & AUTOR SHARH AL MAWAKEF, apud Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 211, 212. EBN KHALECAN, in vita Waeli. AL BEHAWI, Poc. not. in port. Mosis, p. 247. 248. EBN MARUF, apud Gol. lex. Arab. col. 254. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxiii. HYDE, in not. ad Bobov. ubi sup. p. 19. RELAND. ubi sup. c. vi. p. 47—61.



a wherewith they are written; all which things the *Mohammedans* imagine were created before the beginning of the world. Which notion, as well as most others relating to the resurrection, they have undoubtedly derived partly from some mistaken passages of Scripture, and partly from the *Jewish Talmud*. The throne of God, as they pretend, consists of gems of an inestimable value, being of a size and refulgency exceeding all description \*.

THAT the day of judgment will come most inevitably, and with sudden violence, the *Mohammedans* infer from the beginning of the fifty-sixth chapter of the *Korân*. This day of judgment, &c. in that book is called *the hour*, as we find it termed by our Saviour himself in Scripture. That the resurrection preceding this judgment will be general, and extend to all creatures, angels, genii, men, and animals, according to the *Moslem* doctrine, has been already observed; b which doctrine they endeavour to support by the authority of the *Korân*. That passage, however, which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes, has been otherwise interpreted by some of the commentators. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and security; but those who are doomed to everlasting misery, in disgrace, and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say, that they will be raised perfect in their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mother's womb, that is, bare-footed, naked, and uncircumcised. Others, however, allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion. *Mohammed* is also said to have farther taught, that the whole race of mankind shall be assembled at the last day, distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on foot, consisting of such believers whose c good works have been few; the second, of those that ride, who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him; the third, of those who creep groveling with their faces on the ground, which will be composed wholly of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb, and deaf. The last of which classes will be subdivided, according to another tradition of *Mohammed*, into ten sorts of wicked men, on whom God shall on that day fix certain discretory marks. We must not forget to observe, that the resurrection seems to be called in the *Korân* the *meeting of God*, in agreement with an expression of the same import used by the apostle St. Paul; nor that many of the ancient *Arabs*, according to a manuscript of *Levinus Warnerus*, believed a future resurrection, as well as an universal judgment, before the birth of *Mohammed* †.

d THE *Moslems* maintain, that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also, shall be judged on the great day of final retribution; when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till intire satisfaction shall be given to the injured. With regard to men, they hold, that when they are assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose. Which attendance, some say, is to last forty years, others seventy, others 300, and, lastly, others no less than 50,000; each of them vouching their prophet's authority in support of his opinion. During this space, they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference. For the limbs of e the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, lasting no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity. After they have all waited the limited time, God will appear to judge them; *Mohammed* undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Jesus*, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. God, they say, will come on this solemn occasion in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and incircled with glory, will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels, and will command the prophets to bear witness against f those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then, continue they, every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions uttered and done by him in this life. They must then give an account of their time, how they spent it; of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it; of their bodies, wherein they exercised them; of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them. It is said, however, that *Mohammed* has affirmed, that no less than 70,000 of his followers should be permitted to enter paradise without any previous examination; which seems to be contradictory to what has been advanced above. As to the length of the day of judgment, the *Korân* in one place tells us, that it will last a thousand years, and in another fifty thousand. To reconcile which

\* EEN SINA, five AVICENNA, Poc. ubi sup. p. 117—254, 255, &c. Bereshit Rabbah, &c. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 79—83. Al Kor. MOHAM. pass. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 47—61. YAHYA, TALMUD HIEROS. in Masfchet Pesachim. KESSÆUS, apud Hadr. Reland. ubi sup. p. 49, 50. ut & ipse RELAND. ibid. 7 Al Kor. MOHAM. f. lvi. & f. vi. JOHN v. 25, &c. SALE, ubi sup. p. 85, 86. 1 THES. iv. 17. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 271.



apparent contradiction, the commentators are forced to have recourse to several absurd <sup>a</sup> expedients, and evasive shifts. The place where the angels, genii, men, &c. will be assembled to judgment, as the *Moslems* pretend, cannot be precisely determined. Both the *Korân* and the traditions of *Mohammed* suppose that it will be on the earth; but in what part neither of them has expressly declared. Some affirm, that the *Arab* prophet mentioned *Syria* for the place; others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. *Al Ghazâli* imagines it will be a second earth, consisting, as he supposes, of silver; and others, an earth which has nothing in common with ours but the name. The two last notions may perhaps have been taken from the *new heaven* and the *new earth* mentioned in Scripture, or at least from some apocryphal book not unknown to the primitive *Christians*; such as the *Revelation of St. Peter*, where something similar to them is to be found. <sup>b</sup> An *Arabic* version of this last piece is to be met with in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* <sup>c</sup>.

The fate of the  
beings to be  
judged.

BUT whatever length the day of judgment may be of, as well as the space assigned by the *Mohammedans* for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, they tell us the trial itself will last no longer than while an ewe may be milked, or at farthest than the space between the two milkings of a she-camel. *Jallalo'ddin* affirms, that God will judge all creatures in half a day; and others, that it will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye. The *balance*, wherein all things shall be weighed on this great day of trial, is, according to the *Moslem* description of it, of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven <sup>c</sup> and earth. This balance, if we may believe the *Mohammedans*, will then be held by the angel *Gabriel*; the books wherein the words and actions of the creatures to be judged are written, will also then, as they affirm, be thrown into the scales; and, according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given. Those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned. After this will follow that mutual retaliation, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered; the manner of giving which satisfaction will be, by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance <sup>d</sup> one of another, he will command them to be changed into dust; wicked men being reserved unto more grievous punishment. With regard to the genii, some of the *Moslems* maintain, that such of them as are true believers will have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust; whilst others judge, that, as they are capable of putting themselves in the state of believers, as well as men, they must deserve to be amply rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for their infidelity. These, therefore, assign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity. But the unbelieving genii, it is universally agreed, will be punished in hell eternally, with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that, under the denomination of unbelieving genii, the *Mohammedans* comprehend also the devil and his companions. This <sup>e</sup> sufficiently appears from the interpretation of the word *genii* given us by some of the commentators on the *Korân*, to omit other authorities that occur <sup>f</sup>.

The bridge *Al*  
*Sirât*.

AFTER all created intelligent beings have had their respective fates allotted them, the *Mohammedans* hold, that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right-hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire the left; but that both of them must first pass the bridge, called in *Arabic* *Al Sirât*, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and describe to be finer than an hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword. Over this bridge the good will pass, say the orthodox *Moslems*, (for the *Metazalites* reject the whole notion as a fable) with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning, or the wind, *Mohammed* himself leading the way; whereas the wicked will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong <sup>f</sup> into hell, which is gaping beneath to receive them. This ridiculous fiction *Mohammed* undoubtedly borrowed from the *Magians*; some of the *Arabs* in his time being of their religion, and *Persia*, where this prevailed, at a small distance from him. For they taught, that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge, which they call *Pâl Tchînavar*, that is, *the strait bridge*, leading directly into the other world; on the midst of which they supposed that two angels, named *Mibr-Izâd* and *Reshn-Izâd*, will stand, and require of every man a strict account of his actions, which they will weigh in the manner here mentioned. Nor are the *Jews*, after whom *Mohammed* so frequently copied, altogether silent as to

<sup>a</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM, f. vi. MAIMON. More Nev. par. iii. c. 17. SALE, ubi sup. p. 85, 87, 88. AL GHAZAL. MS. Hispano-Arab. apud RELAND. ubi sup. p. 56, 57. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxxii, lxxix. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKSHAR. REV. xvi. 1. JOAN. GAGN. in not. ad Ism. Abu'lfed. de vit. Mahom. c. xix. p. 37, 38. <sup>b</sup> AL ZAMAKSHAR. YAHYA, Poc. not. in Port. Mos. p. 278—282. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, vi, xviii. JALLALO'DDIN. AL BEIDAWI, SALE's prelim. disc. p. 89, 90. &c.



- a this bridge; tho' what the *Persian Magi* believe of the balance held by the angel *Mibr*, wherein mens actions will be weighed at the day of judgment, comes nearer to the *Mohammedan* opinion than the *Jewish* notion, from whence some have imagined it to be derived. However, the *Magi* seem not to have been intirely consistent with themselves in what they have related of the angels posted on the bridge *Pál Tchínawar*, *Tchínawad Pál*, or simply *Tchínawad*, *Tchína-war*, and *Tchínár*, for it went by all these names; or at least Dr. *Hyde* has given us a confused and indistinct account of their sentiments in this particular. In one place we are told, that *Mibr* will hold the balance, and *Sorísh*, *Surísh*, or *Ujrísh*, the other angel, supposed to be more fierce than *Mibr*, will precipitate the condemned souls from the bridge into hell; in another, that the latter angel takes care of the balance, and the former inspects the weight of mens actions, determines the fate of every individual of the human race, and is in fine the proper dispenser of rewards and punishments. Neither of which accounts strictly agrees with the *Sad-der*, or liturgy of the ancient *Persians*, containing an ample and complete collection of the precepts and canons of *Zerdusht*; in which these two angels are denominated *Mikr-Ízad* and *Reshu-Ízad*, and have both the same office assigned them, viz. to weigh the actions of mankind in the balance of justice and equity, in order to make a true estimate of them. Notwithstanding which, Dr. *Hyde*, without naming his guide, ventures to affirm, in direct opposition to the *Sad-der*, that *Mibr*, who represents the divine mercy, will hold the balance in his hand, and *Sorísh*, who represents God's justice, will precipitate those that are condemned from the bridge into hell; and has been followed herein by the learned Mr. *Sale*. But as the authority of the *Sad-der* is preferable to any other in the point before us, our curious readers will by no means be displeased that we adhere so closely to it here <sup>b</sup>.

- AMONGST the *Moslems* a tradition prevails, that at the last day hell will be dragged towards the divine tribunal by 70,000 halters, each halter being hawled by 70,000 angels; and that it will come with great roaring and fury. This notion, which represents the receptacle of damned spirits as a huge and monstrous animal, seems to have been taken from the author of the *Apocalypse*, who intimates, that, after the general judgment, *death and hell*, or *Hades*, shall be cast into the lake of fire. Be that as it will, the *Mohammedans* are taught, that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned. The first, which they call *Jebennam*, a name apparently deduced from the *Gehenna* of Scripture, they say, is destined for the wicked *Mohammedans*, who, after having been there punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named *Ladbá*, they assign to the *Jews*; the third, denominated *Al Hotama*, to the *Christians*; the fourth, named *Al Sair*, to the *Sabians*; the fifth, called *Sakar*, to the *Magians*; the sixth, by them termed *Al Jakim*, to the idolaters; and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, going under the name of *Al Háwiyat*, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in reality were of none. In these apartments, over each of which they believe there will be posted a guard of nineteen angels, the wicked, according to them, will suffer a variety of torments, both from intense heat and excessive cold. The degrees of these will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to. It must be remarked, however, that, according to the *Mohammedan* system, the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation; it being reckoned heretical amongst the *Moslems* to assert, that any one will in a future state be doomed to everlasting punishment, but such as die in their infidelity. The time which the believers shall be detained in hell, according to a tradition handed down from *Mohammed*, will not be less than 400 years, nor more than 7000; and at the end of their respective terms of punishment, they will be released by the mercy of God, at the intercession of their prophet. Hence it appears, that *Mohammed* by no means denied the reality of a place of future punishment, in the same manner as do our modern deists, as some *Christian* writers have maintained; as also, that he never held, with *Origen* and his followers, that devils and impenitent sinners should at last be saved, as others have believed. For most of the circumstances relating to hell, and the state of the damned, *Mohammed* seems to have been indebted to the *Jews*, and in part to the *Magians*; both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell, tho' they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, as do the *Mohammedans*. They also teach, that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold as well as heat; and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by their father *Abraham*, or at the

<sup>b</sup> Poc. ubi sup. p. 282—289. AL GHAZAL. AL MOSTRATAF, AL FIRAUZABAD. in KAM. GOLIUS, in lex. Arab. HYDE, de relig. vet. Persar. p. 245, 262, 263, 401, 402, 403, &c. Lib. SAD-DER, part. i. apud Hyd. ubi sup. p. 436. SALE, ubi sup. p. 89, 90.



intercession of him or some other of the prophets. The *Magians* allow but one angel to a preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them *Vanând Yezád*, or, as those words are pronounced by the vulgar, *Vunnund-Isud*, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes; restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence. They also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life; among which they reckon extreme cold to be one, not admitting fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element, which they take to be the representation of the divine nature. However, they consider hell as a subterranean prison, full of smoke and darkness, where devils in human and hideous forms exercise the greatest cruelty upon the damned. They likewise affirm, that serpents, frogs, and crows, all which animals are extremely disagreeable to the *Persians*, will, by their perpetual hissing, and croaking, heighten the punishment to which those wretches must be for ever consigned <sup>c</sup>.

Of the wall  
between para-  
dise and hell.

BETWEEN hell and paradise the *Moslems* suppose a partition, called by them *Al Orf*, and more frequently, in the plural, *Al Aráf*, which is mentioned in the seventh chapter of the *Korân*. The word seems to be derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies *to distinguish* between things, or *to part* them; tho' some of the commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers imagine *Al Aráf* to be a sort of *limbo*, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity, amongst whom they say there will be angels also in the form of men; tho' others of them are of a different opinion. From the foregoing chapter of the *Korân* it seems probable, that this intermediate partition is a sort of purgatory for those, who, tho' they deserve not to be sent to hell, yet have not merits sufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradise, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place. The notions of the partition here described *Mohammed* must either have borrowed from the *Jews*, or have deduced from what we find related of the great gulph of separation in the Scripture <sup>d</sup>.

Of Moham-  
med's pond.

BEFORE the righteous enter paradise, as the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe, they will be refreshed by drinking at the *pond* of their prophet; which he describes to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass. The water of this pond is supplied by two pipes from *Al Cawthar*, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk, and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament. This water likewise, according to one of the prophet's traditions, is sweeter than honey, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream. Its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereout of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst. The word *Cawthar* signifies *abundance*, especially of *good*. 'Tis probable that the pond here mentioned, as well as the river *Al Cawthar*, its source, owed its origin to the *pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb*, that occurs to us in the *Apocalypse*, in conjunction with the *water* given by our Saviour, of *which those that drink shall never thirst*. For the foregoing description both of this pond and the river *Al Cawthar*, we have been obliged to *Al Ghazâli*, an author in great repute amongst the *Mohammedans* <sup>e</sup>.

Of paradise.

WITH regard to paradise, tho' frequently mentioned in the *Korân*, the *Moslems* in their sentiments are not perfectly agreed. The *Motazalites*, and some other sectaries, assert, that this happy region, or delightful garden, will be created hereafter, and consequently suppose it to be different from the paradise from which *Adam* was expelled. But the orthodox maintain, that it was created before the world, and is situate above the seven heavens, directly under the throne of God; tho' *Mohammed* seems to have placed it in the seventh heaven, as may be inferred from the second chapter of the *Korân*. The earth of it, as some pretend, consists of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or, as others will have it, of saffron. Its stones, as the *Moslems* believe, are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver, and the trunks of all its trees are of gold; among which the most remarkable is the tree called *Tûba*, or the tree of *happiness*, concerning which many ridiculous things have been fabled by the commentators on the *Korân*. The rivers of paradise, according to *Mohammed*, are one of the principal ornaments thereof. Some of these rivers, f

<sup>c</sup> JALLALO'DDIN. REV. XX. 14. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xv, xl, xliii, lxxiv. Poc. not. in Port. Mos. 289—291. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 60, 61. MACCOVIUS, in theol. polem. p. 119, & apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 174. ut & ipse RELAND. ibid. THOMAS A JESU, apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 196—198. ut & ipse RELAND. ibid. MILLIUS, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 412. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 368, &c. Nishmat hayim, f. 32, 82, &c. Gemar. in Arubin, f. 19. Zohar, ad Exod. xix, xxvi. 2, &c. HYDE, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 245. Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, par. xi. f. 8, 116. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, iii. BARTOLOCCI bibliothec. Rabbini. tom. ii. p. 128. & tom. iii. p. 421. HYDE, ubi sup. p. 182, 399, 400, &c. <sup>d</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vii. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 121, &c. Midrash, Yalkut Sioni, f. 11. LUKE xvi. 26. HYDE, in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de visitat. ægrotior. p. 19. Oxonii, 1690. <sup>e</sup> AL GHAZALI, AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, REV. xxii. 1. JOHN iv. 14. Vide etiam EUTHYM. ZICABEN. in panopl. dogmat. inter SYLEURGII Saracenic. p. 29.



a his followers say, flow with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey; all of them taking their rise from the root of the tree *Tîba*. The garden also, as they pretend, is watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron. The *Korân* seems to insinuate, that one distinct paradise will be prepared for men, and another for genii; or, as some imagine, two gardens to each person, one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and superabundant gift. Some of the fruits of these gardens, we are told, will resemble those eaten here on earth; but others will be of a new and unknown species, such as mortal eye never beheld <sup>f</sup>.

BESIDES these delicious fruits, there will appear in the garden, or rather gardens of paradise, as we are taught by *Mohammed* in the fifty-fifth chapter of the *Korân*, vast numbers of agreeable and beauteous damsels, whom neither men nor genii have deflowered, kept in pavilions from public view, and called, from their large black eyes, *Hûr al oyûn*, the enjoyment of whose company will be one of the principal felicities of the faithful. These, they suppose, will lie on green cushions and beautiful carpets, having before been cleansed from all impurities incident to the sex. The happy mansion wherein these resplendent and ravishing girls reside, which is also to be the residence of all true believers, the *Mohammedans* call *Al Jannat*, or *the garden*; and sometimes *Jannat al Ferdaws*, *the garden of paradise*, *Jannat Aden*, *the garden of Eden*, *Jannat al Mâwa*, *the garden of abode*, *Jannat al Naïm*, *the garden of pleasure*, and the like. By which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity, (for they reckon no less than an hundred such in all) the meanest of which will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that no creature could sustain them which had not the abilities of an hundred men. And these, as *Mohammed* has declared, will be given by God to every believer hereafter, in order to qualify him for a full enjoyment of them. Some of the *Moslem* doctors, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, maintain, that these charming girls will be the proper inhabitants of paradise, as they will be produced originally there; whilst others of them are of opinion, that they will be translated from this globe we are seated upon to that blessed place <sup>g</sup>.

AFTER the righteous have refreshed themselves by drinking at *Mohammed's* pond, they will arrive, if we will believe *Al Ghazâlî*, at two fountains, springing from under a certain tree d near the gate of paradise; of one of which they will drink, in order to purge their bodies, and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and wash themselves in the other. As soon as they present themselves before the gate itself, each person will there be met and saluted by the two beautiful youths, of celestial extraction, appointed to serve and wait upon him; as also by two angels, bearing the presents God has sent him. After this they shall enter paradise; tho' no person's good works, according to *Mohammed's* declaration, not even his own, will gain him admittance. No one will be saved by his own merits, but merely by the mercy of God. However, if any credit be due to the *Korân*, the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts; and there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness. The most eminent of these will be reserved for the prophets, the second for the doctors and e teachers of God's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lowest for the rest of the blessed, according to their several merits. *Mohammed*, as he himself says, will enter paradise first, and after him the poor, five hundred years before the rich. He also further informs us, that the majority of the inhabitants of paradise will consist of the poor, and the greater part of the wretches confined in hell of women. Immediately after their admission, as the *Moslems* fable, they will be entertained by God, who will reach out to them with his hand the whole earth, resembling a huge and monstrous loaf of bread, holding it like a cake. The 70,000 believers, who will be admitted into paradise without examination, as the generality of the commentators suppose, will feast upon the ox *Balâm*, and the fish *Nûn*, the lobes of whose livers, according to them, will suffice 70,000 men. This seems to intimate, that those believers only will be permitted to feed upon that part, which the *Moslems* f consider as the most elegant dish that can even in paradise be prepared. From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where he will enjoy such a profusion of delights as will vastly exceed both his expectation and comprehension. These will consist of seventy-two most lovely wives at least, a tent immensely rich, a prodigious number of servants, a surprizing variety of species of food served in dishes of gold, many sorts of the most delicious liquors brought them in vessels of the same metal, the richest wines void of an inebriating quality, most magnificent furniture, and garments answerable to the delicacy of their diet, a numerous train of attendants, and in fine every thing that a sensualist or voluptuary can desire. Every sense will be gratified, every passion indulged. g And that the pleasures of paradise may be tasted in their utmost height, the *Moslems* assert,

<sup>f</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, xlvi, lv. YAHYA, AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RELAND. ubi sup. p. 13, 61, 199—205. <sup>g</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vi. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.



that the inhabitants of that place will enjoy a perpetual youth, and be raised in their prime <sup>a</sup> and vigour, that is, with the strength of a person about thirty years of age; which, as they affirm, will likewise happen to the damned, that they may be the more sensible of that extreme torment they must to all eternity endure. The *Mohammedans* believe, that hell has seven gates, and paradise eight; the former of which may be shut, and the latter opened, by fasting a certain number of days. By virtue of which notion, such a fast is strictly enjoined by the *Sonna*; nor do the orthodox *Moslems* fail to have recourse to one of their prophet's oral traditions in support of this opinion <sup>b</sup>.

As for those believers, whose sanctity was most transcendently conspicuous, and who arrived at an uncommon degree of perfection, in this world, an inexhaustible source of the most sublime and refined pleasures, infinitely superior to any thing hitherto described, <sup>b</sup> according to the *Moslem* opinion, will be prepared for them. These, the *Moslems* say, will enjoy *such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive*; an expression most certainly borrowed from Scripture. The *Korân* does not only intimate, but even expressly declare, notwithstanding what has been already advanced, that *their reward shall be most excellent*, and that *they shall even receive a superabundant addition*, or, in other words, that their reward will vastly exceed the merit of their good works. Which additional recompense *Al Ghâzali* supposes will be the beatific vision, or, as the *Mohammedans* sometimes term it, the favour of beholding God's face morning and evening; which will give such exquisite delight, that, in respect thereof, all the other pleasures of paradise, how great soever, will be lightly esteemed. This seems to imply, that <sup>c</sup> the more sober and rational *Mohammedans* believe the principal happiness of the blessed to consist in spiritual enjoyments; and that the sensual paradisaical pleasures mentioned in the *Korân*, and by the commentators on that book, are to be taken in an allegorical sense. That such a notion is consonant to the genius of all the wiser *Moslems*, Dr. Hyde owns himself convinced, from an answer he received to some queries relating to paradise from the *Morocco* ambassador, who therein assured him, that paradise bore not the least resemblance to any place here on earth. To which we may add, that Mr. D'Herbelot affirms *Mohammed* to have placed the *summum bonum*, or *chief good*, in the beatific vision, or the fruition of the immediate divine presence, to all eternity; and likewise to have maintained, that where- <sup>d</sup> ever that was, there must be paradise of course. Nay, some of the *Arab* philosophers assert, that as soon as a soul, arrived at an exalted degree of perfection, leaves the body, it immediately tastes an ineffable pleasure and inconceivable complacency resulting from its nature and disposition; and that such souls as these more or less resemble the divine nature itself in proportion to the higher or lower degree of perfection to which they attain. Notwithstanding which, the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the *Korân*, that altho' some *Mohammedans*, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet's descriptions of the pleasures of paradise as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual sense; yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is strictly to be believed in the obvious and literal acceptation. Which truth is so apparent and clear, that even Mr. Sale himself, however prejudiced he <sup>e</sup> might have been in favour of the *Mohammedan* superstition, could not refuse his assent to it. Nor, indeed, would the depraved sensual taste of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* assumed the prophetic character, and set up for a legislator and reformer amongst them, permit him to appoint a spiritualized and intellectual paradise hereafter for his believers. He then found himself obliged to accommodate to the *Arab* disposition and constitutional bent his religious as well as his civil institutions. A point so clear as this could not be denied either by the count *de Boulainvilliers* or Mr. Sale, who have even endeavoured to defend the expediency of it, as has been already observed <sup>f</sup>.

THAT the *Jews* and *Persian Magi* supplied *Mohammed* with most of those notions relating to paradise, which his followers have all along embraced as undoubted truths, may be <sup>f</sup> easily evinced from some good authors. The former describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden reaching to the seventh heaven, having three gates and four rivers, answering to those of the garden of *Eden*, flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey. Their *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed, are so apparently the *Balâm* and *Nîn* of *Mohammed*, that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both. The *Rabbins* likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity, and say the highest will be of those who perpetually contemplate the face of God. The *Per-*

<sup>b</sup> AL GHAZALI, KENZ AL ASRAR, AL BEIDAWI; JALLALO'DDIN, AL KOR. MOHAM. ubi sup. & alib. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. iv. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammedic. lib. i. c. xi. p. 109—113. <sup>i</sup> ISA. lxiv. 4.

<sup>j</sup> COR. ii. 9. AL GHAZALI, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. x. & POC. in not. ad Port. Mos. p. 305. RELAND. ubi sup. lib. ii. sect. xvii. p. 199—205. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, HYDE, in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de visitat. ægrotor. p. 21. D'HERBEL. & POCOCCIUS, apud Reland. ubi sup. p. 203, 204. SALE, ubi sup. p. 101, 102, 103. Monf. le Comte de BOULAINVILL. vie de Mahom. pass.



- a** *jian Magi* committed the care of the *Hurâni bebisht*, or *black-eyed nymphs of paradise*, as well as all terrene affairs, to the angel *Zamiyâd*, who, amongst them, presided over the earth; and the twenty-eighth day of the month *Isphendârmaz*, which the *Indo-Persians* pronounce *Spendarmoz*, called from him *Zamiyâd*. We are told likewise by the *Sad-der*, that those who are liberal in giving of alms shall be hereafter rewarded in paradise with the possession of several such beautiful girls. From the *Magians*, therefore, *Mohammed* seems to have derived the notion of his *Hûr al oyûn*, or paradisaical ladies, whose charms have been represented as so attractive in the *Korân*. He also seems in some respect to have been obliged, for his accounts of the felicity of the faithful in the next life, to the sacred writings themselves; the penmen of which were necessitated sometimes to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images, it being impossible to convey to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind an idea of spiritual pleasures, without introducing sensible objects. But then the descriptions given us by these writers, particularly that laid down by our Saviour of the future state of the blessed, and that exhibited to us by St. *John* of the mansions destined for their future residence, are void of the most distant intimation of sensual delights, and all the ridiculous absurdities relating to paradise, that so frequently occur in the *Korân*. On the contrary, our Lord utterly explodes all such preposterous notions; which are so far from becoming an inspired apostle, such as the *Moslems* take *Mohammed* to have been, that they are repugnant to the fundamental principles of even natural religion itself <sup>k</sup>.

- b** WITH regard to women, tho' some of the most ignorant *Mohammedans* seem to exclude *Whether women are excluded paradise.* them from the joys of paradise, as not allowing them to have any souls, according to several *Christian* writers; yet that *Mohammed* himself entertained a far different opinion, and assigned some of them habitations in that delightful place, may be inferred from several passages of the *Korân*. Nay, that good women, after death, will have a mansion assigned them, different from that of the men, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights, is, according to Sir *John Chardin* and others, the prevailing opinion amongst the *Mohammedans*. In confirmation of which, we are assured by Dr. *Hyde*, that he was informed by a female captive, who had been made a prisoner at the reduction of *Buda*, and was at *Oxford* in *May* 1687, with whom he had a conference in *Turkish*, that the *Moslems* believed the souls of all the faithful, both men and women, after the dissolution of the vital union here, to be received into paradise. She also reprehended an ignorant *Turkish* youth, taken likewise at *Buda*, for presuming to differ from her in this particular. She farther declared, that, according to the *Turkish* doctrine, every individual of the human race should be hung over paradise and hell, at the resurrection, by a single hair only; and that, upon the rupture of this hair, the righteous should drop into the former, and the wicked into the latter of those places. The doctor also produces the testimony of *Ali Beigh*, a writer of good repute amongst the *Moslems*, in support of the same opinion <sup>l</sup>.

- c** THE next article of faith, insisted on by the *Korân*, is God's absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the *Sonnites* maintain, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether good or bad, proceedeth intirely from the divine will; and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the *preserved table*. The *Motazalites*, however, or followers of *Wâsel Ebn Atâ*, held that God was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent, (which was also one of the distinguishing tenets of the *Kadarians*) and consequently denied absolute predestination. Of the article here mentioned *Mohammed* made great use on several occasions, and particularly at the battle of *Ohod*, fought in the third year of the *Hejra*, in which he was vigorously repulsed by the *Koreish*. In order the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, he represented to them, after the end of the action, that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God; and that those who fell in that battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home. In fine, nothing could be better calculated than this doctrine for the advancement of *Mohammed's* designs; since, by representing to his followers, that all their cautions could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment, it encouraged them to fight without fear, and even desperately; for the propagation of their religion <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Gemar. Tâniith, f. 25. Beracoth, f. 34. & Midrash rabboth, f. 37. Megillah, Amkoth, p. 78. Midrash; Yalkut Shemuni. GEN. ii. 10, &c. Gemar. Bava Bathra, f. 78. Rashi, in Job i. Poc. not. in Port. Mos. p. 298. Nishmat hayim, f. 32. Midrash, Tehillim, f. 11. Sad-der, port. v. HYDE, de rel. vet. Persar. p. 258, 265, 266. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. x. LUKE xxii. 29, 30, &c. MATT. xxii. 30. REV. xxi. 10. & xxii. 1, 2. JOHN xiv. 2. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 199—205. SALE, ubi sup. p. 101, 102. <sup>l</sup> GRELOT, voyage de Constant. p. 275. RICAUT's present state of the Ottoman empire, l. ii. c. 21. HORNBEKIUS, in summa contror. p. 16. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iii, iv, xiii, xvi, xl, xlviii, lvii, lx, lxvi. CHARD. voyag. tom. ii. p. 328. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 205—209. ALI BEIGH, apud Hyd. in not. ad Albertum Bobovium, ubi sup. p. 21. ut & ipse HYD. ibid. SALE, ubi sup. p. 102, 103. <sup>m</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xlv, xcvi. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 238—241.



Of prayer,  
and the pre-  
vious purifi-  
cations.

THE four fundamental points of religious practice, required by the *Korân*, are prayer, a giving of alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Under prayer are comprehended those legal washings or purifications, which are preparatory thereto; of which there are two degrees, one called *Ghoſſ*, being a total immersion of the body in water, and the other *Wodû*, which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only; the latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty. We have already observed, that *Mohammed* borrowed these purifications either from the *Jews*, or his own countrymen; it being certain, that the pagan *Arabs*, long before the birth of that impostor, used such lustrations. Some of the *Moslems*, however, pretend that they are as ancient as *Abraham*, who, they say, was enjoined by God b to observe them, and was shewed the manner of making the ablution by the angel *Gabriel*, in the form of a beautiful youth. Others deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels. Besides these washings, there is another purification, performed by defrication, enjoined in the fifth *Sûra*, or chapter, of the *Korân*. It is called *Al Tayamom*, which properly denotes the action of taking any thing from the surface, as fine sand or dust from the surface of the earth; whence it comes to signify the rubbing of the parts of the body with fine sand or dust, in lieu of water. The words of the *Korân*, injoining this ceremony, are the following: *If ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith.* Which passage, the *Mohammedans* say, was revealed during the war of *Al Mostalek*, in the sixth year of the *Hejra*; tho' c their pretended prophet seems not to have been so much indebted to his own cunning as to the example of the *Jews*, or perhaps that of the *Persian Magi*, for this expedient. The former of those nations prescribes lustration by dust or sand, where water cannot be had, in their *Talmudical* pandects; and the latter think a triple frication of their faces and hands with dust, when water is not at hand, before morning-prayer, is a duty incumbent on every person; tho', in order to a perfect purification, water must afterwards be used, and the morning-prayer repeated. But for a farther account of these and other particulars relative to the origin of this institution, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Sad-der*, as well as a learned author, whom we have frequently had occasion to cite in the d preceding part of this work <sup>n</sup>.

BESIDES the aforesaid purifications, the *Mohammedans* have another rite, which they consider likewise in a similar view, and that is circumcision. Tho' this be not directly required in the *Korân*, it is yet held by the *Mohammedans* to have been originally of divine institution. 'Tis probable this rite was derived from *Ismael* to his descendants, as well as the other *Arabs*, and particularly the *Hamyarites*, with whom they were intermixed. The *Ismaelites*, according to *Josephus*, were circumcised when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which time their father *Ismael* underwent that operation; nor do the *Mohammedans* circumcise their children before they can pronounce the profession of their faith; that is, somewhere between the ages of six and sixteen, or thereabouts. Tho' the prevailing opinion e amongst the *Moslems* is, that the precept injoining circumcision was originally given to *Abraham*; yet some of them have not scrupled to assert, that *Adam* was taught it by the angel *Gabriel*. It must here be remarked, that the females, as well as the males, are circumcised amongst the *Mohammedans*; which agrees with what we find related of the *Arabian* women, in this particular, by *Strabo*. According to *Galen*, the rite of circumcision was performed on the *Egyptian* girls by an incision of the *nympha*, in the same manner as it is upon those of the *Mohammedans* at this day. The *Egyptians* circumcised their children, both male and female, in the fourteenth year of their age. That the *Moslems* do not confine this operation, as some writers suggest, to the thirteenth year, because *Ismael* was circumcised at that time is evident from the example of *Mohammed*, the son of *Sultan Morad III.* upon whom the operation was f performed in the sixteenth year of his age; not to mention other instances of this kind that occur. The *Moslems* also think, that combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, and shaving their private parts, are all points of cleanliness, and necessary in order to internal purification; which induces them to make these, as well as the foregoing lustrations, likewise indispensable duties <sup>o</sup>.

As

<sup>n</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. & alib. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 66—87. Poc. not. in Port. Mos. p. 356, &c. MARK vii. 3, &c. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 198. AL JANNAB. in vit. Abrah. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 503. Pseudevang. S. BARNAB. vers. Hispan. c. 29. AL KESSAI, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. v. 7. Cod. Berachoth. cap. ii. in Gemar. fol. 15. 1. Poc. not. miscel. ad Port. Mos. p. 389. GEO. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 250. Lib. Sad-der, port. lxxxiv. apud Hyd. de relig. vet. Pers. p. 477. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mahom. cap. xliii. p. 83. ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALLAH BEN ABI ZEID. in system. theol. MS. apud HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 81, 82. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 83, 84. <sup>o</sup> ALBERTUS BOBOVIUS, de circumcis. p. 22. PHILOSTORG. hist. eccl. lib. iii. JOSEPH. ant. lib. i. c. 23. GENES. xvii. 25. Pseudevang. BARNAB. vers. Hispan. c. 23. HADR.



- a As we have already given some account of the duty of prayer, we shall only touch here in a cursory manner on some of the most material particulars relating to it. With regard to public prayer, for the stated times of which *Mohammed* pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himself, when he took his night-journey to heaven, and which are frequently insisted on in the *Korân*, it must be performed by every conscientious *Moslem* at least five times a day, as has been already observed. At these times, of which public notice is given by the *Muedhdins*, or *Criers*, from the steeples of their mosques, every *Mohammedan* prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form, and with a certain number of praises or ejaculations. He uses also certain postures of worship; all which have been particularly
- b described by several authors. It is likewise requisite that he should turn his face, whilst he prays, towards the temple of *Mecca*; being directed thereto by a nich made within the mosque, called *Al Mehrâb*, and, without, by the situation of the doors opening into the galleries of the steeple. There are also tables calculated for the ready finding out the *Keblah*, or part to which he ought to pray, in places where there is no other direction. The *Mohammedans*, during the time of divine service, never appear in sumptuous apparel, tho' they are obliged to be decently cloathed, lest they should seem proud and arrogant. They oblige likewise their women to perform their devotions at home, or at least not to approach the mosques whilst the men are there. But notwithstanding the numerous particulars comprized in the *Mohammedan* institution of prayer, many of which, especially the appointment of the
- c *Keblah*, as has been already remarked, were borrowed from the *Jews*, the inward disposition of the heart, according to the *Moslem* doctors, is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty. This, they say, is the life and spirit of prayer; the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies here mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope. We are told by an *Arab* writer that thirteen things are requisite in public prayer: the intention; the magnification, and its formula; the station, or erect posture of the body; the reading of the first chapter of the *Korân*; the incurvation of the body; the second erection of the body; adoration; the former session; the latter session; the latter confession, and its formula; and, lastly, the order to be observed in the performance of these acts of devotion. The principal
- d points relating to public prayer, mentioned in the *Sonna*, are a purification of the parts of the body from all kinds of pollutions; decent garments, proper to appear in on so solemn an occasion; the choice of a clean place to discharge this duty in; the knowlege of the stated time of public worship; the conversion towards the *Keblah*, or temple of *Mecca*; the former admonition, or of convening the people to prayer; the latter admonition; the former confession; and the form of the prayer to be used. For a perfect and complete knowlege of all which particulars, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the authors cited here. It may not be improper to remark, that the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who are *Sonnites*, perform the sacred ablution after a manner different from that of the *Persians*, who are *Shiites*; and that, according to *Cedrenus*, a *Jew*, at the point of death, was baptized by the *Christians*,
- e before the time of *Mohammed*, with sand in the *Syrtes* of *Africa*, where no water could be procured<sup>p</sup>.

f THE next fundamental duty required by the *Mohammedan* religion, and on which great *Of alms.* stress is laid in the *Korân*, is the giving of alms; which are of two sorts, *legal* and *voluntary*. The latter are left to every one's liberty, to give more or less, as he shall think fit; but the former are of a perpetual and indispensable obligation. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called *Zacât*, and the latter *Sadakât*; tho' this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called *Zacât*, either because they *increase* a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon, and *produce* in his soul the virtue of liberality; or because they *purify* the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice. They seem to have obtained the name of *Sadakât*, because they are a proof of a man's *sincerity* in the worship of God. We are told, that the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* used to say, that *prayer carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the*

HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 75. STRAB. lib. xvi. GALEN. de us. part. lib. xv. AMBROS. de patr. Abr. lib. xv. c. 11. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 303. AL JANNAB. in vit. Abrah. AL GHAZALI, SALE, ubi sup. p. 106, 107. ORIGEN. in philocal. c. xxiii. p. 77.

<sup>p</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. p. 38. ABU HOREIRA, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, v, vii, xx, xxix, xxx, &c. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 38, 39. ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALLAH EBN ABI ZEID, in suo systemat. theologic. MS. IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED AL HALEBI, in suo systemat. MS. fol. 9 col. 2. HOTTING. hist. eccl. tom. viii. p. 470—529. ALBERT. BOBOV. in liturg. Turcic. p. 1, &c. GREL. voy. de Constant. p. 253—264. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 388, &c. SMITH, de morib. ac instit. Turcar. ep. i. p. 33, 40, &c. HYDE, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 8, 9, 126. AL GHAZALI, POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 305. GEMAR. Berachoth. GENES. xix. 27. xxiv. 63. xxviii. 11, &c. DAN. vi. 10. MILLIUS, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 427, &c. HYDE, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 5, &c. MAIMONID. in epist. ad profelyt. relig. POC. ubi sup. p. 306. GEMAR. Bava Bathra, & Berachoth. 1 KIN. viii. 29, &c. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 54. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 87—99. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ. compend. p. 250.



door of his palace, and alms procures us admission. And, indeed, this duty is often recom-  
 mended, jointly with prayer, in the *Korân*; the former being held of great efficacy in  
 causing the latter to be heard of God. Alms, according to the prescriptions of the *Moham-*  
*medan* law, are to be given of five things. 1. Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and  
 sheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, viz. dates and raisins. And, 5. Of wares  
 fold. In order to render alms efficacious, six things, as we are told by an *Arab* author, are  
 requisite. 1. That the giver be a *Moslem*. 2. That he be free. 3. That he be the lawful  
 possessor of that out of which he gives alms, 4. That he possess this in a proper quantity.  
 5. That he be in possession of it about a year. 6. That the cattle, of which alms are given,  
 be either fed by the proprietor, or sent to pasture by him. The portion given in alms is  
 usually about one part in forty, or two and an half *per cent.* of the value; tho' in some  
 cases a much larger portion than this is reckoned due. At the end of the fast of *Ramadân*,  
 every *Moslem* is obliged to give in alms for himself, and for every one of his family, if  
 he has any, a measure of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly  
 eaten. The legal alms were at first collected by *Mohammed* himself, who employed them as  
 he thought fit, to the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly to the mainte-  
 nance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, for the cause of God.  
 The *Khalifs*, his successors, for some time continued to do the same. The foregoing rules  
 relating to alms seem to have been derived from the *Jews*, as well as many others of  
*Mohammed's* institutions; they being called by that people *Sedaks*, i. e. *justice*, or *righteousness*,  
 greatly recommended by their *Rabbins*, and even preferred by them to sacrifices. A *Sea*  
 is paid for every head, after the conclusion of the fast of *Ramadân*, whether they be free or  
 slaves, infants or adults, men or women, according to *Al'd'allab Ebn Abi Zeid*. The *Moslems*  
 rank giving of alms amongst those duties denominated by them *Fard*, or of *divine institu-*  
*tion*; so that it is more obligatory than any thing enjoined by the *Sonna*, or recommended  
 to them by even the most authentic tradition. *Mohammed* is said, by *Al Beidawi*, and *Jalla-*  
*lo'ddin*, to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly, shall  
 have a serpent twisted about his neck at the resurrection<sup>a</sup>.

Of fasting.

THE third fundamental point of religious practice, enjoined the *Mohammedans*, is fasting;  
 a duty deemed of so great moment by their prophet, that he usually called it *the gate of*  
*religion*. It was also held in such esteem by that great *Moslem* doctor *Al Ghazâlî*, that he  
 reckoned it *one fourth part of the faith*. According to the *Mohammedan* divines, there are  
 three degrees of fasting. 1. The restraining the belly and other parts of the body from  
 satisfying their lusts. 2. The restraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other  
 members, from sin. And, 3. The fasting of the heart from worldly cares, and restraining  
 the thoughts from every thing besides God. The *Moslems* are obliged, by the express  
 command of the *Korân*, to fast the whole month of *Ramadân*, because on that month, as  
 they pretend, the *Korân* was sent down from heaven, from the time the new moon first  
 appears, till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they must abstain  
 from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night, or sunset. In order to  
 render the discharge of this duty effectual and meritorious, three things are requisite.  
 1. That the person who fasts should be a *Moslem*, 2. That he should be arrived at  
 puberty. And, 3. That he should not labour under any mental indisposition. The preced-  
 ing injunction of the *Korân*, relative to the fast of *Ramadân*, the *Mohammedans* observe so  
 strictly, that, while they fast, they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts  
 of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or  
 injection, bathe, wash their face or hands, or even purposely swallow their spittle; some  
 being so cautious that they will not even open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe  
 the air too freely. The fast is also deemed void, if a man kiss or touch a woman, by any  
 accident emit seed, has any menstuous blood drop upon him, becomes mad, or apostat-  
 izes from the faith, during the season of fasting, or if he vomit designedly. We must  
 not omit observing, that, in his ordinances concerning fasting, *Mohammed* seems to have  
 followed the guidance of the *Jews*, no less than in the foregoing particulars; and that,  
 besides the fast of *Ramadân*, some others are commanded by certain authentic traditions.  
 The extraordinary favour of God, on the day of the resurrection, is promised to those  
 persons who fast only one day in the month of *Shaabân*, by the *Sonna*<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, & alibi pass. LUKE xi. 41. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 5. ABD'ALLAH EBN ABU ZEID, HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 99—109. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 415. &c. MATTH. vi. 1. (ed. Steph.) 2 Cor. ix. 10. Gemar. in Bava Bath'a, in Gittin, & in Rosh hashan. LEVIT. xix. 9, 10. DEUT. xxiv. 19, &c. Gemar Hierosol. in Pe'ah, & MAIMON. in Halachoth Matanoth Aniyyim, c. vi. Confer Luke Avoth, v. 9. LUKE xix. 8. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, SALE, ubi sup. p. 109, 110, 111. <sup>r</sup> AL GHAZALI, AL MOSTATRAF, AL KOR. MOHAMMED. f. ii. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, Poc. not. in carmen Tograi, p. 89, &c. Siphra, fol. 252. 2. Tosephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, fol. 34. & MAIMON. in Halachoth Tanioth, c. v. f. 5. Gemar. Tanith, f. 12. & Yoma, fol. 83. & Es Hayim, Tanith, c. i. RELAND. ubi sup. lib. i. c. xi. p. 109—113. SALE, ubi sup. p. 111—114.



- a WITH regard to the fourth point of practice, or the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, this is esteemed by the *Moslems* as so necessary and indispensable a duty, that, in their opinion, he who dies without performing it, cannot possibly be in a state of salvation. Of the time and manner of this pilgrimage, as well as of the temple of *Mecca*, the chief scene of the *Mohammedan* worship, we have already given a full and ample account in the life of *Mohammed*; and therefore an enumeration of the ceremonies used on that occasion must necessarily be deemed superfluous here. However, it may not be improper to observe, that they were almost all of them derived from the pagan *Arabs*, to whom they were known many ages before the *Moslem* prophet made his appearance in the world, particularly the compassing of the *Caaba*, the running between *Safâ* and *Merwâ*, and the throwing of the stones in *Mina*; which were confirmed by *Mohammed*, tho' with some alterations in such points as seemed the most liable to exception. These rites are still most religiously observed by the *Mohammedans*. However, it is acknowledged that the greater part of them are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul, nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any farther view; and are therefore to be complied with, not because they are good in themselves, but because God has so appointed. This was *Mohammed*'s declaration, which his followers consider as a decision of infinite and unerring wisdom itself. Notwithstanding which, it must be owned, that the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, are both silly and ridiculous in themselves, and to be condemned as relics of idolatrous superstition. However, it cannot be denied, considering the nature of mankind, that *Mohammed* acted like a consummate politician, when he yielded some points of less moment to the *Arabs*, in order to gain the principal. And for this reason it was, that he found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself, than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which the *Arabs* in general, if we except only the tribes of *Tay* and *Khatbâim*, and some of the posterity of *Al Hareth Ebn Caab*, who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto, were addicted to the temple of *Mecca*, and the rites performed there. After several fruitless trials, therefore, to wean them from that place of worship, which was held by them in such excessive veneration, especially by the people of *Mecca*, who had a particular interest to support that veneration, he found himself obliged to compromise the matter, and, rather than to frustrate his whole design, to allow them to perform the pilgrimage thither, and, after the example of their pagan ancestors, to direct their prayers to the *Caaba*. The *Moslems* pretend, that God shewed *Abraham* the spot where the *sacred house* at first stood, and also the model of the old building, which had been taken up to heaven at the flood. They likewise believe, that the origin of the *Caaba*, as a place of religious worship, is clearly revealed in the second and twenty-second chapters of the *Korân* <sup>s</sup>.
- b
- c
- d

- HAVING thus given a brief description of the positive precepts contained in the *Korân*, we must now beg leave to touch upon some of the principal of those of a negative kind that occur in this celebrated book. The first of these is the prohibition relating to the drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, which we meet with in several passages of the *Korân*. Some, however, suppose, that only drinking to excess is there forbidden; and that a moderate use of wine is allowed by the *Mohammedan* law. But the more received opinion is, that even the smallest quantity of wine, or other strong liquors going under that name, ought not to be drunk by any *Moslem*. Nay, the more conscientious *Mohammedans* are so strict in this particular, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of that liquor. Some of the more rigid *Moslems* assert, that coffee comes under the prohibition that declares the use of wine to be unlawful, as the fumes of it have a certain effect upon the imagination. The generality, however, of the orientals (at least this seems to appear from their constant practice) are of a different opinion. This drink, which was first publicly used at *Aden*, in *Arabia Felix*, or *Yaman*, about the middle of the ninth century of the *Hejra*, and thence gradually introduced into *Mecca*, *Medina*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and other parts of the *Levant*, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed. It has been frequently found by experience, in *Constantinople* and other larger cities of the *Ottoman* empire, that the use of coffee has proved of pernicious consequence to the state, the persons drinking it having often been engaged in plots, and forming schemes against the government; for which reason it has sometimes
- e
- f

<sup>s</sup> Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 310, & seq. AL GHAZALI, ABU JAAFAR EBN TOFAIL, in vit. Hai Ebn Yokdhân, p. 151. edit. Pocock. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. AL FAIK, de tempor. ignor. Arabum, apud Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 322. ISAI. lxiv. 6. AL SHAHRESTANI, AL BEIDAWI, JALLAI'OD-DIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 171, RELAND. ubi sup. c. xii. p. 113—122. SALE, ubi sup. p. 114—122.



been there forbidden, even when the drinking of wine itself has been connived at by the people in power. However, the use of coffee is at present tolerated, and prevails almost intirely throughout the east, as well as that of tobacco; tho' the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying, or rather prediction, of their prophet. Opium also and beng, or the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve, are esteemed unlawful by the rigid *Mohammedans*, because they intoxicate as wine does, tho' not so much as mentioned in the *Korân*. Several reasons have been assigned for the prohibition of inebriating liquors, so much insisted on by the *Mohammedan* law; but the following is that given in the *Korân*, viz. because the ill qualities of these liquors surpass their good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties. Some of the *Moslems* abstain from wine only during the month of *Ramadân*; and others again drink it copiously in that month, tho' so solemnly appointed for a fast by the *Korân*. Some of the *Mohammedan* doctors maintain, that their prophet only prohibited the immoderate use of the strongest or most generous wines, and that therefore all his followers may drink these in moderation, and the thinner or weaker wines in what quantities they please, provided they do not injure their health by such indulgence, without running counter to any of the negative precepts of the *Korân*. Be this, however, as it will, the *Persians*, as well as the *Turks*, are very fond of wine, and on this account, as well as for some political reasons, indulge themselves in the use of it. They are likewise so extremely addicted to coffee and tobacco, that the *Turks* say, *a dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment*; and the *Persians* have a proverb, that *coffee without tobacco is meat without salt*. We are told by *Abd'alkâder Mohammed Al Ansâri Al Ghezîri Al Hanbali*, a manuscript copy of whose treatise concerning coffee is lodged in the French king's library, that the liquor extracted from that plant was common from times immemorial in *Ethiopia*. What that author has written about the origin and progress of the drink of coffee was taken, if he may be credited, from *Shahaboddin Ebn Abd'aljaasar Al Maleki*, another *Arab* author, who lived near the time that coffee was first used at *Mecca*, and wrote upon the same subject. From the *Arabic MS. of Levinus Warnerus*, cited by *Spanhemius*, and by us already referred to, it sufficiently appears, that the more devout pagan *Arabs* totally abstained from wine long before the birth of *Mohammed*.

Of the prohibition of gaming.

GAMING also, as well as the use of all intoxicating liquors, is expressly condemned in the second and fifth chapters of the *Korân*. The original word *Al Meisar*, which there occurs, properly denotes a particular game performed with arrows, and much in vogue amongst the pagan *Arabs*. But by *lots* there we are plainly to understand all games whatsoever, which are subject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, &c. For a full account of the game *Al Meisar*, or the manner of casting lots by arrows, performed by the division of a young camel into ten or twenty-eight parts, our curious readers may consult the authors here referred to. The games prohibited by the *Korân* are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is by the more rigid *Mohammedans* judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game allowed by the *Mohammedan* doctors to be lawful (tho' this has not been admitted by some of them) as depending wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance. But then it is allowed under the following restrictions, viz. that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions; and that no money or other thing be played for or betted; which last the *Turks* and *Sunnites* religiously observe, but the *Persians* and *Moguls* do not. *Al Beidawi* expounds a passage of the *Korân*, relating to the prohibition of gaming, of idols, and is followed herein by several other commentators; but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan *Arabs* played at chess, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries; and this is supposed to have been the only thing which *Mohammed* disliked in that game; for which reason the *Sunnites* play with plain pieces of wood, or ivory; but the *Persians* and *Indians*, who are not so scrupulous, still make use of the carved ones. The better sort of the *Mohammedans* easily comply with the prohibition of gaming, as they are in their own disposition little addicted to it; but the common people amongst the *Turks* are more frequently, and those amongst the *Persians* sometimes, guilty of it. From a passage in the second chapter of the *Korân*, some of the *Moslem* doctors infer, that only too

\* AL KOR. MOHAM. s. ii, iv, v, xvi, & alib. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 696. SMITH, de morib. & institut. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 28, &c. CHARDIN, ubi sup. p. 212, 344, &c. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 78, 79, 80. ABD'ALKADER MOHAM. AL ANSARI, apud D'Herbel. art. *Cabacab*. V. Le Traité historique de l'origine & du progres du Café, a la fin du voy. de l'Arabie heure. de la Roque. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 80. & in disert. miscell. tom. ii. p. 280. CHARD. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 14, 66, 68, &c. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 200. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 62, &c. AL KODAI, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 175. FORTALIT. fid. lib. iv. confid. 5. BUSBEQ. epist. iii. p. 255. MAUNDEVILLE'S travels, p. 170. ABD'ALKADER MOHAM. AL ANSARI AL GHEZIRI AL HANBALI, MS. in biblioth. Gallor. reg. M. LEVIN. WARNER. & SPANHEM. introduct. ad histor. Nov. Testament. sec. vii.

frequent



<sup>a</sup> frequent gaming is prohibited in that book; which yet the generality of the *Mohammedans* will by no means admit. Amongst the commentators on the *Korân*, *Jallalo'ddin* and *Al Zamakhshari* are the chief that maintain the former opinion <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> DIVINATION by arrows, a practice in vogue amongst the pagan *Arabs* before the birth of *Mohammed*, is likewise condemned in express terms by the *Korân*. The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Some such arrows as these the image of *Ishmael* in the *Caaba* had in its hand, when it was destroyed by *Mohammed* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*. Sometimes in divination the ancient *Arabs* made use of seven arrows, but generally of three only. On one of these, which were all put into a sack, was written, *Command me, LORD*; on another, *Forbid me, LORD*; and the third was a blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them, and drew over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or to go a journey, or the like. This superstitious practice was used by the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Arabs*, as may be inferred from *St. Jerom*, in conjunction with Scripture. It was practised also by the *Greeks*, as appears from some good authors. The ancient *Germans* consulted their gods, and used divination, by a branch of a fruit-tree, cut into several pieces, on which they inscribed certain characters, and threw them all into a white sheet. The *Scythians* pretended to arrive at the knowledge of future events by means of branches of trees and faggots, as we learn from *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast on *Nicander*. The *Alans*, or *Alani*, of *Scythian* extraction, divined by rods in the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. The same sort of divination was also practised by the *Medes* and *Affyrians*, according to *Dio*, and *Phœnix Colophonius*, in *Athenæus*. The *Persian Magi* used divination by stirring up the fire; and the ancient *Etruscans* predicted future events by the singing, flight, and feeding of birds, as well as by the effects and phænomena that attended lightning. Father *Calmet* is guilty of a great mistake, when he asserts, that the *Arabs*, AT THIS DAY, consult divining arrows in the presence of their god *Hobal*; since both the worship of that false deity and this kind of divination were expelled <sup>c</sup> *Arabia* by *Mohammed*, and have never since appeared in that country. As little is he to be depended upon, when he cites *M. D'Herbelot* under the word *Aidad*, in support of this opinion; no such name as *Aidad*, however strange this may appear, occurring in that author <sup>d</sup>.

WITH regard to a distinction of meats, so generally observed by the eastern nations, 'tis no wonder that *Mohammed*, in imitation of his chief guides the *Jews*, made some regulations in that matter. The *Korân*, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and swines flesh, and whatever dies of itself, or is slain in the name or honour of any idol, or is strangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast. In cases of necessity, however, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the *Mohammedan* law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food. But notwithstanding the *Moslem* prophet so closely adhered to the *Jewish* law in this particular, yet 'tis certain he allowed some things to be eaten which *Moses* did not, as camels flesh, which the *Moslems* are permitted to use as food by the *Korân*. The prohibition relating to the eating of blood, and what dies of itself, was levelled by *Mohammed* at the pagan *Arabs* of his time, who, as well as their ancestors, used to eat both. With regard to the former, it was a common custom with some of them to draw blood from a live camel into a gut, which they either boiled or broiled in the fire, and then eat it. This food they called *Moswadd*, from *Aswad*, which signifies *black*; the same nearly resembling our *black-puddings*, in name as well as composition. *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* and *Euthymius Zigabenus* assert, that tho' the *Mohammedans* abstain from swines flesh, they feed upon that of dogs, wolves, and other unclean animals. But this is a great mistake, <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. ubi sup. f. ii, v. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AL SHIRAZI, in orat. AL HARIRI, &c. AL FIRAUZABAD. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 324, &c. HYDE, de ludis Orient. in proleg. ad Shahiludium, & in hist. Shahiludii, p. 135, &c. SOKEIKER AL DIMISHKI, & Autor lib. AL MOSTATRAF, apud Hyde, ubi sup. p. 8. KHONDEMIR, apud eund. ibid. p. 41. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 78. SALE, ubi sup. p. 124, 125, 126. <sup>w</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JANNABI, AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHARI, AL MOSTATRAF, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 327, &c. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Acadab*. POTTER's antiq. of Greece, vol. i. p. 334. EZEK. xxi. 21. & HIERONYM. in loc. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 329, &c. TACIT. de mor. Germanor. HERODOT. lib. iv. c. 67. Schol. in NICAND. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxxi. DIO, PHOENIX COLOPHON. apud Athen. deipnosoph. lib. xii. p. 530, 531. Lugduni, 1657. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iii. c. 1. p. 239—251. Florentiæ, 1723. ANTON. FRAN. GOR. in Mus. Etrusc. pass. Florentiæ, 1737. Dissertazione di BINDO SIMONE PERUZZI, gentiluomo Fiorentino, sopra l'aruspicina Toscana, in Saggi di dissertazioni accademiche pubblicamente lette nella nobile accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima città di Cortona, tom. i. p. 43—53. In Roma, MDCCXLII. CALMET, in comment. litteral. sur Ezek. c. xxi. 21. tom. vi. p. 463. A Paris, MDCCXXVI.



as appears not only from *Busbequius* and Sir *John Chardin*, but likewise from *Abu Shosjaa* <sup>a</sup> *Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan Al Isfabani*, *Shahaboddin Abu'l Abbas Ebn Yusefa*, and other *Moslem* authors, whose testimony in this point will be of great weight with the learned <sup>x</sup>.

Of usury.

MOHAMMED also, in farther imitation of the *Jews*, strictly prohibited usury, in the second and thirtieth chapters of the *Korân*. The original word, in the latter of those chapters denoting usury, includes in it likewise every species of extortion or illicit gain <sup>y</sup>.

Superstitious  
customs re-  
lating to cat-  
tle abolished.

THE pagan *Arabs* entertained several superstitious notions relating to cattle, and particularly to certain camels or sheep, denominated *Babîra*, *Saïba*, *Wasîla*, and *Hâmi*, in the *Korân*. These animals were for some particular reasons left at free liberty, and not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. The *Babîra*, so called from the *sitting of her ear*, was a she-camel, or a sheep, that had born young ten times; after which the *Arabs* used to slit her <sup>b</sup> ear, and turn her loose to feed at full liberty. When she died, her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women not being permitted to taste thereof. Or the *Babîra* was a she-camel turned loose to feed, whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by the women as well as the men; but if a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being suffered to use it on any occasion; tho' the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it, when it died. The female young of the *Saïba*, used in the same manner as its dam, and even an ewe, which had yeaned five times, was sometimes taken from the *Babîra*. These are the sentiments of *Al Firauzabadi*; tho' the author of the book *Al Mostatraf*, *Al Zamakhshari*, and *Al Beidawi*, are of a different opinion. But for a farther account of the *Babîra*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned Dr. *Pococke*, who <sup>c</sup> has given us an ample and copious description of her <sup>z</sup>.

THE word *Saïba* signifies a she-camel *turned loose* to go where she will. This happened, when she had brought forth females ten times together, in satisfaction of a vow, when a man had recovered from sickness, returned safe from a journey, his camel had escaped some signal danger, and on various other occasions. The mark of such a camel's dismissal from all kinds of business was, the loss of one of the *vertebræ*, or joints of the back bone, that was taken from her. We are told, that the milk of the *Saïba* was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died; and then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women. The appellation *Al Saïba* was not confined by the *Arabs* to a she-camel in any of the aforesaid situations. It was sometimes by them applied to the male, <sup>d</sup> when his young one had begotten another young one; and even to all animals which the *Arabs* used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing the women only to make use of them after that event. Nay, it appears both from *Al Firauzabadi* and *Al Jawhari*, that sometimes a servant set at liberty, or manumitted, by his master, went by that name. Some of the *Arabs*, according to *Al Motarrezzi*, called the female young one of the *Babîra*, and others of them the dam of that animal, *Al Saïba*. It has been already observed, that the *Saïba* is expressly mentioned in the *Korân* <sup>a</sup>.

THE word *Wasîla* was applied by *Al Firauzabadi* both to a she-camel which had brought forth ten times, and an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins; and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and female, they said, *Wosilat akhâba*, i. e. *she* <sup>e</sup> *is joined to*, or *was brought forth with, her brother*. After this, men could only drink the dam's milk, and she was used as *Al Saïba*. When an ewe brought forth a female, the *Arabs* took it to themselves; when a male, they consecrated it to their gods; but when a male and female together, they said, *She is joined to her brother*, and did not sacrifice the male to their gods: in which case, the dam was also denominated *Al Wasîla*. That name was moreover sometimes appropriated to an ewe which brought forth first a male, and afterwards a female; on whose account, because *she followed her brother*, the male was not killed. This we learn from *Al Zamakhshari*, as well as the author last mentioned. *Al Jawhari* relates, that the ewe called *Al Wasîla* brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, which the *Arabs* sacrificed to their gods; but if the eighth time <sup>f</sup> she brought both forth a male and a female, they spared the former for the sake of the latter, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. Another writer informs us, that *Al Wasîla* was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which was brought forth the seventh time was a male, the *Arabs* sacrificed it; but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only; and if the seventh time she brought forth

<sup>x</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, iii, v, vi, xvi. AL BEIDAWI, LEVIT. xi. 4. JALLALO'DDIN, NOTHR AL DORR, AL FIRAUZABAD. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 320, 321. EUTHYM. ZIGABEN. p. 33. LAONIC. CHALCOCONDYL. de reb. Turcic. lib. iii. p. 65. BUSBEQ. in legat. Turcic. ep. cxi. p. 178. CHARD. ubi sup. tom. vii. p. 229. ABU SHOSJAA AHMED EBN AL HASAN AL ISFAHANI & SHAHABODDIN ABU'L ABBAS AHMED EBN YUSAFI, in lib. MSS. Vide etiam HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 225—229. <sup>y</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii, xxx.

<sup>z</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. JALLALO'DDIN, MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, Autor lib. AL MOSTATRAF, EBN AL ATHIR, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 330, 331, 332, &c. <sup>a</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, AL FIRAUZABAD. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL JAWHARI, AL MOTARREZZI, in lib. MOGEE, Al Kor. MOHAM. sur. v. Poc. ubi sup. p. 332, 333, &c.



- a both a male and a female, they were both held sacred; and men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female. *Al Motarrezzi* describes *Al Wasila* to have been, in the times of ignorance, an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births, as twins, one after another; and that whatever this ewe brought forth afterwards was allowed to men only. *Al Bokhari* informs us, that *Al Wasila* was a she-camel of the first birth, that was sent out to a free pasture in company with another she-camel, and not permitted to associate with any male <sup>b</sup>.

- b *HAMI*, if any credit be due to two of the former authors, was a male camel used for a stallion; which, after the females had conceived ten times by him, was freed from labour. He was let go loose, and no one suffered to receive any benefit from him. *Al Bokhari*, as he is cited by *Marracci*, seems to intimate, that *Hami* was a male camel set at liberty, after he had propagated his species for a certain time, without specifying how many females he was to impregnate, or how many times it was necessary the same female should have conceived by him <sup>c</sup>.

THE pagan *Arabs* exempted the camels here mentioned from common services in some particular cases; and this they did in honour of their false divinities. But this part of the worship they paid their fictitious deities is considered by the *Korân* as nothing more than the invention of foolish men, and condemned in express terms by that book as a practice intirely made up of impious superstitions <sup>d</sup>.

- c THE last negative precept of the *Korân* we shall take notice of here, is that prohibiting the inhuman custom which prevailed amongst many of the *Arabs*, and particularly the tribes of *Koreish* and *Kendab*, of burying their daughters alive, so soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them; or else offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples. The manner of both these unnatural operations is differently related by the *Moslem* authors, as may be inferred from *Al Zamakhshari* and other commentators on the *Korân*. The *Koreish*, who, before the time of *Mohammed*, were very much addicted to this barbarous practice, used to bury their daughters alive in mount *Abu Dalâma*, near *Mecca*. *Sâsua*, grandfather to the celebrated poet *Al Farazdak*, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; to which *Al Farazdak* himself alluded, when, d vaunting himself before one of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Ommeyya*, he said, *I am the grandson of the giver of life to the dead*; for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alleging a passage of the fifth chapter of the *Korân*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that the *Arabs* should receive the news of the birth of a daughter with a sorrowful countenance, and compliment a bride in the following terms, *May your labour be easy every time you are delivered, and all your children boys*. For several reasons here hinted at, it may easily be conceived, that the death of a daughter was considered by the *Arabs*, on some occasions, as a great happiness, and even a signal mark of the divine favour. Nor were the *Arabs* singular in the practice of thus treating infants, and putting them to death; many other nations, and even the *Greeks* themselves, having been guilty of the same unnatural crime in the earlier ages. e The custom likewise of sacrificing their children to their idols was by no means peculiar to the *Arabs*; it having prevailed amongst some of the neighbouring nations, as may be clearly evinced both from sacred and profane history. The poorer sort of people amongst the *Chinese* frequently put their children, the females especially, to death, with impunity, at this very day. The author of this history himself was in company at *Leghorn* with a *Savoyard* priest, who had been a missionary at *Pe-king* above twenty years, and whose sole business was to baptize the children exposed every morning in the streets by the poorer sort of the inhabitants of that city, in the year 1733. Which infants, if any credit be due to the authority of that priest, who seemed not at all addicted to fable and romance, amounted every week to a very considerable number <sup>e</sup> (A).

<sup>b</sup> MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL JAWHAR. EBN AL ATHIR. ubi sup. NOTR AL DORR, NODHM AL DORR, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL MOTARREZZI, ubi sup. AL BOKHARI, AL MOSTATRAF, Poc. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> AL FIRAUZABAD. & AL JAWHAR. ubi sup. AL BOKHAR. apud Marracc. in refutat. Alcoran. sur. v. p. 238. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. Poc. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> JALLALO'DDIN, in Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v, vi. Poc. ubi sup. p. 330—334. SALE's preliminary discourse p. 128—131. <sup>e</sup> AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL MOSTATRAF, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. vi, xvi, lxxxi. AL MEIDANI, AL JALLALANI, POETA FARAZDAK, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 334, 335. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. AL FIRAUZABAD. in Kam. AL JAWHAR. NODM AL DORR, EBN AL ATHIR, AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 337. EBN KHALECAN, in vit. Al Farazdak. STRAB. lib. xvii. DIOD. SIC. lib. i. c. 80. PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. POTTER's antiq. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 333. PUFFENDORF. de jure nat. et gent. l. vi. c. 7. § 6. LEV. xx. 2, 3, 4. 2 KINGS xxiii. 10. JEREM. xxxii. 35. DU HALDE's descript. of China, &c. vol. i. p. 277, 278. Lond. 1738.

(A) This priest also farther related, that in *Pe-king*, and, as he believed, in some of the other larger cities of *China*, there was an officer appointed by authority, whose province it was to destroy every morning the poor infants that were thus exposed in the streets of that metropolis. This officer has been, however, passed over in silence by *Du Halde*; tho' the *Savoyard* declared, that his office, and every thing relating to the inhuman custom here mentioned, had been fully described by a *Portuguese* writer (1).

(1) *Du Halde's descript. of China, &c. vol. i. p. 277, 278. Lond. 1738.*



WITH regard to the institutions of the *Korân* in civil affairs, we shall only beg leave to present our readers with a summary view of the principal of them; as the limits we must prescribe ourselves here will not permit us to enter minutely into a detail of particulars. Nor shall we deem any thing more on that head requisite than what will be barely sufficient to enable our readers to understand some passages of the *Moslem* writers, whose meaning they would not otherwise so easily comprehend, that we shall be obliged sometimes to follow in the sequel of this history.

Of the laws  
of marriage  
and divorce.

POLYGAMY the *Korân* allows, though with certain limitations that have not hitherto by *Christians* been sufficiently attended to. According to the express words of the *Mohammedan* law, no man can have more than four women, whether wives or concubines; and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, he is advised to marry one only; or, if he cannot be contented with one, to take up with his she-slaves, though not exceeding the limited number. This most clearly appears from the fourth chapter of the *Korân*; and therefore we must pay no regard to what has been advanced to the contrary by *P. Greg. Tholosanus*, *Olearius*, and other *Christian* writers. In this particular, *Mohammed* followed the *Jewish* doctors, and was absolutely directed by one of their decisions. The *Persian* monarchs are of the meanest extraction on the mother's side; as are also the *Turkish* emperors, who have constantly made use of slaves, in order to continue the *Ottoman* line<sup>f</sup>.

DIVORCE likewise, as well as polygamy, is allowed by the *Korân*. However, a *Moslem* may repudiate his wife twice, without being obliged to separate himself from her, if he should happen to repent of what he has done; but if he divorces her a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again till she has been married and bedded by another man, and divorced by such second husband. Which precaution has had so good an effect, that the *Mohammedans* are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them. In these particulars the *Mohammedan* divorce differs from that allowed by the *Mosaic* law, which did not permit a man to take again, on any terms, a woman that he had divorced. Notwithstanding which, the *Moslem* prophet must naturally be supposed to have had *Moses* in his eye, when he first obliged his followers to an observance of this institution. The women, even after the first and second repudiations, are not suffered to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some other cause of equal import; and even after their third divorce, they must wait till they have had their courses thrice, or, if too young to have them, three months, before they marry another. After the expiration of that term, they may dispose of themselves as they please, if not with child; but in case that should happen, they must stay till they be delivered. The whole term of waiting they are to be maintained at the expence of their husbands, if they be not guilty of any dishonesty. A woman divorced before consummation waits no particular time; nor is the husband obliged to give her more than one half of her dower. If the repudiated woman has a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old, and be intirely maintained at her father's expence. A widow is obliged to do the same thing, and to wait four months and ten days before she can marry again. If a woman, in a state of divorce, leaves her husband for any of the aforesaid causes, she loses her dowry; which does not happen, if she be divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of disloyalty to his bed, or notorious disobedience. *Al Beidâwi* supposes, that husbands are commanded by a passage in the fifty-sixth chapter of the *Korân* to divorce their wives while they are clean; and says, that this passage was revealed on account of *Ebn Omar*, who divorced his wife when she had her courses upon her; and was therefore obliged to take her again. It appears from the *Jewish* writers, that *Mohammed* copied from his old guides the *Jews* most of the above-mentioned particulars<sup>g</sup>.

THE punishment allotted whoredom in the beginning of *Mohammedism* was to be immured till death; but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and might be avoided by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the *Sonna*; according to which, the maidens

<sup>f</sup> Al Kor. Moham. f. iv. NIC. CUSANUS, in cribrat. Alcoran. lib. ii. c. 19. OLEARIUS, in itinerar. P. GREG. THOLOSANUS, in synt. juris, lib. ix. c. 2. §. 22. SEPTEMCASTRENSIS, de morib. Turcar. p. 24. RYCAUT's present state of the Ottoman empire, book iii. chap. 21. MARRACC. in prodr. ad refut. Alcor. par. iv. p. 52, & 71. PRID life of Mahom. p. 86. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. i. p. 166. DU RYER, sommaire de la rel. des Turcs. PUFFENDORF. de jure nat. et gent. l. vi. c. 1. §. 18. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. p. 150. MAUNDEVILLE's travels, p. 164. SELDEN. ux. Hebr. l. i. c. 9. MAIMON. in Halachoth Ishoth, c. 14. BELLON. in observat. lib. iii. c. 8, 16. HADR. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 243—251. <sup>g</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii. DEUT. xxiv. 1, 3, 4. JEREM. iii. 1. SELDEN. ubi sup. lib. i. c. 11. lib. iii. c. 21, & alib. pass. RYCAUT's state of the Ottoman empire, b. ii. c. 21. LEO MODEN. hist. de gli riti Hebr. par. i. c. 6. BUSBEQ. epist. iii. p. 184. SMITH, de morib. et institut. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 52. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. i. p. 169. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. xxxiii. lxxv. AL BEIDAWI, in Al Kor. f. lxxv. Mishn. Gemar. Jos. KARO, in Shylhân Aruch, c. l. f. 2. & MAIMONID. pass. SALE, ubi sup. p. 133, 134, 135.



- a are to be scourged with an hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year; and the married women to be stoned. In order to convict a woman of adultery, the charge must be supported by four male witnesses, according to the commentators on the *Korân*; and if a man accuse a woman falsely of that crime, or even fornication only, he is to receive eighty stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future. But then the woman so calumniated must be a free woman, of ripe age, having her understanding perfect, and of the *Mohammedan* religion. Fornication, in either sex, is to be punished with an hundred stripes; and the she-slaves are to receive but half the punishment of free women, in case of adultery. The reason of which is, because the former are not presumed to have had so good an education as the latter. In case of adultery, therefore, a slave is to have fifty
- b stripes, and to be banished for half a year; but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves. If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, upon insufficient evidence, but will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked upon as convicted, unless she will take the same oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocence; which if she do, she is free from punishment. But notwithstanding this, the marriage ought to be declared void by the judge; because it is not fit they should continue together after they have come to such extremities. The *Moslems* are forbidden, by a particular passage in the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Korân*, to compel their maid-servants to prostitute themselves; the revelation of which passage was occasioned by *Abd'allah Ebn*
- c *Obba's* laying a certain tax on six women-slaves, which he obliged them to earn by the prostitution of their bodies. In most of the last-mentioned particulars *Mohammed* had the *Jews* likewise for his guides, and closely adhered to their decisions. The determinations also of the *Korân* relating to the pollution of women during their courses, the taking of slaves to wife, and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees, have no small affinity with the *Mosaic* institutions. As to the last article, the pagan *Arabs*, for the most part, abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, aunts both on the father's side and the mother's, two sisters, and their father's wives; though the *Magians* were frequently guilty of such incestuous marriages, which were allowed them by their prophet *Zerduشت*. With regard to *Mohammed* himself, he pretended to the privilege of marrying as many wives,
- d and taking as many concubines, as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number; which, as he asserted, had been allowed all the prophets before him. He moreover altered the turns of his wives, taking such of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe; nor did he permit any man to marry such of his wives as he in his life-time divorced, or left widows at his death: which last particular exactly agrees with what the *Jewish* doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes. Some of the commentators on the *Korân*, however, are of opinion, that the first privilege of the prophet here mentioned was limited by certain restrictions. *Abu'l Kasem Hebatallah* thinks, that the passage in the thirty-third chapter of the *Korân*, prohibiting the prophet to make any farther addition to the number
- e of his wives, was abrogated by the two preceding passages of that chapter. The words of that writer, containing in them nothing more than a pitiful evasion, or rather a fruitless attempt to reconcile a contradiction, are produced by *Marracci* <sup>h</sup>.

THE laws relating to inheritances, contained in the fourth chapter of the *Korân*, in several respects resemble those of the *Jews*, though principally designed to abolish a custom of the pagan *Arabs*, who denied widows and orphans any share in the inheritances of their husbands and fathers, on pretence that those only should inherit them who were able to go to war. But for a particular account of the distribution of the estate and effects of the deceased, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the aforesaid chapter, as well as to *Al Beidâwi*, *Jallalo'ddin*, and other commentators on the *Korân* <sup>i</sup>.

- f It may not be improper however, to observe, that, in general, a male is to have twice as much as a female; though to this rule there are some few exceptions, which are pointed out to us in the fourth chapter of the *Korân*. The particular proportions, in several cases, sufficiently declare the intention of *Mohammed*; whose decisions seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations. In order to render a man's

<sup>h</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxiv. SELD. ux. Hebr. lib. iii. c. 12. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. LEV. xx. 10. DEUT. xxii. 22, 23, 24, 13—19. xix. 15. xvii. 6. LEV. xix. 20. NUM. v. 11, &c. xxxv. 30. SELD. ubi sup. LEO MODEN. ubi sup. par. iv. c. 6. LEV. xv. 24. xviii. 19. xx. 18. EXOD. xxi. 8—11. DEUT. xxi. 10—14. ABU'LFED. hist. gen. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 321, 337, 338. AL BEIDAWI, Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xxxiii, lxvi. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. YAHYA, GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Mahom. p. 150. Mishn. tit. Sanhedr. c. 2. & Gemar. in eund. tit. Maimon. Halachoth Melachim, c. 2. SELD. ux. Hebr. lib. i. c. 10. ABU'L KASEM HEBATALLAH, apud Marracc. in refutat. Alcoran. sur. xxxiii. p. 561. Vide etiam ipse MARRACC. ibid. <sup>i</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, NODHM AL DORR, NOTHR AL DORR, AL MOSTATRAF, AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, not. in hist. spec. Arab. p. 337.



disposition of any part of his estate by will valid, two witnesses at least, and those of his own tribe, and of the *Mohammedan* religion, if such can be had, are required to attest that disposition. The *Moslem* doctors do not approve of a person's leaving any part of his substance from his family, except in some legacies for pious uses; and even these are to be but a reasonable part in proportion to the whole. The heirs, on the other hand, in case nothing is bequeathed for charitable uses, on the distribution of the estate, if the value of it will permit, are directed to bestow something on the poor. With regard to the children of the deceased, those of his concubines or slaves are esteemed equally legitimate with those of his legal and ingenuous wives; none being accounted bastards, except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown. For a more perfect notion of the matters here only just hinted at, the curious may have recourse to what has been advanced by *Jallalo'ddin*, *Al Zamakhshari*, and *Yahya*, in their expositions of the fourth chapter of the *Korân*, either in the original *Arabic*, or as they are cited and explained by *Marracci*; from whence they will receive, on this head, as well as in many other points, full and ample satisfaction <sup>k</sup>.

Of private  
contracts.

THE conscientious performance of contracts is frequently recommended by the *Korân*. In order to prevent disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses; and, if not immediately executed, to be reduced into writing in the presence of two men of the *Mohammedan* religion, or, if they cannot be had, of one man and two women. The same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts, to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken. The performance of contracts is the most strongly insisted upon in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Korân*; which, for that reason, or rather because the word *contracts* occurs in the first verse, is sometimes called the chapter of *contracts*. We find an uncommon reward annexed to the reading of this chapter by *Al Zamakhshari*, which has been intirely omitted by all the other commentators <sup>l</sup>.

Of murder and  
manslaughter.

WILFUL murder, though one of the most enormous crimes that can be committed, is yet allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a *Moslem* from captivity, by the *Korân*. However, the next of kin, or, in the language of the *Pentateuch*, the *revenger of blood*, may either accept of such satisfaction, or refuse it, and insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in such manner as he shall think fit. In this particular, *Mohammed* has gone against the express letter of the *Mosaic* law, which declares, that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer. Here, therefore, he seems to have had principally in view a restriction of the vindictive temper of the *Arabs*, who, in their revenge of murder, sometimes committed great excesses. Manslaughter must be redeemed by fine, and the freeing of a captive; which if a man be not able to do, he is to fast two months together, by way of penance. The fine for a man's blood is set in the *Sonna* at an hundred camels; and is to be distributed amongst the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances; unless the person slain by a *Moslem* of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy, with those to whom the slayer belongs: in which case, the redemption of a captive is declared a sufficient penalty. The punishment to be inflicted on a person guilty of manslaughter, where a *Moslem* is concerned, is settled by a passage in the fourth chapter of the *Korân*; which, as the commentators pretend, was revealed to decide the case of *Ayâsh Ebn Abi Rabia*, the brother, by the mother's side, of *Abu Jahl*, who meeting *Hareth Ebn Zeid* on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced *Mohammedism*, slew him. The crimes of a more heinous nature, amongst which murder is reckoned one of the chief, according to *Ebn Abbâs*, amount to seven hundred. We must beg leave to remark here, that Mr. *Sale* seems to intimate, that *Mohammed*, in his laws relating to murder, discovered an intention to restrain the vindictive disposition of the *Arabs*; and that yet, almost in the same breath, he declares, that *Mohammed*, in his regulations about manslaughter, in some degree, humoured the revengeful temper of his countrymen. Does not that learned gentleman appear a little inconsistent with himself in those two jarring particulars <sup>m</sup>?

Of theft.

THEFT is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand. But the commentators suppose, that those who murder and rob too are to be crucified; those who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and left foot cut off; and they who assault persons on the road to be banished. The punishment appointed for common theft is not to be inflicted, according to the *Sonna*, unless the value of the things stolen

<sup>k</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv, v. CHARDIN, voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 293. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. YAHYA. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. refut. Alcoran. in sur. iv, &c. <sup>l</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, v. xvii. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 294. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. apud Marracc. in refutat. Alcoran. in sur. v. p. 194. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. <sup>m</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv, ii, xvii. AL BEIDAWI, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. NUM. xxxv. 19, 31. AL BOKHAR. JALLALO'DDIN, EBN ABBAS, apud Marracc, ubi sup. p. 157. ut & ipse MARRACC. ibid. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 159, 140.



a amount to four *dinârs*, or about fifty shillings. As to injuries done men in their persons; the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of *Moses*, is also approved by the *Korân*; tho' this law is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally converted into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured. In crimes of an inferior nature, where a pecuniary compensation will not do; the *Mohammedans*, according to the practice of the *Jews* in the like case, have recourse to *stripes*, or *drubbing*; the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed on such occasions<sup>n</sup>.

b THE *Mohammedans*; in general, regard the *Korân* as the fundamental part of their civil law; and the decisions of the *Sonna* amongst the *Turks*, and of the *Imâms* amongst those of the *Persian* sect, with the explications of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations. Notwithstanding which, the secular tribunals do not think themselves obliged to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions; which are not always consonant to equity and reason. Hence arises a distinction between the written civil law of the *Mohammedans*, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature, or common law, which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side. Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the *Korân*, and declared to be of high merit in the fight of God; those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being esteemed as martyrs, and promised immediate admission into paradise. And on the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability; is accounted a most heinous crime; being frequently declaimed against in the *Korân*. The effects of which doctrines were clearly perceived at the battles of *Bedr* and *Mûta*; and in the erection of the *Moslem* empire under *Mohammed* and his successors, which was in a great measure owing to them. Nor have they, in conjunction with the doctrine of absolute predestination, had less influence in the formation and extension of the *Ottoman* empire, which at this day comprehends so considerable a part of the habitable world. It appears from *Al Beidâwi*, that *Mohammed* did not renounce all league with those who would not receive him as the apostle of God, or submit to become tributary to him, till after he was arrived at a great degree of power. The pretext he then made use of; was the treachery he had met with amongst the *Jewish* and idolatrous *Arabs*; scarce any; as he pretended, keeping faith with him, except the *Banu Damra*, *Banu Kenâna*, and a few others. From whence it most evidently appears, that his great passiveness and moderation, in the beginning of his mission, was intirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers; which is, indeed, acknowledged by his admirer Mr. *Sale* himself<sup>o</sup>.

c IN the infancy of *Mohammedism*, all the enemies of that religion taken in battle were doomed to death without mercy; but this was judged too severe to be put in practice when it was sufficiently established. The *Mohammedans* afterwards, at their declaration of war against any people of a different faith, gave them their choice of three offers, viz. either to embrace *Mohammedism*; or to submit, and pay tribute; or else to decide the quarrel by the sword. In the first case; they became not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but intitled to all the privileges of other *Moslems*; in the second, they were allowed to profess their own religion, provided it was not gross idolatry, or against the moral law; and in the last, if the *Moslems* prevailed, their women and children, being made captives, became absolute slaves; the men at the same time taken in the battle being either slain, unless they turned *Mohammedans*, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince. The severity first mentioned seems to be enjoined in the beginning of the forty-seventh chapter of the *Korân*. But the *Hanifites* judge this law, or injunction, to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of *Bedr*; for the severity there commanded, which was necessary in the beginning of *Mohammedism*, they think too rigorous to be put in practice in its flourishing state. But the *Persians*, and some others, hold the command to be still in full force: for, according to them, all the men of full age, who are taken in battle, are to be slain, if they refuse to embrace the *Mohammedan* faith; and those who fall into the hands of the *Moslems* after the battle are not to be slain, but may either be set at liberty *gratis*, or on payment of a certain ransom; or be exchanged for *Mohammedan* prisoners, or condemned to slavery, at the pleasure of the *Imâm*<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. v. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, EXOD. xxi, &c. LEV. xxiv. 20. DEUT. xix. 21. GROTIUS de jure belli & pacis, lib. i. c. 2. sect. 8. CHARD. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 299. A. GELL. noct. Attic. l. xx. c. 1. FESTUS in voce *Talio*. DEUT. xxv. 2, 3. GRELOT, voy. de Constant. p. 220. CHARD. ubi sup. p. 302.

<sup>o</sup> CHARD. ubi sup. p. 290, &c. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. ii. iii, iv, viii, ix, xxii, xlvii, lxi, &c. HADR. RELAND. de jur. militar. Mohammedan. p. 5, &c. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 48, 49, 141, 142.

<sup>p</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. xlvii, iv, v, ix, &c. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RELAND. ubi sup. p. 32.



It has been observed by some persons of profound erudition, that there is no small affinity between the military laws of the *Mohammedans* and those of the *Jews*. The opposers of *Mohammedism* were at first put to the sword by the express command of the *Moslem* prophet; and the same sentence of excision was pronounced not only against the seven nations of *Canaan*, but likewise against the *Amalekites* and *Midianites*, who endeavoured to cut the *Israelites* off in their passage thither. With the three offers above-mentioned correspond the laws of war given to the *Israelites*, at their entrance into the land of *Canaan*, which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction; *Joshua* being said to have sent to the inhabitants of that country, before he entered it, three schedules, in one of which was written, *Let him fly, who will*; in the second, *Let him surrender, who will*; and in the third, *Let him fight, who will*. Some affinity is likewise discernible between the first regulation made by *Mohammed*, in relation to the distribution of the spoil, and *David's* determination with regard to the spoils recovered from the *Amalekites*. The dispute amongst *Mohammed's* men about sharing the booty at *Bedr* arose on the same occasion as did that of *David's* soldiers at the time of the aforesaid determination. Those who had been in the action insisted, that they who *tarried by the stuff* should have no part of the spoil; and the same decision was given in both cases, which became a sort of law for the future, to wit, *that they should part alike*. The parallel might be carried farther still in several other particulars, would the limits we are here obliged to prescribe ourselves permit <sup>a</sup>.

As we have already given a pretty full account of the law, or injunction, relating to the division of the spoil taken from an enemy, contained in the eighth chapter of the *Korân*, there will be no manner of occasion for us to be prolix on that head here. It will be sufficient, therefore, at present to observe, that, according to the law now before us, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses therein mentioned, and the other four fifths are to be equally divided amongst those who were present at the action; but in what manner, or to whom, the first fifth is to be distributed, the *Mohammedan* doctors differ. The principal of these were *Al Shâfeî*, *Malec Ebn Ans*, *Abu'l Aliya*, and *Abu Hanîfa*, whose opinions have been produced at large by the learned Mr. *Reland* and Mr. *Sale*; to whom we must beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers for their farther information in this matter <sup>c</sup>.

The old Arabs  
observed four  
months in the  
year as sacred.

It has been already observed, that four months in the year were esteemed as sacred by all the pagan *Arabs*, except the tribes of *Tay* and *Khatbâam*, and some of the descendents of *Al Hareth Ebn Caab*, during which they ceased from incursions and other hostilities. This institution, which prevailed for many ages, was so religiously observed, that there are not above four, or as some say six, instances of its having been transgressed; the wars which were carried on without regard thereto being therefore termed impious. The principal of these seems to have been that between the tribes of *Koreish* and *Kais Ailân*, where *Mohammed* himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen, or as others say, twenty years old. The first day of this war, or rather that on which the commencement of the quarrel occasioning it happened, is termed by the *Arabs* the day *Al Fajar*, or the *wicked day*, because then a custom that had been long held sacred amongst the *Arabs* was *wickedly* and *impiously* violated. This served the *Arabs*, who computed their time from it, for an æra, till the time of the *Hejra*, and was by them stiled the æra of the *impious*, or *illicit, war*. The months held sacred amongst the ancient *Arabs* were *Al Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'l-hajja*; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, in the year. *Dhu'l-hajja* was the month wherein the pagan *Arabs* performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the *great feast*, or, as the *Arabs* sometimes call it, the *feast of oblation*, having been celebrated at the *Caaba* on the tenth day of that month. This pilgrimage, and the rites attending it, the *Arabs* denominated *Alhajja*, i. e. the *feast*, or *solemn festivity*; so that *Dhu'l-hajja* properly denotes the *month of such feast, or festivity*. That every one might safely, and without interruption, pass and repass to and from the festival, the preceding month *Dhu'lkaada*, and the following one *Al Moharram*, were likewise kept inviolable. As for *Rajeb*, this is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three; probably because in that month the pagan *Arabs* used to fast; *Ramadân*, which was afterwards set apart by *Mohammed* for that purpose, being, in the *times of ignorance*, dedicated to drinking in excess. The observance of these months seeming so reasonable to the *Moslem* prophet, as to merit his approbation, the same is confirmed and enforced by several passages in the *Korân*. As for the transferring the observance of a sacred to that of a profane month, termed by the *Arabs* *Al Nasî*, and first introduced by *Jonâda Ebn A'wîf*, of the tribe of *Kenâna*, we shall take the liberty <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. ubi sup. & alib. DEUT. xx. 16—18. xxv. 17—19. NUMB. xxxi. 17. DEUT. xx. 10—15. Talmud Hierosol. apud MAIMONID. Halach. Melachim. c. 6. f. 5. R. BECHAI, ex lib. Siph. SELB de jure nat. et gent. sec. Hebr. l. vi. c. 13, 14. SCHICKARD. jus regium Hebr. c. 5. theor. 16. JOSH. xi. 20. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. viii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, 1 SAM. xxx. 21—25. RELAND. ubi sup. pass. Vide etiam SALE, ubi. sup. p. 143—147. <sup>c</sup> Al Kor. MOHAM. f. viii. AL BEIDAWI, RELAND. & SALE, ubi sup.



a to omit it here; as our readers will find a full and ample description of it already given in another place. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the *Nasî* is stiled by the *Korân* AN ADDITIONAL INFIDELITY; and that, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the ordinances relating to the sacred months, contained in the second and ninth chapters of that book, were promulgated by *Mohammed* himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction* <sup>s</sup>.

SEVERAL reasons are assigned why *Friday*, or the sixth day of the week, was more peculiarly set apart by *Mohammed* for the public worship of Almighty God. Some imagine this was done, because the prophet on that day arrived at *Medina*, and made his public entry there. Others say, that *Friday* was preferred to any other day of the week for the aforefaid purpose, because on that day God finished the creation. But the true reason seems to have been, because *Caab Ebn Lowa*, one of *Mohammed*'s ancestors, gave the day its present name, *Yawm al joma*, i. e. *the day of the assembly, or congregation*; since, on that day, the people used to be assembled before him. Be that as it will, *Friday* goes under that denomination in the *Korân*; tho' its ancient name was *Arûba*. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers call it *the prince of days*, and *the most excellent day on which the sun rises*; pretending also, that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized. The *Moslems* do not hold themselves obliged to observe the day of their public assembly with the same strictness as the *Christians* and *Jews* do their respective *sabbaths*; or particularly to abstain from work, after they have performed their devotions; there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the *Korân*, allowing them to return to their diversions, or employments. Some, however, from a tradition of their prophet, are of opinion, that works of charity, and religious exercises, which may draw down the blessing of God, are recommended in that passage. We must not omit informing our readers, that the names of the days of the week amongst the pagan *Arabs*, as appears from the verses of a very ancient poet, cited by *Goliûs*, were *Eurvel*, *Babûn*, *Gebâr*, *Debâr*, *Mûmis*, *Arûba*, and *Shijâr*. From whence we may conclude, that the *Arabs*, as well as the *Hebrews*, at first computed their time by hebdomadal periods, in memory of the creation of our system. *Friday* then is the *Mohammedan* weekly feast, and enough has been said of it here. As for the principal annual feasts of the *Moslems*, called by the *Turks* the two *Beirâms*, or *holidays*, we shall only remark of them, that the first is stiled, in *Arabic*, *Id al fetr*, i. e. *the feast of breaking the fast*, beginning the first of *Shawâl*, and immediately succeeding the fast of *Ramadân*; and the other, *Id al korbân*, or *Id al adbhâ*; i. e. *the feast of the sacrifice*, beginning on the tenth of *Dhu'l-hajja*, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of *Mecca*. Our readers will meet with a particular description of them in the authors here referred to. In the mean time, after so long, though absolutely necessary, an interruption, we must beg leave to proceed to a narration of facts, and resume, without any farther delay, the thread of our history <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> AL KAZWINI, apud Goliûm in not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, 5, 6, 9, &c. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. AL SHAHRESTANI, apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 122, 311, &c. AL JAWHAR. AL MOGHOLTAI, ISM. ABU'LFED. vit. Mohammed. p. 11. AL KODAI & AL FIRAUZABAD. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 174. AHMED EBN YUSEF, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. GOL. lex Arab. col. 601. RELAND. ubi sup. p. 5. AL MAKRIÏ, apud Pocock. ubi sup. Autor NESHK AL AZHAR, ibid. SHARIF AL EDRISI, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 127. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii, iv, v, ix, &c. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 132. AL BEIDAWI. SALE, ubi sup. p. 147, 148, 149. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. lxxv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 15, 16. EBN AL ATHIR & AL GHAZALI, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 317. & ipse POCOCK. ibid. ABU SHOSJAIN AHMED EBN AL HASAN, AL KESSAI, Poet. Antiquiss. apud Goliûm, ubi sup. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 97, 109. GOL. in lex. Arab. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Beirâm*, HYDE, in not. ad Albertum, Bobovium de peregrinat. Maccan, p. 16. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 450. Vide etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 150, 151.

## S E C T. II.

f **A**BU BECR, at his death, was about sixty-three years of age, and died of a consumption, according to *Al Makîn*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by other writers. He was a tall lean man, with a thin beard, and of a swarthy complexion. His hair and beard were tinged with a sort of paint, extracted from *Al Henna*, or the cyprus tree, and a plant called by the *Arabs* *Al Catam*, which gave them a very beautiful red colour. This practice was likewise observed by *Mohammed* himself, as it is by many of his followers, and particularly the *Scenite Arabs*, in the eastern countries, at this day. *Abu Becr* was very abstemious, as well as regular in the performance of his devotions, and set little value on those things which are always the most esteemed by worldly-minded men. He had money in such contempt, that he left behind him in the treasury not above three *dirbems*; and those he begged *Aysha*, one of the prophet's widows, to restore to the *Moslems* after his decease. Nor were all his effects valued at more than five of those pieces of money. Which when *Omar* was told, he is reported to have said, "May God have mercy on the soul of *Abu Becr*; but he has left his successor a difficult pattern to follow."



Among other sayings of *Abu Becr*, the two following very remarkable ones have been handed down to us by an *Arabic* author: "Good actions are a guard against the blows of adversity;" and "Death is the easiest of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it." He reigned two years, three months, and nine days, if we will believe *Al Makin*; tho' the duration of his *Khalifât* is drawn out to two years and four months, within eight days, by *Abu'l-Faraj* <sup>a</sup>.

Several remarkable events happened in the last year of *Abu Becr*.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that *Amru Ebn Al As*, in the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, or the last of *Abu Becr*, laid siege to *Gaza*, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, and pursued the garison, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, as far as the gates of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*; but that he could not make himself master of either of those places. The same author likewise informs us, that *Palestine* was afflicted this year with a terrible earthquake, whose shocks continued, tho' with great intermission, for thirty days together; and that this earthquake was succeeded by a pestilence, which carried off abundance of people. It also appears from *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, that a comet, in the form of a fiery beam, was seen about the same time; tho' *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, who flourished in the year of CHRIST 775, makes this comet to have preceded the birth of *Mohammed*. *Theophanes* pretends, that *Sergius*, the commandant of *Gaza*, engaged the *Arabs* with only 300 men, who, together with their general, who fell in the beginning of the action, were all put to the sword; as also, that *Amru* obliged the inhabitants of the whole tract extending from *Gaza* to mount *Sinai*, and the borders of the desert, to submit to the *Khalif*. He likewise relates, that the aforesaid comet stretched itself out from south to north, and remained visible for thirty days, sometimes exhibiting the appearance of a flaming sword. Both that historian and *Cedrenus* affirm, that, after the death of *Abu Becr*, *Bostra*, with all the other cities situated between that place and *Gabatha*, or *Gabitha*, to which he penetrated, and even *Damascus* itself, with the whole province of *Phœnicia*, were reduced by *Omar*; with whom *Eutychius*, *Al Makin*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, seem to agree. But this must be a mistake, if any credit be due to what has been advanced by *Al Wakedi*, in his history of the *Khalifât* of *Abu Becr*, so often cited here <sup>b</sup>.

He is succeeded by *Omar*;

THE same day that *Abu Becr* died, *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb Ebn Nofail Ebn Abd'alaziz Ebn Riyab Ebn Ada Ebn Caab*, surnamed *Abu Hafs*, was invested with the regal and pontifical dignity. The title first assigned him was, *The Khalif of the Khalif of the Apostle of God*; or, in other words, *The successor of the successor of Mohammed*. But the *Arabs* considering, that this title, by the addition to be annexed to it at the accession of every future *Khalif*, would be too long, they, by universal consent, saluted him *The Emperor of the Believers*. Which illustrious title, at this juncture conferred on *Omar*, descended afterwards, by a sort of incontestable right, to all the successors of that prince <sup>c</sup>.

who speaks to the people.

OMAR no sooner found his authority recognized by the people, than he made a speech to them out of the pulpit, to the following effect: "That he should not have undertaken such an arduous province, had he not been convinced of their intention to persevere in their duty; and had he not always entertained the most favourable sentiments of them." This, however, was not done till public thanks had been returned to God for his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, and that without the least opposition or obstruction from any quarter whatsoever <sup>d</sup>.

His troops defeat the Persians in several engagements.

As soon as the new *Khalif* was settled in the government, he sent *Abu Obeid Ebn Masûd*, at the head of a detachment of a thousand men, to make an irruption into *Irâk*; joining to him *Al Mothanna Ebn Harethba*, *Amru Ebn Hazem*, and *Salit Ebn Kis*, in the command of those forces. *Abu Obeid* having received his orders, advanced to *Al Thalabiya*, and incamped on the bank of a river at a small distance from that place. *Al Thalabiya*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, is a small town, or village, in the deserts of *Irâk*, on the confines of *Syria*, surrounded by a wall, and plentifully supplied with water. This river *Abu Obeid* thought proper to pass, contrary to the advice of *Salit* and *Al Mothanna*, who were for continuing in their camp till they had received a reinforcement from the *Khalif*, in order to attack the *Persians*, who had taken post on the opposite bank with a numerous army. *Abu Obeid* having marched his small force over a bridge he had ordered to be made for that purpose, immediately fell upon the *Persians*, and charged them with such bravery, that he put them to flight, and made a considerable slaughter. But the *Persian* general soon rallying his troops, returned to the charge with so much vigour, that he forced the *Arabs* in their turn to retire, <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, hist. Sar. lib. i. c. ii. p. 18. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxxv. p. 143. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 174. NISABUR. MS. Arab. Poc. in bibl. Bodl. Oxon. N° 62. Vide etiam EUTHYM. annal. tom. ii. p. 264, 265. <sup>w</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 19, 20. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 279, Parisiis, 1655. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 425. Parisiis, 1647. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman in biblioth. Oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 102, ut & ipse ASSEMAN. ibid. Romæ, 1721. AL WAKEDI. & ABU'LFED. in vit. Abu Bec. <sup>x</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 20. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 175. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 266, 267. <sup>y</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



- a and put a good number of them to the sword. *Abu Obeid* himself was killed in the beginning of the action, which occasioned the defeat of his troops; notwithstanding which, *Al Mothanna* made an excellent retreat, and repassed the river without any considerable loss. After this, he fortified himself in his camp, where he remained till he was reinforced by a body of troops, sent to his assistance by the *Khalif*, under the command of *Jarir Ebn Abd'allah*, who joined him in the camp of *Al Thalabiya*. After this junction, the *Moslem* army marched to *Dir Hind*, where they pitched their tents; and from thence made frequent excursions, ravaging all that part of *Irak* which lay next to the *Euphrates*. *Arzemi-dokht*, queen of the *Persians*, receiving advice of the depredations committed by the *Arabs* in her dominions, sent a body of 12,000 chosen horse, under the conduct of *Mabran*, her general, to drive them out of *Irak*. This brought on a general action in the neighbourhood of *Hira*, which, after a sharp and most obstinate dispute, ended in the defeat of the *Persians*. At first *Mabran* seemed to have the advantage, and forced the *Arabs* to give ground; but *Al Mothanna* soon restored the battle, which lasted with incredible fury from noon till sun-set, neither party shewing the least inclination to retire. But *Al Mothanna* at last engaging *Mabran* in single combat, gave him such a blow on his shoulder as laid him dead at his feet; which struck the *Persians* with such terror, that they immediately took to their heels, and fled to *Al Madiyen*, a town seated on the *Tigris*, about a day's journey distance from *Baghdad*. The *Arabs*, having sustained great fatigues in the engagement, did not pursue the enemy far; but contented themselves with remaining masters of the field of battle, curing their wounded, and burying their dead. The *Persians*, exasperated at such a continued series of ill success, which they attributed to a male-administration, immediately deposed their queen, and placed in her room *Yazdegerd*, the last king of *Persia*, of the ancient royal line, upon the throne. But this by no means retrieved the glory of the *Persian* arms. *Al Mothanna* overthrew *Rustam*, the *Persian* general sent against him by *Yazdegerd* with a powerful army, at *Hira*, where he was at that time posted; and *Abu Musa Al Ashari*, another of *Omar*'s commanders, defeated a formidable body of troops, headed by *Al Harzaman*, a noble *Persian*, at *Abwaz*. In these two decisive actions, both the *Persian* generals were killed, and a great part of both their armies, which were intirely dispersed, put to the sword. We are told by the *Persian* historians, that the aforesaid princess, whom they call
- d *Azurmi Dokht*, was assassinated by one of her subjects; as also, that she was succeeded by *Ferokhzad*, her nephew, who soon made way for *Yazdegerd*. The first engagement between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*, mentioned here, happened on a *Saturday*, in the month of *Ramadan*, and the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, if *Abu'l Faraj* may be believed; and the battles of *Hira* and *Buwaibik*, which were soon after fought, according to *Al Makin*, the very same year. But that both those historians, in the point before us, run counter to fact, and introduce into the *Arabic* history an anachronism that ought to be thence expunged, sufficiently appears from hence, that the æra of *Yazdegerd*, which commenced at the very beginning of his reign, bears date from the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, when that prince ascended the *Persian* throne, and the beginning of the *Khalifat* of *Abu Becr*, as has been already observed.
- e Besides, it appears very plainly, even from *Abu'l Faraj* and *Al Makin* themselves, from whom we have extracted the preceding relation of *Omar*'s invasion of *Irak*, that *Khaled Ebn Al Walid* reduced *Hira*, and at least the greatest part of *Irak*, in the 12th year of the *Hejra*, or rather the beginning of *Abu Becr*'s reign. To which we may add, that, according to the express testimony of *Eutychius*, *Yazdegerd* ascended the *Persian* throne in the first year of *Abu Becr*, and even not long after *Mohammed*'s death. As therefore both *Abu'l Faraj* and *Al Makin* are inconsistent with themselves in this particular, and as their testimony herein runs counter to that of *Al Wakedi*, and some other writers of the best authority; we must beg leave to dissent from them in the point before us, and intimate to our readers, that the events mentioned here happened in the beginning of *Abu Becr*'s reign. Which if we admit, it will
- f give a sort of sanction to *Al Wakedi*'s authority; and consequently induce us to believe, that *Damascus* was taken in the thirteenth year of the *Hejra*, as he affirms, and not the fourteenth, as we find asserted by other writers. The preceding anachronism, therefore, may be expunged by placing the transactions taken notice of here in the first year of *Abu Becr*, wherein they most certainly happened; tho', out of deference to *Abu'l Faraj* and *Al Makin*, whom we shall frequently find ourselves obliged to follow, we have thought fit to insert the foregoing account of them in the beginning of *Omar*'s reign <sup>2</sup>.

THE garrison of *Damascus* having capitulated, and obtained honourable terms by the interposition of *Abu Obeidah*, the besieged were left at liberty to retire to what place they thought

<sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. descript. penins. Arab. edit. Gagn. p. 45. LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, L'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Tauran Dokht*, &c. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 30, 31. GRAVII epoch. celebrior. KUSHIAN GILÆUS, apud Gol. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 256, 257. edit. Pocock. Oxoniæ, 1656. AL WAKED. in vit. Abu Bec. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 270—284, &c.



fit to chuse, by one of the articles of the capitulation. However, *Khâled*, the *Moslem* general, gave them to understand, that, as soon as they entered upon the imperial territories, they were to be considered as no longer under his protection; tho' he promised not to pursue them till the expiration of three days after their departure from his camp. He also supplied them with some provisions, to enable them to continue their march, and granted them a few arms to defend themselves with, in case of any unexpected attack. The greatest part of the citizens and the garison, with *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, the two chief commanders, at their head, soon after the signing of the capitulation, left the place, and were permitted to carry along with them the best of their valuable effects, viz. their plate, jewels, silk, &c. besides the emperor's wardrobe, that contained above 300 loads of dyed silks and cloth of gold, of almost inestimable value. The emperor *Heraclius's* daughter likewise, according to *Al Wakedi*, who was in *Damascus* when it was obliged to surrender to the *Arabs*, took the same route with the other *Christians*, who were thus expelled their native country. *Derâr*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, seeing such a number of people escape, reflected upon *Abu Obeidab* for preventing the effusion of so much infidel blood; for which he was reprimanded by *Athi Ebn Ammâr*, another of them, of a more merciful disposition, who applauded *Abu Obeidab* for the lenity he had shewn, for being sparing of *Moslem* blood, and for giving the true believers rest from their labours: to which he added, that God had made the hearts of the faithful the seat of mercy, and those of the infidels that of cruelty; as also, that *Abu Obeidab's* conduct was agreeable to the tenets of the *Korân*, and other inspired writings. This, however, did not satisfy *Derâr*, who declared, that he should never think it a crime to spill the blood of the *associators*, or those who asserted that God had a son, and joined a partner with him. We must beg leave to observe, that *Thomas* and *Herbîs* punctually paid the sum stipulated between them and *Abu Obeidab*, for the redemption of their lives and liberties, before their departure; and that they left some few *Christians* behind them, who paid the usual tribute to the *Moslems*, for the free exercise of their religion. It must here be remarked, that the *Mohammedans* stile the *Christians* ASSOCIATORS, because they profess a belief of the Holy Trinity, and assert that three persons subsist in the divine nature, which doctrine is condemned in express terms by the *Korân*<sup>a</sup>.

Khâled pillages the Greeks after their departure from Damascus.

AFTER *Thomas* and *Herbîs* had left the place, a dispute arose in *Damascus* between *Khâled* and *Abu Obeidab*, about the large quantity of wheat and barley, which the citizens, who had surrendered to the latter, claimed as their property, by virtue of the capitulation. They were supported in their claim by *Abu Obeidab*; but *Khâled* insisted upon the corn's being distributed amongst the *Moslems*; so that it was agreed to write to *Abu Becr*, the news of whose death was not yet arrived in the camp, to desire him to determine this affair. In the mean time *Khâled*, at the sollicitation of one *Jonas*, who had been taken prisoner by a party of the *Arabs*, and, in order to save his life, had turned *Mohammedan*, resolved to pursue the *Christians* who had lately left *Damascus*, and endeavour to make himself master of all the riches and valuable effects they had carried off with them. *Jonas's* motive to this undertaking was the recovery of his wife, who, as soon as she was informed of his apostasy, came to a determination to leave both her husband and native place, and to seek for a sanctuary with the people attending *Thomas* and *Herbîs* in some other part of the imperial dominions. In order to render successful this expedition, *Khâled* put himself at the head of a detachment of 4000 horse, which were the flower of his cavalry, clothed, at *Jonas's* request, in the habit of the *Christian Arabs*, that they might the more easily pass through the enemy's country, without being discovered, and went in quest of the *Christians*, four days after they had evacuated the town. After a long and tedious march, wherein his men sustained uncommon fatigues, he advanced into the neighbourhood of *Laodicea*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Ladikiâ*, and *Jabalab*, but durst not enter either of those cities; and at last, having been greatly encouraged by *Abd'alrahmân's* interpretation of a dream in his favour, he came up with the *Damascenes*, whom he found reposing themselves in a meadow. Upon this, he divided his detachment into four regiments; assigning the command of the first to *Derâr Ebn Al Azwar*, that of the second to *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, that of the third to *Abd'alrahmân*, said by *Al Wakedi* to have been the son of *Abu Becr*, and that of the fourth he took upon himself. Every one of these regiments, or smaller detachments, he posted at some distance from the others, leaving thereby a vacant space between every two of them; and charged his officers to make their appearance gradually, that by this means they might strike the greater terror into the enemy. Which disposition of their forces was frequently made by the *Arabs*, both in their pitched battles, and when they invested a town. He ordered the other commanders not to charge the *Christians* till they saw him actually engaged, and not to suffer any of their men to touch the least particle of plunder till after the end

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. c. iv. AL BEIDAWI, JALLAI'ODDIN, YAHYA, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 26, 27. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 266—280. AHMED EBN ABDA'L HALIM. SALEM. p. 111. disc. p. 35.



a of the action. *Thomas* and *Herbís* likewise on the other side drew up their troops in order of battle, in as proper a manner as the nature of the ground, and the short time allowed them to do this in, would permit. Those two generals, on this occasion, seem to have divided into two bodies the *Christian* forces; which in number must have been much superior to *Kháled*'s detachment, since the body commanded by *Thomas* only consisted of 5000 men. Notwithstanding which, *Kháled* engaged the imperial troops with great resolution; and, after a sharp dispute, defeated the forces under the order of *Thomas*, and put that general himself to the sword. He no sooner fell than *Abd'alrahmán* alighted off his horse, cut off his head, and fixed it upon the point of the standard of the cross; saying aloud to the *Greeks*, "Woe to you, you *Grecian* dogs, behold your master's head." Which had  
b such an effect upon them, that scarce any resistance was afterwards made. *Herbís*, the other *Christian* commander, was likewise slain; and not a soul of those who had left *Damascus*, escaped either the carnage or captivity, except a single person who directed *Kháled* to *Herbís*, whose blood he thirsted after, and who having for that reason been set at liberty by the *Moslem* general, after he had refused to renounce the *Christian* faith, took the rout of *Constantinople*. The emperor's daughter, according to *Al Wakedi*, was taken prisoner in the action by *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, after a vigorous resistance; she having killed the *Arab*'s horse before he could oblige her to surrender to him. This lady was a most celebrated beauty, dressed in the richest manner, and adorned with a vast variety of jewels, of inestimable value, that she wore about her head. Her husband *Thomas* being slain, *Rafi* made a present of her to *Jonas*, whose wife chose to stab herself rather than cohabit with him after she had fallen into his hands. This so affected that apostate, that he continued a widower the remainder of his days; and the princess was, by his consent, returned to the emperor, her father, without any ransom. The *Arabs* having thus met with greater success than even the most sanguine of them could expect, returned triumphantly to *Damascus*, loaded with the immense riches and most valuable spoils they had acquired in this expedition <sup>b</sup>.

THE accounts of the siege of *Damascus*, as well as of some other occurrences consequen-  
tial to that event, handed down to us by the *Christian* writers, and particularly *Eutychius*,  
differ from what has been related on these heads by *Al Wakedi* in several particulars. We  
are told by *Eutychius*, that the emperor *Heracius*, who resided at *Hems* when the *Arabs*  
d invested *Damascus*, assembled a body of *Arab* troops, drawn from the tribes of *Ghassan*,  
*Jedam*, *Calb*, *Lakbm*, and others, who acknowledged the sovereignty of that prince, and sent  
them under the command of one *Mahan* to *Damascus*; at the same time dispatching an  
order to *Mansúr*, the commandant of that place, to distribute a sum of money amongst  
those troops, in order to retain them in his service. But *Mansúr*, being either unwilling to  
part with any money, or a traitor to the emperor, refused to supply the *Arabs* with the sum  
demanded of him. And being informed, that *Mahan*, after his departure from *Damascus*,  
was incamped at the ford, or river, *Wadi Al Ramad*, in a place called *Al Jawlan*, about  
two days journey from that city, he marched from thence with a great multitude of people  
e attending him, carrying lamps and torches in their hands, beating their drums, and playing  
on their military musical instruments, in the night time, towards *Mahan*'s camp; which  
so terrified the troops under that general's command, who were not apprized before-hand  
of his approach, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, thinking that a body of  
the *Moslems* was behind them, and even upon the point of surrounding them. Many, there-  
fore, of *Mahan*'s men were drowned in the *Wadi Al Ramad*, which was a very large torrent,  
or river, and the rest fled to *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, *Cæsarea*, and other places. *Mahan*, after this  
disaster, dreading the emperor's resentment, prevailed upon some monks, seated on mount  
*Sinai*, to admit him into their convent, put on the habit of a religious, took the name of  
*Anastásius*, and wrote a commentary on the sixth psalm. After which, continues our author,  
the four principal officers of the *Moslem* army took post before the town with all their  
f forces; *Kháled* pitching his tent near the east gate, *Abu Obeidab* his near the gate *Al Jabiyah*,  
*Amru Ebn Al As* his at the gate of *St. Thomas*, and *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofián* his at the little gate,  
his troops at the same time extending to the gate *Kisan*, or *Kaisán*. The *Greeks* made con-  
tinual sallies through the whole course of the siege, but were always repulsed, and some-  
times with very considerable loss. After the *Moslems* had carried on their approaches for  
near six months, *Mansúr*, the governor, capitulated, and agreed to put the *Moslem* troops  
in possession of the gates; *Kháled* at the same time engaging to support the inhabitants in  
the possession of their privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. But notwithstand-  
ing this convention, the *Moslems* enter'd the town sword in hand, and attacked the garison,  
which had been left at the mercy of the *Arabs* by *Mansúr*, upon which a very fierce conflict  
g ensued at the gate of *St. Thomas*, and great numbers on both sides were put to the sword.

<sup>b</sup> AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 131—153. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 298, 299.



However, at last, *Abu Obeidah*, *Anru Ebn Al As*, and *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, as well as *Khâled*, signed the capitulation in that part of the town called *Al Ziyânain*, and the slaughter immediately ceased. Some few of the soldiers belonging to the garison made their escape to *Antioch*, at that time the residence of the emperor *Heraclius*; who, when he received advice of the surrender of *Damascus*, is reported to have said in *Greek*, “ Farewell, *Syria* ;” that is, “ Farewell, *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria*.” *Heraclius* some time after, according the same historian, went to *Constantinople*; and *Mansûr*, for the misfortune and calamities he had brought upon the *Christian* world, by his villainous conduct, was anathematized by all the patriarchs and bishops of the empire <sup>a</sup>.

Khâled in-  
forms the  
Khalif of the  
success of his  
arms.

UPON his arrival at *Damascus*, *Khâled* divided the spoils and riches he had brought thither with him amongst the troops employed in the late expedition, after having reserved the fifth part of them for the *Khalif*, to be put into the public treasury, conformably to the injunction contained in the 8th chapter of the *Korân*. As *Jonas*, who, before he fell into the hands of the *Moslems*, was a person of rank, and even of noble extraction, had greatly distinguished himself on the late occasion, *Khâled* made him a present of a very considerable sum of money, to enable him to purchase another wife, in the room of her he had lost through her unparalleled obstinacy. *Jonas* took the money, and professed a grateful sense of the favour done him; but at the same time declared, that he persisted in his intention of never cohabiting with any woman in this world, being determined to wait for the enjoyment of the black-eyed girls of paradise in the next. *Khâled* then dispatched a courier with a letter he had written to *Abu Becr*, of whose death he had received no advice, to *Medina*. In that letter he gave the *Khalif* a long detail of the advantages gained over the infidels by the *Moslem* arms, including a particular account of the reduction of *Damascus*, of the recovery of the spoil the inhabitants of that place were permitted to carry away, and of the controversy that had happened between him and *Abu Obeidah*, relating to the surrender of the town, and the corn claimed by the citizens after that event, which he begged him as soon as possible to decide. *Eutychius* seems to intimate, though this must be allowed to be inconsistent with what has been advanced by *Al Wakedi* in the point before us, that the aforesaid courier arrived at *Medina* within the space of seven days after the capitulation was signed <sup>d</sup>.

Omar confers  
the command  
of the Mos-  
lem army in  
Syria upon  
Abu Obeidah.

UPON his arrival there, he was greatly surprized to find *Omar* advanced to the throne in the room of *Abu Becr*, of whose death they had received no advice in *Syria*. The truth of the matter is, *Omar*, immediately after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, had sent an express to *Abu Obeidah*, with an account of what had happened, and an order to him to take upon himself the command of the *Moslem* forces that acted in *Syria*, out of regard to his eminent piety, in the room of *Khâled*, whose cruel disposition had rendered him very disagreeable to the new *Khalif*; but *Abu Obeidah* not having the least spark of ambition, and entertaining an high opinion of *Khâled*'s abilities as a general, had kept the intelligence and order he had received a profound secret from the army, and not in the least opposed *Khâled*'s intention of writing to *Abu Becr*. This being now discovered by *Omar*, he made an harangue one day from the pulpit to the people, it being usual for the *Khalifs* to talk of the public affairs, on some occasions, in a familiar manner there; wherein he told them, that he had deprived *Khâled* of his commission, and conferred the command of his army in *Syria* upon *Abu Obeidah*. Upon which, a young man then present expressed great concern at such an indignity's being offered to a general, whose conduct and bravery had procured such singular advantages to the *Moslems*; observing at the same time, that when *Abu Becr* was pressed to dismiss *Khâled* from his employment by some of his courtiers, he made answer, “ That he would not lay aside, nor sheath, that sword, which God had drawn for the assistance and support of the true religion :” which was designed as a reflection upon the opposite conduct of *Omar*. However, this made not the least impression upon the *Khalif*, who, the next day, in another speech from the same place, resolutely declared to his subjects, “ That as the supreme management and direction of the *Moslem* affairs was devolved upon him, by his predecessor's death, and the united suffrages of the believers, he would always take care to reward and prefer his officers according to their merit; and that, in consequence of this resolution, he was determined to put *Abu Obeidah* the generalissimo over *Khâled*; the former being of a gentle merciful disposition, always kind to the *Moslems*; the latter of a fierce untractable temper, greedy of plunder, and one who had committed many enormous depredations. However,” continued he, “ the deposition of so fierce a general as *Khâled* will be of no advantage to our enemies, as God himself will conduct the enterprizes formed by so good a man as *Abu Obeidah*, and assist him in all his mild councils.” He then came down from the pulpit, signed *Abu Obeidah*'s commission, and wrote him a letter of good advice; commanding him therein not to be too modest, nor to

<sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 270—283. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 21, 27, 28. GREG. ABU' L FAR. ubi sup. p. 178 GOLII notæ ad Alfragan p. 128—130. <sup>d</sup> AL WAKEDI, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 282, 283.



- a expose the *Moslems*, for the sake of plunder, to unnecessary dangers. By which last words, he apparently glanced at *Khâled's* pursuit of the *Christians*, after the reduction of *Damascus*. He also ordered *Abu Obeidab* to confirm the citizens in the possession of their wheat and barley, which had been the subject of so much contention, and pronounced the city taken by capitulation, not by storm; however, he declared the gold and silver to be the property of the *Moslems* after the reduction of the fifth part, in conformity to the injunction contained in the eighth chapter of the *Korân*. With regard to *Khâled's* last expedition, after the surrender of *Damascus*, the *Khalîf* observed, that it was a rash action; and that had not God been more merciful than he deserved, he might have sustained great loss in it. *Omar* likewise condemned *Khâled* for his dismissal of the emperor's daughter without any ransom, as the sum of money
- b he might have lawfully acquired on such an occasion would have been of great service to the *Moslems*. The persons to whom the care of the letter, conceived in these terms, was committed, were *Shaddâd Ebn Aws* and *Amru Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; who, upon their arrival at *Damascus*, caused it to be read; after which, *Abu Obeidab* took possession of his new post, and *Shaddâd Ebn Aws* was proclaimed *Omar's Khalîfab*, or the *Moslem* governor, of *Damascus*, in compliance with the *Khalîf's* order. This happened on the first of *October*, in the year of our Lord 634, and the thirteenth of the *Hejra*. *Khâled* bore his disgrace with great magnanimity; swearing, when the disagreeable news of *Abu Obeidab's* advancement arrived, that, tho' he had always had the highest regard for *Abu Becr*, and the utmost aversion to *Omar*, he would submit to God's will, and obey the commands of the new *Khalîf*, as those of the lawful successor of
- c *Mohammed*. Nor did he afterwards fail, in pursuance of this resolution, to distinguish himself, as will soon more fully appear. The *Khalîf*, about this time, commanded his new general, *Abu Obeidab*, to have his eye upon *Palestine*, and to attempt the conquest of that fine country, as soon as a favourable opportunity of invading it offered<sup>e</sup>.

Not long after the reduction of *Damascus*, the *Khalîf* ordered *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, who The battle of commanded in *Irâk*, to dislodge the *Persians* from some districts they possessed in the neigh- Kadefia. bourhood of the *Euphrates*. *Saad* having drawn together a body of 12,000 men, advanced to *Kadefia*, a city bordering upon the deserts of *Irâk*, where he engaged an army of 30,000 *Persians*, under the conduct of one *Rustem*, or *Rostam*, a *Persian* general; but with what success we are not told by *Al Makîn*, who is the principal *Arabic* historian that gives us

d any account of this war. However, he intimates, that it produced several battles between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*; the last of which was decisive, continuing from morning till noon, and ended in the intire defeat of the *Persians*. The day on which one of these engagements happened was called by the *Arabs* THE DAY OF SUCCOURS, because in the heat of it, when they were much pressed, a reinforcement of 6000 men very luckily joined them. The day on which the last battle was fought they denominated THE DAY OF CONCUSSION, because the glorious success of that day shook the whole *Persian* power. The *Persian* army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, above sixty thousand of whom perished in this decisive action, which was afterwards called by the *Arabs* the battle of *Kadefia*. The

e *Moslem* forces did not amount to above 30,000 men, about 7,500 of whom fell on the field of battle. Some of the *Persian* historians call *Yazdegerd's* general *Ferokhzad*; and inform us, that he was that prince's prime minister. They also relate, that he at first contented himself with harassing the *Arabs* in their march, and declined coming to a general action with them till he had posted himself in a very advantageous manner, in the plains of *Kadefia*. Some of the *Oriental* historians make this battle to have been as famous as that of *Arbela*; and affirm, that it lasted three days and three nights. Be that as it will, the *Persians* were at length intirely defeated; upon which, their capital city, and the greatest part of their dominions, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*. *Rustem*, or *Rostam*, as the *Persian* commander in chief is denominated by some of the eastern writers, seems to be a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of that country. *Hormozan*, a noble *Persian*, who had

f possessed himself of *Khûzestân*, after this complete victory, surrendered that province to the *Khalîf*; and embraced, at his request, the *Mohammedan* religion. *Yazdegerd*, in order to avoid the fury of the *Arabs*, fled as far as the banks of the *Fibun*; upon which, *Saad* pillaged the opulent and superb city of *Al Madâyen*, and made himself master of all *Yazdegerd's* treasure there. Notwithstanding what is advanced to the contrary by *Al Makîn*, the battle of *Kadefia*, according to the *Oriental* authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, was fought in the 15th year of the *Hejra*<sup>f</sup>.

In the mean time, the *Moslem* forces in *Syria* made all the proper dispositions for improv- The Arabs me- ing the late advantages they had gained, and even for spreading the terror of their arms ditate further over every district of that region. *Khâled*, notwithstanding the indignity that had lately been conquests. offered him, was still as desirous of propagating and extending the *Mohammedan* faith as

<sup>e</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 282, 283. AL MAKIN, hist. Sarac. lib. i. c. iii. p. 21.

<sup>f</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 223. LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABUL FAR. ubi sup. p. 173. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 226.



ever, and distinguished himself as much in the action of *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, or *the monastery of the holy father*, of which we shall give our readers here a clear and succinct relation, as on any former occasion. By which it plainly appears, that the *Moslems*, at this juncture, were actuated by such a spirit of enthusiasm as nothing could subdue; and that even the grossest affronts, which would have cooled the ardour of others, served only the more effectually to animate them, and engage them to behave with the greater bravery, in support of their new religion <sup>a</sup>.

Abd'allah  
Ebn Jaafar  
advances to  
Dair Abi'l  
Kodos.

IN the monastery of *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, there lived a priest, so eminent for his learning, sanctity, and austerity of life, that the neighbouring *Christians* of all orders and denominations frequently resorted to him for his blessing and instruction. When any person of distinction married, he took his new spouse with him to the aforesaid monastery, in order to receive this holy father's benediction. The fame of his sanctity drew such numbers of people thither every *Easter*, that there was a great fair then kept annually at his house, to which were brought vast quantities of the richest silks, sattins, plate, jewels, and other valuable effects. Of this *Abu Obeidah* being apprized, and that *Dair Abi'l Kodos* was seated between *Tripoli* and *Harran*, about thirty miles from *Damascus*, he sent a detachment of 200 horse, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, whose mother, after his father's death, was married to the late *Khalif*, to plunder the *Christians* assembled there. The *Christian*, who had brought *Abu Obeidah* advice of this fair, attended *Abd'allah* in his march, and undertook to conduct him to *Dair Abi'l Kodos* without any loss. When the *Arabs* drew near the place, they were informed, that the prefect, or governor, of *Tripoli* had lately married his daughter to a person of great distinction, who had carried his lady to the monastery, in order to present her to the holy father above-mentioned, and that she might have an opportunity of receiving the communion at his hands. To which the person bringing the intelligence added, that the *Jews*, *Greeks*, *Copts*, or *Coptis*, and *Armenians*, then at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, amounted to at least 10,000 men; and that, besides these, the lady had for her escorte a body of 5000 horse. Notwithstanding which, *Abd'allah* resolved either to carry off all the riches of the *Christians*, or to die in the attempt. Having therefore divided his troops into five small detachments, he ordered them to charge the enemy in five different places at once; and, by the advice of *Omar Ebn Rabiya*, to begin the attack the next morning, after the fair was actually begun. We find it intimated by *Al Makin*, that, this year, the *Moslems* surrounded with a wall, by the command of *Omar*, both *Cufa* and *Basra* <sup>b</sup>.

And, in conjunction with  
Khâled de-  
feats the *Christians* there.

AT the appointed time, after *Abd'allah* had animated his men, by assuring them, that *paradise was under the shadow of swords*, and that *they should either possess the riches of the Christians, or enjoy the pleasures of paradise*, he commanded them to cry out *ALLAH ACBAR*, *GOD is great*, and immediately to fall upon the enemy. This they did, notwithstanding their small number, with such unparalleled bravery, that at first they bore down all before them, and put many of those that resisted them to the sword. But the *Christians*, soon perceiving that they were but a handful of men, returned to the charge, hemmed them in on all sides, and resolved to make them pay dear for their temerity and presumption. This being observed by *Abd'allah Ebn Anis*, who saw his countrymen engaged with a numerous enemy, appearing, to use an *Arab* simile, like a white spot in a black camel's skin, he cut his way through the enemy, and instantly posted away to *Damascus*, with the bad news; where, upon his arrival, he told *Abu Obeidah*, that his troops were engaged with the *Christians*, whose regular forces amounted to above 5000 men; and that unless they were immediately succoured, they would all infallibly be cut to pieces. In this distress, the general was obliged to have recourse to *Khâled*, as the only person that could effectually extricate the *Moslems* out of the difficulties in which they were involved; who, notwithstanding the indignity that had been lately offered him, very readily agreed to march to the relief of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*. Having, therefore, put on the coat of mail which he took from the false prophet *Moseilama*, and the cap that had received *Mohammed's* benediction, called for that reason the *blessed cap*, he instantly marched at the head of a strong detachment, consisting intirely of cavalry, to *Dair Abi'l Kodos*; where he found the *Moslem* troops fighting like men in despair, and reduced to the last extremity. The sight of *Khâled* at so critical a conjuncture revived the drooping spirits of *Abd'allah*, who thereupon attacked the monastery afresh with so much vigour, that he soon made himself master of it. In the mean time, *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr* defeated a considerable body of troops, commanded the prefect of *Tripoli*, whom he killed upon the spot; and *Khâled* routed another body of the *Christian* forces, that opposed him, and pursued them as far as a river between *Tripoli* and the place where the action happened. In fine, the *Arabs* having absolutely dispersed the enemy, and insulted the poor priest above-mentioned, *Khâled* telling him, that *had he not been forbidden by the Apostle of GOD, he would have put him to a most cruel death*, <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. & EUTYCH. ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> AL WAKED. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



a returned to *Damascus*, to the great joy of *Abu Obeidah*, who was expecting them with vast impatience. They carried off with them not only the jewels, rich furniture, and immense wealth, brought to the fair by the *Christians* and *Jews* above-mentioned, but likewise the young lady, whose father, the governor of *Tripoli*, had been killed in the late action; and forty maids that waited upon her. The situation of *Dair Abi'l Kodos* we find not precisely determined by any of the eastern geographers. However, it may not be improper to observe, that the word *Dair*, in *Arabic*, signifies a *monastery*; and that near 200 places, whose proper names begin with that word, particularly *Dair Errahib*, the *monastery of the religious*, the name of a village in *Palestine*, not a little resembling *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, the *monastery of the holy father*, in signification, &c. have been mentioned by the Oriental writers<sup>1</sup>.

AMONGST the valuable merchandize and spoils taken at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*, there were many rich garments curiously wrought, and one particularly adorned with the effigies of our Blessed Saviour; all of which were sold for ten times their weight in gold to some of the opulent *Arabs* of *Yaman*. To *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr*, who had killed the prefect of *Tripoli*, *Abu Obeidah* gave that officer's horse and saddle; together with the trappings, which, as well as the saddle, were embellished with precious stones; as a reward for his valour. These he made a present of to his sister *Kawlah*, who divided the jewels amongst the ladies of her acquaintance. The prefect's daughter *Abu Obeidah*, by the *Khalif's* order, bestowed on *Abd'allah*, who kept her till *Yezid's* reign. The advantage gained by the Moslem was notified to *Omar* by a courier, which *Abu Obeidah* dispatched to that prince at *Medina*, on this occasion. In his letter the Moslem general also informed the *Khalif*, that his men had learned to drink wine in *Syria*; which so exasperated the *Arab* pontiff, that, by the advice of *Ali*, to whom he communicated the contents of *Abu Obeidah's* letter, he commanded the latter to punish every person, who had drank that prohibited liquor; with eighty stripes upon the soles of his feet. Upon the arrival of the courier, *Abu Obeidah* imparted to the officers of his army the substance of the *Khalif's* letter; and particularly the order relating to the punishment of the foregoing offenders. After which, he exhorted such of his men as were conscious of their guilt in the above-mentioned particular to make a voluntary confession of their crime; and, in order to demonstrate the sincerity of their repentance, cheerfully to submit to the chastisement inflicted upon them by the *Khalif*. In consequence of which exhortation, many of the *Arab* soldiers confessed their guilt; and underwent the punishment allotted them, who had never been suspected of the aforesaid crime, and who consequently had none but their own consciences to accuse them. With regard to the future scene of action, the *Khalif* left this intirely to the discretion of *Abu Obeidah*, whom he honoured with an absolute and unlimited commission to act as he should think fit; for the good of his service. That general, therefore, having called a council of war, informed his officers, that his design was first to reduce *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and afterwards *Antioch*. Having completed his preparations for this expedition, he detached *Khâled*, to whom he gave the *black eagle*, the flag before assigned him by *Abu Becr*, at the head of the vanguard, attended by *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, *Derâr*, and other experienced officers, to ravage the country about *Hems* and *Kinnisrîn*; whilst he himself, with the main body, moved towards *Baalbec*. It may not be improper to inform our readers here, that *Hems* is the *Arabic* name of *Emessa*, or *Eniissa*, a city of *Syria*, frequently taken notice of by the ancients; and that *Kinnisrîn* is one of the principal cities of *Syria*, about a day's journey from *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, on the road from the latter of those places to *Hems*. The district in which it is seated is called *Jiund Kinnisrîn*, or *Jiund Kinnisrîn*, by the Oriental geographers, and at least in part answers to the *Cyrbestica* of *Cicero*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. The town of *Kinnisrîn*, at a small distance from which runs the river *Kowaik*, that washes the suburbs of *Aleppo*, is upon good grounds supposed by some to be the *Gindarus* of *Strabo*, which was a fortified town, and at the same, or nearly the same, distance from *Beræa* that *Kinnisrîn* is from *Aleppo*; since it can scarce be doubted but that the last-mentioned city is situated upon the same spot of ground that was occupied by the *Beræa* of the ancients, *Baalbec* is a superb and splendid city of *Syria*, abounding with stately palaces; built for the most part of stone, in an elegant taste, and supported by marble pillars, about three days journey from *Damascus*. It is situated on a mountain, adorned with great numbers of beautiful trees, refreshed with rivers, wells, &c. and enjoys a vast plenty of all the necessaries, and many of the elegancies, of life. Amongst other remains of antiquity, still preserved here, there is to be seen, according to *Al Azizi*, a chapel, or temple of the Sun, held in great veneration by the *Sabians*; which, as they pretend, was erected by their ancestors. *Baalbec*, from the foregoing description, which we have extracted from the Oriental geographers, seems to be the *Heliopolis ad Libanum* of *Pliny*,

<sup>1</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. Vide etiam ejusd. vit. Salad. p. 192. Lugdani Batavor. 1732.



*Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*; near which, according to the first of those writers, the river *Orontes* had its source <sup>k</sup>.

He presents  
himself before  
Hems;

ABU OBEIDAH having left a garison of 500 horse at *Damascus*, and made *Safwân Ebn Amîr* commandant of that town, ordered his forces to begin their march for the place of their destination. The first town of note to which he advanced, was *Jushiyah*, the governor of which concluded a truce with him for one year, upon condition that if he reduced *Baalbec*, *Hems*, and *Labwah*, within that term, *Jushiyah* should likewise at the end of it surrender to him; that he should pay him down instantly four thousand pieces of gold; and that he should also make him a present of fifty silk vests. Then the *Moslem* general resumed his march for *Baalbec*, which he had not continued long before he was overtaken by a courier, who brought him a letter from the *Khalif*, the purport of which was to the following effect: "In the name of the most merciful God. From the servant of God, *Omar Ebn Al Kbattâb*, to his lieutenant greeting. I praise the only God, besides whom there is no other; I pray also for his prophet *Mohammed*, upon whom be the divine benediction. The divine decree cannot be reversed; so that every one written an INFIDEL in the secret book must necessarily be void of faith. This reflection is occasioned by the conduct of *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, of the tribe of *Ghassân*, who, with his relations and the chief men of his tribe, after a kind reception from me, embraced the true religion, performed with me the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and went seven times in procession round the *Caaba*. During the performance of this ceremony, a man of the tribe of *Fezârah* accidentally trod upon his vest; so that it fell from his shoulders; upon which, tho' the man swore he did not design to affront him, *Jabalab* boxed him, broke his nose, and beat out four of his fore-teeth. I asked *Jabalab*, after he had been brought before me, upon the injured person's complaint, what could induce him to use a brother *Moslem* so cruelly? To which he replied, that the man had trod upon his vest, and uncovered his back; and that, had it not been for the reverence he bore the place, he would have killed him. Upon this I told him, that, as he had confessed his crime, I must execute the law of retaliation upon him, unless the *Fezârahite* would forgive him. To which he answered, that he was a king, and the other a peasant. To this I replied, that they were both *Moslems*, and consequently in that respect equal; however, upon his desiring it, and the other's agreeing to it, I suspended his punishment till the next day. But, in the night, *Jabalab* and his companions made their escape to the *Grecian* dog; over whom, I hope, God will render thee victorious. Sit down before *Hems*, invest that town, and send thy spies towards *Antioch*, for fear of the *Christian* Arabs. Health, happiness, and the blessing of God be upon thee and all the *Moslems*." After the perusal of this letter, *Abu Obeidah* communicated the contents of it to the *Moslem* forces, and then immediately directed his march, in pursuance of the orders he had received, towards *Hems*; before which place he presented himself in *November*, the same year, that is, the fourteenth of the *Hejra*, or of our Lord 635. To what has been already said of *Hems* we may add, that it is a very famous, large and walled town, with a strong citadel in the southern part of it, erected upon a hill. It stands on a plain between *Damascus* and *Aleppo*, tho' nearer the former of those places, and abounds with most delicious gardens. The air of *Hems* is very salubrious, and its soil extremely rich. The inhabitants are never infested by any venomous creatures, no species of which will live here. Nay, we are told by an eastern writer, that no poisonous animal will approach any person that wears a garment washed with the water of the *Orontes*, near which this city is situated, and whose banks are embellished with most beautiful spots covered with trees, shrubs, plants, &c. of various kinds. The *Orontes* is stiled by the *Arabs* the *refractory* and the *inverted river*, because the neighbouring soil is irrigated by its water, raised, and, as it were, *refracted* or *broken back* from the bed of the river by the force of wheels, and because its current is, as it were, *inverted*, or moves in a direction from south to north, contrary to that of all the other rivers of *Asia*. The *Arabs* suppose *Hems* to have been built by an *Amalekite* of the same name. Its citizens are famous for their fine complexion. The emperor *Heliogabalus* is said to have been born at *Hems*, which we find placed by *Abu'lfeda* in long. 61°, and lat. 34° 20' <sup>l</sup>.

and grants a  
truce for a  
year to the  
inhabitants;

BEFORE *Abu Obeidah*'s arrival at *Hems*, the body of troops commanded by *Khâled* had reached that town; and the very day of their appearance before it the governor died. This

<sup>k</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. EBN HAWKEL, PTOL, in Syr. STRAB. lib. xvi. CIC. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 18. PLIN. lib. v. c. 22, 23. FESTUS AVIEN. v. 1084. ZOSIM. lib. i. c. 10, & alib. STEPH. BYZANT. HERODIAN. lib. v. c. 3. FLAVIUS VOPISCUS, in vit. Aurelian. c. 25. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xiv. c. 8. edit. Vales. SOZOMEN. lib. i. c. 8. & lib. v. c. 10. YACUT. AL FIRAUAZABAD. in Kam. AL AZIZI, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 127, 276, &c. SHARIF AL EDRISI, p. 118. Vide etiam ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUAZABAD. EBN HAWK. ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL AZIZI, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 127. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ubi sup. Vide etiam HERODIAN. lib. v. & CLAUD. SALMAS. ad Æl. Lamprid. in Anton. Heliogab.



- a unexpected visit not a little alarmed the inhabitants, as they could not believe that the *Arab* forces were so near. But when they perceived, that *Abu Obeidab* had taken post before the town with the main body of the *Moslem* army, they were struck with inexpressible terror and consternation. They imagined, that he would have made himself master of *Baalbec* before he had advanced to *Hems*; and were therefore not in a proper situation to receive him, nor to sustain the fatigues of a siege. This induced them to apply to *Abu Obeidab* for a truce, which he readily granted them, upon condition that they paid him down immediately 10,000 pieces of gold, and presented him with 200 silk vests. This truce was to commence on the first day of *Dbu'lhajja*, and to expire on the last day of *Shawwâl*, in the following year, being the fifteenth of the *Hejra*. The garrison likewise agreed to surrender to the
- b *Khalif's* forces, upon the expiration of the truce; in case by that time they could overthrow the *Greeks*, and reduce *Albâdir*, *Kinnisrîn*, and *Aleppo*. In the mean time, *Mesab Ebn Mobârib*, with the *Arabian* cavalry, foraged all over the adjacent territory; and, after he had pillaged the emperor's subjects there, returned to the *Moslem* camp loaded with spoil, consisting of sheep, oxen, and other valuable effects, besides at least 400 prisoners. *Abu Obeidab* commiserating the unhappy condition of these poor wretches, not only gave them their liberty, but restored them likewise their cattle, and every thing else of which they had been plundered by *Ebn Mobârib*. However, as they absolutely refused to profess the *Mohammedan* religion, he, in conformity to what had been enjoined by *Omar*, settled a capitation of four *dinârs* upon every head; imposed an annual tribute upon them, and
- c obliged all the citizens to assist the *Moslems* in their respective capacities, as opportunity should serve. Both the tribute and the capitation he extended to all the inhabitants of the neighbouring district; and, for the better regulation of this affair, inserted in a book, kept for that purpose, both their names and the places of their habitation. This lenity of *Abu Obeidab* had the desired effect, and greatly facilitated the conquest of *Syria*. It also prevented an effusion of the *Moslem* blood, as it hindered the *Greeks* from fighting like men animated by despair; and conciliated the affections of all orders and degrees of men in that country to the *Arabs*. It is intimated by *Abu'l Faraj*, that, about this time, *Tiberias*, *Cæsarea*, and *Misan*, followed the example of *Hems*; the inhabitants of those places obtaining a truce for a year, by submitting to a capitation, and the payment of a stipulated sum, exacted of
- d them as a tribute by the *Moslems* <sup>m</sup>.

- THE imperial governor of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*, whom some of the *Arab* writers call *Luke*, <sup>as also to the governor of Kinnisrîn.</sup> and others *Matthias*, receiving advice of what had happened to *Jushiyah* and *Hems*, dispatched *Astachar*, a priest perfectly well acquainted with the *Arabic* language, and thoroughly versed both in the *Jewish* and *Christian* theology, with a letter to *Abu Obeidab*; wherein he desired such a truce as had already been granted to the cities above-mentioned by the *Moslem* general. *Astachar* being arrived at *Hems*, was immediately introduced to *Abu Obeidab*; whom he found with all his officers at prayers, and imparted to him the affair with which he was charged by the governor of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*. To induce him the more readily to listen to which, he assured him, that the emperor would soon have a numerous army on foot at *Tyre*, which
- e would advance to the relief of *Syria*; but that notwithstanding this, his master would confine himself and his troops within the walls of *Kinnisrîn*, and not commit any hostilities against the *Moslems*, even after the arrival of the imperial forces, provided a truce for one year only could be agreed upon. He likewise probably engaged to surrender, if not succoured, after the expiration of this truce, to the *Arabs*. *Abu Obeidab* having complied with the governor's request, *Astachar* told him, that the *Greeks* would erect a pillar, on the top of which they intended to place an effigies of the emperor *Heraclius* sitting upon his throne; and that this, by his permission, should serve as a boundary, limiting their respective territories on that side, beyond which none of his cavalry should be suffered to forage. To which *Abu Obeidab* likewise gave his consent. Soon after the erection of this column,
- f a party of *Arab* horse passing by it, one of them accidentally struck out one of the emperor's eyes with the iron fixed in the lower end of his lance; which so incensed the governor of *Kinnisrîn*, that he sent a messenger to *Abu Obeidab* to expostulate with him thereupon, and to insist upon a proper satisfaction being given for so daring an affront, which he considered as a manifest violation of the late treaty. Nor could any other expedient be discovered for accommodating the difference arisen between them from this unexpected accident, than that one of *Heraclius's* subjects should be permitted to treat a statue of the *Khalif* in the same manner. Which being granted, the good understanding just established was perfectly restored, and the commission of hostilities prevented, when both sides were upon the point of coming to an open rupture. *Eutychius* relates, that the *Arab's* name, who put

<sup>m</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 282, 283. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 178.



out the emperor's eye, was *Abu Handal Ebn Sabel Ebn Amru*, and that this was done without any sinister design; as also that the *Moslems*, who then passed by the pillar, were only exercising themselves in horsemanship, when the accident happened. We must not forget to observe, that *Kbâled Ebn Al Walid* did his utmost to traverse the negotiation carried on between *Abu Obeidah* and the governor of *Kinnisrîn*; but, happily for the latter, without effect. That fierce commander thirsted after *Christian* blood, and was therefore desirous of taking every one of the imperial fortresses in *Syria* by storm; which scheme could he have succeeded in, he would have had an opportunity of putting all the *Christians* therein to the sword <sup>a</sup>.

Abu Obeidah <sup>for some time remains in a state of inaction at Hems;</sup> NOTWITHSTANDING the deplorable situation of the *Christians* at this time in *Syria*, dissensions still there reigned amongst them. The governors of *Kinnisrîn* and *Aleppo* were at such variance, that they could not be prevailed upon, even by the emperor himself, to concur heartily, with all their forces, in support of the common cause; which had they done, they might probably in some measure have stopped the rapid progress of the *Moslem* arms. This we learn from an *Arab* historian of good authority, tho' the quarrel here mentioned has not been taken the least notice of by any of the *Christian* writers. Had *Abu Obeidah*, therefore, not religiously observed the engagements he lately entered into, he might, at this juncture, have still farther extended his conquests in *Syria*. But he considered his hands as tied up by the cessation of arms he had granted to the cities above-mentioned, and therefore continued for some time at *Hems* in a state of inaction. This was by no means apreeable to the *Moslem* troops; nor was the *Khalif* himself better pleased with it, as more clearly appears from the following letter sent by him to *Abu Obeidah*, which the army looked upon as a reprehension of that general for his last point of conduct, and which induced him heartily to repent of the measures he had taken <sup>c</sup>.

“ IN the name of the most merciful God. From *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, to *Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerah*, his lieutenant in *Syria*, greeting. I praise God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his prophet *Mohammed*, upon whom be the divine benediction. I command thee to put thy trust in God, and to take care that thou be not one of them concerning whom God says: Say, if your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your substance which ye have acquired, and your merchandize which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than God, and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion; wait, until God shall send his command: for God directeth not the ungodly people.” Upon the communication of the contents of this letter to the troops, they insisted upon a vigorous prosecution of the war, and demanded to be led forth to fight the battles of the LORD. They also desired *Abu Obeidah* immediately to resume the military operations, and to lay siege either to *Antioch* or *Aleppo*. As the truce, therefore, granted those cities was upon the point of expiring, he made the proper dispositions for leaving *Hems*. However, before his departure, he appointed *Salmah*, one of his experienced officers, to remain at that place, and assigned him a body of horse, sufficient to secure him from any insult that might be apprehended on the part of the enemy <sup>d</sup>.

Abu Obeidah <sup>grants a truce to the people of Hamah;</sup> IN pursuance of the plan he had formed, *Abu Obeidah* took his leave of *Hems*, and marched first to *Arrestân*; from whence he advanced to *Hamah*, or *Hamata*, known in the sacred writings by the name of *Hamath*, or *Chamath*, one of the principal cities of *Syria*. The inhabitants of this place, afterwards the seat of the famous *Abu'lfeda*, were taken under the protection of the *Moslems*, of whom they obtained a truce, upon the same terms as that which had been granted to the citizens of *Hems* and *Kinnisrîn*; in the district of the former of which cities *Hamah* stands. On the northern and eastern sides it is washed by the *Orontes*, consists of lofty beautiful houses, built in an elegant taste, has a strong citadel, and abounds with water-mills, as well as water-engines, by the assistance of which the gardens are irrigated, and all the houses of the city plentifully supplied with water. *Hamah*, which, with other districts, was given to *Taki'oddin*, or *Taki'addin*, *Abu'lfeda's* ancestor, by the famous *Salûb'addin*, or *Saladin*, is about half a day's journey from *Shaizar*, and double that distance from *Hems*. *Abu'lfeda* was descended in the fifth generation from *Taki'addin*; whose name, with his title prefixed to it, written at length, is *Al Malec Al Modhaffir Taki'addin Omar Ebn Shâbinshâh Ebn Ayûb*. From whence it appears, that *Abu'lfeda*, the prince of *Hamah*, as well as of the *Arab* geographers and historians, was of the house of *Ayûb*, or the illustrious family of the *Rubidæ*, which, for a certain period, made so considerable a figure in the east. But of the heroes of this house our readers may expect a full and ample account <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 278. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 292, 293, 294, 295. <sup>b</sup> AL WAKED, ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. v. 24. AL BEIDAWI, AL WAKED, ubi sup.



a hereafter. *Abu'lfeda* places *Hamah*, or, as he calls it, *Haniata*, in long.  $61^{\circ} 15'$ , and lat.  $34^{\circ} 45'$  <sup>a</sup>.

FROM *Hamah Ebn Obeidah*, at the head of the *Moslem* forces, moved to *Shaizar*, which followed the example of *Hamah*. *Shaizar*, or *Sjaizar*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, is nine miles distant from *Hamah*, thirty-three from *Hems*, and thirty-six from *Antioch*. According to some modern writers of good authority, it answers to the *Larissa ad Orontem* of the ancients. It abounds with trees, gardens, and fruits of all kinds, especially pomegranates. The northern part of it is washed by the *Orontes*, which runs through the town, and its castle is extremely strong. As the word *Shaizar*, or rather *Alshaizar*, is not very remote from *Larissa*, perhaps the former of these was the ancient, or even original, name, and converted by the *Macedonians* into the latter. But this conjecture cannot, it must be owned, be absolutely depended upon; tho' the high antiquity of the *Arabic* language, and the few alterations it has undergone even from the earliest ages to the present time, must be allowed to give no small countenance to such a notion. *Abu'lfeda* makes *Shaizar* to be in long.  $61^{\circ} 10'$ , and lat.  $34^{\circ} 50'$  <sup>r</sup>.

Soon after *Abu Obeidah's* arrival at *Shaizar*, he received advice, that the governor of *Kinnisrin* expected to be joined by a strong reinforcement of *Arab* troops; under the command of *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, king of *Ghassan*, who had some time before made his escape to *Constantinople* from *Mecca*. This defection extremely exasperated *Omar*, who had before apprized his general of it, and commanded him to have a watchful eye upon the motions of that apostate, whom he expected the imperial court would soon send to act against him. This intelligence, therefore, determined the *Moslem* general to defer the siege of *Aleppo*, whither he proposed marching with all possible expedition, to a more favourable opportunity, and to advance to *Kinnisrin*, in order to lay siege to that place. Nor was such a resolution improper at this juncture, as the truce granted the governor of *Kinnisrin* was within a month of expiring. Besides, the *Moslems* looked upon that truce as violated; since the governor of *Kinnisrin* had not only written to the emperor for succours, but likewise intended actually to admit those succours into the town. *Abu Obeidah* was, therefore, resolved to sit down before the place; tho' he had such regard to his engagements, notwithstanding the governor's manifest infraction of the aforesaid treaty, that he did not design to begin his military operations against the city before the expiration of the truce. In the mean time, he sent *Khaled* with a small detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and to intercept some of their parties, in order to get farther intelligence of their motions. *Khaled* having received his instructions, set out on the enterprize assigned him; and soon fell in with a considerable body of the imperial troops, commanded by the governor of *Kinnisrin* himself and the prefect of *Ammouriyah*, who were upon their march to meet *Jabalab*, in order to conduct him to *Kinnisrin*. The *Christians* seeing such a small party of the *Arabs*, doubted not but they should give a good account of them. The action, therefore, immediately began; and the *Moslems* were hemmed in on all sides. However, *Khaled* fought like a man in despair, and killed the governor of *Kinnisrin* with his own hands. Notwithstanding which, the *Christians* must, by dint of numbers, as *Al Wakedi* pretends, have finally prevailed, had not *Abu Obeidah* sent out a considerable body of men, either to support *Khaled* or to favour his retreat; which arrived at the critical moment, carried off that commander, and the surviving part of his detachment, when they were upon the very point of being all put to the sword <sup>s</sup>.

*ABU OBEIDAH* having detached a party of horse to lay the country waste about *Kinnisrin*, made the necessary dispositions for attacking that place with all his forces. The prisoners brought to the camp by that detachment, after the general's orders had been executed, were sent to the *Khalif*; who, in obedience to one of *Mohammed's* injunctions, commanded some of his *Moslems* to teach the boys amongst them to write. The inhabitants of *Kinnisrin* were so terrified at *Abu Obeidah's* approach, having before lost their governor, who was killed in the late action, and being destitute of all manner of relief, that they opened their gates to him, and sued for his protection. This he granted them, upon condition that they should pay the usual capitation of four *dinars* a head, submit to an annual tribute, and consider themselves thenceforth as the subjects of the *Khalif*. After the reduction of *Kinnisrin*, *Abu Obeidah* called a council of war, wherein it was unanimously agreed, that the main

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. & in geograph. JEREM. xlix. 23. AM. vi. 2. SAM. BOCH. Phal. lib. iv. c. 36. p. 307. LUGD. BATAVOR. 1692. HADR. RELAND. Pal. illustrat. tom. i. p. 119, 120. Traject. Batavor. 1714. CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. tom. ii. p. 461, 462. Lipsiæ, 1706. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. JOAN. GAGN. in præfat. ad Ism. Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. Oxon. 1723. Vide etiam BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, in vit. & reb. gest. Salad. ab Albert. Schult. edit. pass. LUGD. BATAV. 1732. <sup>r</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geograph. APPIAN. de bel. Syr. p. 201. BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 123. & alib. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. <sup>s</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. Poc. not. in fec. hist. Arab. p. 77. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 11.



body of the *Moslem* forces should without loss of time form the siege of *Baalbec*; and a that *Khaled* should be sent with a large detachment to invest the city of *Hems*. In the mean time a *Moslem* party intercepted one of the enemy's caravans, with 400 loads of silks and sugars, besides a very considerable quantity of other valuable merchandize, on its return to *Baalbec*. The members of this caravan not bearing arms, they were permitted to ransom themselves, after which, some of them posted away to *Baalbec*, and informed the citizens of what had happened. This so incensed *Herbis*, the governor, that he immediately put himself at the head of 6000 horse, and went in quest of the plunderers, attended by a numerous rabble, or undisciplined multitude, who imagining that the *Moslem* army was still at *Hems*, and that the caravan had been plundered by only a party of foragers, expected easily to recover every thing that had been lost. But their want of intelligence in b this point had like to have proved fatal to them. For when *Herbis* expected to have met with only a small detachment, he fell in with the main body of the *Moslem* forces, then in full march for *Baalbec*, by which he was most rudely handled. Not being able to make head against so formidable a power, he was easily overthrown, great numbers of his men put to the sword, and he himself with the utmost difficulty, after having received seven wounds, at last escaped into the town <sup>1</sup>.

Who lays siege to Baalbec.

Soon after *Abu Obeidab* had taken post before *Baalbec*, *Maid Ebn Jabal* assured him, that he had reason to believe the city was so full of people that it could scarce contain them; which, he was persuaded, would greatly facilitate the reduction of the place. But, notwithstanding this, as the city had been amply supplied with all sorts of provisions and military c stores, and the governor was a man of distinguished bravery, *Abu Obeidab* expected to meet with a vigorous resistance from the besieged. The day after he had pitched his tents before the town, he sent a letter to *Herbis*, offering his protection to him and all the citizens, together with the regular troops in garison there, provided they would accept of the terms on which *Kinnisrin* had submitted to him; adding, that God had already blessed with many victories the true believers, insomuch that nothing could stand before them. But *Herbis* was so far from paying any regard to this letter, tho' a considerable part of the garison, as well as the townsmen, were inclined to surrender, that he tore it to pieces, and commanded the messenger who brought it to depart instantly out of the town. This so enraged the *Moslem* general, that he immediately ordered a general assault to be made; but the besieged played d their engines upon the *Arabs* with such dexterity and success, that they soon forced them to retire, and to abandon several posts which they had occupied, with very considerable loss. The next day *Abu Obeidab* intended to renew the assault; and, in order to this, commanded his troops, after the morning-prayers were over, to refresh themselves. But, in the midst of their repast, a party of the garison made a vigorous sally, surprized them with the meat in their mouths, dislodged them from their several posts, and at last retired with a good number of prisoners, and a considerable quantity of plunder, into the town. This brisk action on the part of the besieged so intimidated the *Moslems*, that the general found himself obliged to raise their spirits, by assuring them, "that the damage they had e "sustained was decreed by God, who was pleased to honour the persons slain by the unbelievers with martyrdom." Then he commanded them to remove their tents to a greater distance from the city; that they might not be so much exposed to the insults of the enemy. He also assigned *Said Ebn Zeid* the command of a body of 500 horse, and 300 foot, to keep the *Greeks* in awe at the gate facing the mountains; and ordered *Derâr* at the same time, with 300 horse and 200 foot, to post himself before the gate of *Damascus*. We must beg leave to observe here, that *Baalbec* was seated on a mountain, surrounded by a wall, and rendered more defensible by a citadel of considerable strength. This sufficiently appears from the description given us of it by *Abu'lfeda*, who places it in long. 60°, and lat. 38° 50' <sup>u</sup>.

The besieged make a vigorous sally, but are repulsed by the Arabs.

BUT notwithstanding all *Abu Obeidab*'s precautions, and the disposition made by him for carrying on the siege with success, the next morning, about break of day, *Herbis*, with f a strong party of the garison, sallied out at the gate before which the *Moslem* general himself was posted. He had before endeavoured to animate his men, by putting them in mind that they were going to fight for their religion, wives, children, properties, and, in fine, for every thing that was dear and valuable to them. Flushed, therefore, with their late success, they charged the *Arabs* with such fury, that they bore down all before them. However, as *Abu Obeidab* had promised paradise to his men, and assured them, that God would crown the endeavours of those who persevered to the end with success, the *Arabs* rallied and maintained their ground for some time with unparalleled bravery. But at last *Sohail Ebn Sabab*, an officer of great distinction, being wounded in the right arm,

<sup>1</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. ubi sup. p. 292, 293. <sup>u</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL AZIZI, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in geograph. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. Vide etiam ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.



- a and thereby rendered incapable of using his sword, was obliged to dismount, and clamber up a neighbouring hill; which threw the *Moslem* troops under his command into such a panic, that they began to break, tho' *Abu Obeidah* did all that could be expected from the most consummate general to persuade them to keep their ranks, repel the efforts of the enemy, and drive them back again into the town. At this juncture *Sobail* observing from the summit of the hill, on which he had placed himself, that the troops under *Abu Obeidah* were very much pressed, whilst those commanded by *Derâr* and *Said Ebn Zeid*, posted before the gate of *Damascus*, and that facing the mountains, had no enemy to contend with; he immediately lighted a fire on the top of the mountain; which, with the smoke ascending from it, served as a signal for those generals to advance to the relief of their brethren, who were
- b upon the point of being cut to pieces by the *Greeks*. *Derâr* and *Said Ebn Zeid* understood the meaning of this signal, and instantly hastened to the assistance of *Abu Obeidah*; who, by so seasonable a reinforcement, was enabled to repulse the enemy in his turn, and even to drive them into a deserted monastery on the top of a neighbouring hill, where they were closely besieged. But *Herbis* perceiving that the besiegers were reduced to a small number, he resolved to make an effort to force his way into the town; and therefore, when they least expected it, he sallied out of the monastery, and fell upon them with such fury, that he forced them to abandon their posts, and had carried his point, had not a reinforcement of 100 archers, sent from the *Moslem* camp, come up in the very nick of time to sustain them. These, being commanded by *Derâr* and *Said*; enabled the besiegers to rally, re-occupy
- c their former posts, and fairly beat back *Herbis* into the monastery, out of which he had endeavoured to make his escape. However, *Mesab Ebn Adi*, who gave notice to *Abu Obeidah* of the danger the besiegers were in, and had been present in most of the battles fought since the commencement of this war, declared, that he never saw a more vigorous action, and that no troops could behave better than did those of the *Greeks* on this occasion. *Sobail Ebn Sobab*, *Said Ebn Zeid*, and *Derâr*, though the victory was wholly owing to them, received a gentle reprimand from the general, who ordered them never for the future to desert the posts assigned them by the commander in chief. But this he did purely to keep up the credit of military discipline amongst his troops, and to preserve a due regard to the authority with which the lieutenant of the *Khalif* was invested; since he afterwards declared himself
- d extremely well satisfied with those officers conduct. The *Arabs* lost abundance of men in this obstinate dispute, tho' ample amends was made them for this loss by the success with which their bravery was crowned. The action here described, which happened in that year, and was followed by the surrender of *Baalbec*, was so remarkable; that it seems to have been one of those battles which *Al Makin* tells us were fought in the fifteenth year of the *Hejra* <sup>w</sup>.

- THE ardor of the besieged being now pretty well cooled, *Abu Obeidah* ordered his troops to pitch their tents round the city, and left *Said Ebn Zeid* to starve *Herbis*, the go- <sup>They surren-</sup>  
vernor, whom he now considered as in his power, to a surrender. *Herbis* soon found him- <sup>der to Abu</sup>  
self reduced to such extremities, that he was obliged to capitulate; and, in order to <sup>Obeidah.</sup>  
procure the better terms for himself, he proposed to prevail upon the town to be included
- e in the capitulation. This, tho' not without some difficulty, he at last effected; and, after several conferences with *Abu Obeidah*, he thought fit to agree to the following articles, which were signed both by him and the *Moslem* general. 1. The citizens of *Baalbec* shall pay immediately to the *Arabs* 2000 ounces of gold, and 4000 ounces of silver. 2. They shall likewise at the same time supply them with 2000 silk vests. 3. They shall deliver up into their hands 1000 swords, besides all the arms carried by *Herbis* and his men into the deserted monastery where they had been besieged by *Said Ebn Zeid*. 4. They shall submit to the same capitation and tribute that had been imposed upon the inhabitants of *Kinnisrin*. 5. They shall renounce all allegiance to the emperor, never write to him for assistance, nor ever either directly or indirectly attempt any thing against the *Khalif*. 6. They shall never hereafter
- f erect any churches or monasteries within the territory of *Baalbec*. 7. In consideration of their acquiescence in the preceding articles, the new *Arab* governor of *Baalbec* shall not enter the city, but receive the tribute imposed upon the citizens without the walls. These articles, tho' at last agreed to, appeared at first so intolerable to the people of *Baalbec*, that they could not be prevailed upon to give their consent to them, before *Herbis* had engaged himself to pay the fourth part of the gold and silver demanded by the *Moslems*. Nor could this be collected in less than twelve days, tho' *Herbis* himself had used all the means that could be thought of for that purpose, and even left the men besieged with him in the monastery as hostages in the *Moslem* camp, till his return out of the town; which demonstrates the straits to which the inhabitants of *Baalbec* must have been reduced, before they submitted to the capitu-
- g lation. However, they a little recovered themselves by the assistance of the *Arabs*, who

<sup>w</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



were now become their masters. For, when, in pursuance of his instructions, the commanding officer at *Baalbec* had plundered the people of the neighbouring districts, who had not obtained a truce from *Abu Obeidah*, all the spoils acquired by his depredations were brought to *Baalbec*, and sold for a trifle to the citizens. This induced *Herbîs*, according to some of the *Moslem* historians, to think of reimbursing himself the expence he had been at, in order to procure the concurrence of the people on the late occasion; which he imagined would be done, could he persuade his fellow-citizens, for he had then no command over them, to permit him to come in for a share of the gain proceeding from that lucrative commerce with the *Arabs*, which then began to enrich them. This, by his artful behaviour and insinuating address, he found it no difficult matter to obtain; but not being content with the share assigned him, which was yet very considerable, he made such a voracious and unreasonable proposal to them, that they could no longer bear with his insatiable disposition. A considerable number of them, therefore, unanimously rushed upon him, and killed him in an instant. After which, they desired *Rafi Ebn Abd'allah*, who had been left by *Abu Obeidah* with a body of 900 men, to superintend the *Moslem* affairs at *Baalbec*, to take possession of the town; which he absolutely refused to do, till he had written to the general, who was on his march for *Hems*, as this was directly contrary to one of the articles of the capitulation. It has been already observed, that *Baalbec* seems to stand on the same spot of ground that was formerly occupied by the *Heliopolis ad Libanum* of the ancients. To which we shall here beg leave to add, that as the great god *Baal* of the *Syrians* answered to the *Helios* of the *Greeks*, or the *Sun*, and the word *becca*, in *Arabic*, denotes a place of great concourse, and consequently seems to imply, that the city was called *Baalbec*, from the vast numbers of people who repaired thither to worship the *Sun*; the words *Heliopolis* and *Baalbec* appear manifestly to be of the same import in different languages; and of course, if we attend to what has been before remarked of the situation, to point out the very same town. Be that, however, as it will, by the death of *Herbîs*, the *Moslems* became absolute masters of *Baalbec*, and obtained the immediate possession of it, however contrary this might seem to one of the articles of the capitulation that *Abu Obeidah* himself had signed. For, *Rafi Ebn Abd'allah* having been ordered by the general, to whom on this occasion he wrote, to comply with the people's request; he, with the body of troops under his command, as soon as the express with an answer to his letter arrived, in the fifteenth year of the *Hejra*, entered the town<sup>a</sup>.

*Abu Obeidah, by a stratagem, deprives the people of Hems of their provisions.*

As soon as the foregoing capitulation was signed by *Abu Obeidah* and *Herbîs* in the *Moslem* camp before *Baalbec*, the former marched with his army to reduce the city of *Hems*. The truce granted to the inhabitants of that place, by virtue of which they were intitled to the protection of the *Arabs*, was now expired; so that *Abu Obeidah* was at full liberty to lay siege to the town, if the citizens did not prevent such a violent measure by their timely submission to the *Khalif*. The party of horse left under the command of *Salmah* at *Hems*, after the departure of *Abu Obeidah* from thence to *Kinnisrîn*, had been recalled, in order to rejoin the *Moslem* forces carrying on the siege of *Baalbec*; so that for some time no obstruction had been given the people of *Hems* in the dispositions they had, or might have, made for a vigorous defence. The *Moslem* general, before hostilities commenced, wrote a letter to the imperial governor, wherein he magnified his own strength, and invited him to embrace the *Mohammedan* religion; or, in case he should not think fit to accept of this invitation, to come to the *Moslem* camp, and settle with him the tribute and capitation to be exacted of the people over whom he presided. But if neither of the foregoing offers should please him, he insisted upon his meeting him in the open field, and leaving the quarrel between them to the decision of the sword. The governor, expecting speedy succours from the emperor, was so far from paying any regard to *Abu Obeidah*'s letter, or even returning him an answer to it, that, immediately after he had received it, he made a sally upon the *Arabs*. The dispute between the contending parties, who seemed to be greatly exasperated against each other, on this occasion, was extremely obstinate and bloody; though at last the *Arabs* fairly beat the *Greeks* back into the town. However, the former sustained so very considerable a loss in this action, that, for the present, they laid aside all thoughts of reducing the place by force; and therefore *Abu Obeidah* was obliged to have recourse to a stratagem, suggested to him by a *Moslem* officer of great sagacity and penetration; which had the desired effect. In order to deprive the citizens of *Hems* of their provisions, that he might have the fairer opportunity of surprizing them, *Abu Obeidah* pretended to have formed a design of attacking some of the principal fortresses in *Syria*; and therefore he offered to raise the siege of *Hems*, provided the inhabitants would supply his troops with all the pro-

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. STRAB. geogr. lib. xvi. p. 518. PTOL. geogr. PLIN. lib. v. c. 22. SOZOMEN. lib. i. c. 8. MACROB. Saturn. lib. i. c. 23. p. 215, 216, 217. Lond. 1694. FEST. AVIEN. v. 1083. CLAUD. SALMAS. not. ad Flav. Vopisc. in Div. Aurelian. pass. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 99. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 3. Vide etiam AL AZIZ apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup.

visions



a visions they could spare. This so pleased both the imperial garison and the people of the town; who were very desirous of getting rid of such troublesome guests, that they immediately stripped their magazines, and brought all the provisions they were not in-present want of to the *Moslem* camp. *Abu Obeidah* having now carried his point, advanced at the head of his troops to *Arrestân*, a strong place, well watered and full of soldiers which he summoned to surrender. In the mean time, some of the imperial spies in the *Moslem* camp observing the gates of *Hems* to be open to the *Arabs*, when the provisions were presented to *Abu Obeidah*, before he began his march to *Arrestân*, they spread a report, that the fortress itself had surrendered to him. This produced a very bad effect, as it struck all the emperor's subjects in those parts with terror; and consequently rendered several cities less capable of  
b defending themselves, when the *Moslem* forces sat down before them<sup>1</sup>.

THE governor of *Arrestân*, or rather of the castle there, paying no regard to *Abu Obeidah's* *He takes* summons, the *Moslem* general desired leave to deposit some of his heavy baggage, which he *Arrestân.* pretended would retard his march, in the citadel. This, for the same reason that the commandant of *Hems* had parted with his provisions, the governor, not suspecting any treachery, readily granted. This baggage consisted of twenty chests, every one of which inclosed an *Arab* soldier, having locks, to prevent all suspicion, put on the outside, and a bottom so contrived as to slip backward and forward, as the person within pleased. These being received into the castle, *Khâled* posted himself in ambuscade, near the gates of the city, with a considerable detachment, in order to support the soldiers concealed in them, if a  
c favourable opportunity offered. Soon after *Abu Obeidah*, with his forces, had disappeared, the governor and people of *Arrestân* went to church, to give thanks for the departure of the enemy, and were heard singing a psalm by *Derâr*, *Abd'alrahmân*, *Abd'allah*, and the other *Arabs*, confined in the manner here related; who finding every thing secure, immediately sallied out of the chests, seized upon the governor's lady, from whom they forced the keys of the gates, and then easily surprized the unarmed multitude at church in the midst of their devotions. This first step having succeeded so well, *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, who commanded the party, sent five of his men with the keys, to open the gates; which being done, they instantly cried out ALLAH ACBAR, and *Khâled* advancing at the same time with his detachment to sustain them, *Arrestân* was taken by this stratagem without opposition<sup>2</sup>.

d ABU OBEIDAH having left a garison of 2000 men at *Arrestân*, which he judged sufficient *and Shaizar.* to defend the place, moved with his army to *Skaizar*, where there is a bridge over the *Orontes*, that runs through the town, which has been taken notice of by some of the eastern geographers. The reduction of *Arrestân*, some of whose inhabitants embraced *Mohammedism*, tho' by far the greatest part of them persevered in the *Christian* faith; and retired to *Hems*, *Baalbec*, *Damascus*, *Alhâdir*, *Kinnisrîn*, *Bostra*, and even, as was supposed, of *Hems* itself, so alarmed the inhabitants of *Sbaizar*, that many of them were inclined to surrender both the town and the citadel to the *Arabs*, at the first summons; thinking neither of them tenable against so formidable a power. The governor, however, himself, being a  
e man of courage, was of another opinion. He rejected the summons sent him by *Abu Obeidah*, and seemed determined to defend the place to the last drop of blood. But the principal men of the city being intimidated by what they had heard of the achievements of the *Arabs*, which had been greatly amplified and exaggerated to them, refused to concur with him in taking the necessary measures for the defence of the place. This so exasperated him, that he gave them reproachful language, ordered his servants to beat them, and treated them in the most opprobrious manner. Which they not being able to bear, drew their swords, cut him and his whole party to pieces, and then opened their gates to the *Moslems*. *Abu Obeidah* received them with open arms, gave them thanks for putting him in possession of their city without any effusion of blood; telling them at the same time, that as they had preferred his master's government to that of the emperor, he would not dismiss them without  
f some distinguishing mark of favour. In fine, he assured them, that if they would become converts to the *Mohammedan* faith, they should be exempted from all taxes and customs paid by those of that religion for two years; and that if they chose to continue *Christians*, they should pay no tribute for the following year. Thus the *Moslems* made themselves masters of *Sbaizar* merely by the fame of their arms, and the pusillanimity of the emperor's subjects. For the place was not inferior to many of the inferior fortresses of *Syria*, either in the number of its soldiers, or the strength of its situation<sup>3</sup>.

g AFTER *Abu Obeidah* had secured his conquest, he returned at the head of his forces to *Hems*, and once more sat down before that city. The governor now plainly perceived that he had been outwitted by the *Arabs*; and that it would be impossible for him, as he was in a manner destitute of provisions, long to defend the town. Being grieved, therefore, at  
as also Hems.

<sup>1</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix, & alib. AL BEIDAWI, HADR. RELAND. de jur. militar. Mohammedanor. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. vi. p. 144. <sup>2</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. IEM. ARU'LFED. in geograph. ubi sup. Vide etiam ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. ubi sup.



his own weakness, he upbraided the *Moslem* general with perfidy and breach of promise, and sent a messenger to expostulate with him. *Abu Obeidah*, in his own vindication, replied, that, by the former agreement, he was not to undertake the siege of *Hems* before he had taken some of the other fortresses of *Syria*; and that consequently, since he had reduced *Arrestân* and *Shaizar*, he was now at liberty to oblige *Hems* likewise to submit to the domination of the *Khalif*. The inhabitants finding in what dismal perplexities their credulity had involved them, and that they were not able to sustain a siege, at the instigation of their governor resolved to try their fortune in the field. That night he received the holy communion at *St. George's* church, since converted into a mosque, whither the people also repaired to prayers, to implore the divine assistance on this melancholy occasion. One of the *Arab* writers affirms, that the governor eat a whole roasted kid for supper, after his return from the holy communion, and sat up drinking wine all night; but this seems not to merit the attention of our impartial and unprejudiced readers. In the morning he sallied out of the town at the head of 5000 horse, and fell upon the *Arabs* with such fury, that he forced them to give way, and even at last to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. *Khâled*, endeavouring to restore the battle, narrowly escaped being killed by a *Greek*, whom he engaged in single combat, his sword breaking in his hand; though at last, according to *Al Wakedi*, he closed with his antagonist, and threw him dead from his horse. However, about noon, *Mirkâl* and *Meisarah*, two *Moslem* commanders, rallied the fugitives, and made an impression upon the *Christians* right wing, as *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, another of the *Arab* officers, did on their left. *Ikrimah*, *Khâled's* cousin, likewise greatly distinguished himself on this occasion; crying out aloud, in order to animate his companions, who were vastly dispirited at the superiority of the *Greeks*, "Methinks I see one of the black-eyed girls of paradise, so beautiful that all mankind would die for the love of her, could they but see her. She offers me with one hand an handkerchief of green silk, and a cap made of precious stones, of inestimable value; with the other she beckons to me, at the same time declaring that she loves me." Then charging the *Christians* like a man in despair, he cut his way through great numbers of them, and even at last penetrated almost to the spot where the governor himself was posted. But here he found that which he seemed so ardently to desire, being pierced through with a lance; and consequently met with the proper reward of his temerity and presumption. Nor could the *Arabs* recover themselves, till the approach of the night obliged the *Christians* to retire; which, however, they did with a full resolution to renew the fight the next day. *Abu Obeidah* finding he could not possess himself of the place by force, was obliged to have recourse to another stratagem, suggested to him by *Khâled*, which enabled him to carry his point. Early the next morning, he drew his forces off from before the town, and marched in such disorder, that his retreat looked like a precipitate flight. This he did to amuse the *Greeks*, make his loss appear to them much more considerable than it really was, and convince them that his men durst not look them in the face; and it had the desired effect. For a great part of the garison observing this sudden and unexpected motion of the enemy, rushed out all at once upon them, without any order or precaution; which being perceived by the *Arabs*, they rallied in an instant, hemmed the *Greeks* in on all sides, and had put every man of them to the sword, had not their brethren in the city opportunely made a vigorous sally, in order to favour their retreat. In fine, the imperial troops suffered so much in this action, that, notwithstanding the advantage they had gained the day before, they found themselves obliged to surrender *Hems* to the *Moslems*; though this conquest was not at present of any great service to the latter. For, having received advice, that a very formidable imperial army was in full march to attack them, they could not spare a sufficient number of troops to garison the place, which was large and of a very considerable extent; so that *Abu Obeidah* did not think fit at that time to take possession of it. But after the famous battle of *Yermouk*, of which we shall now give our readers a succinct and circumstantial relation, the *Arabs* expelled the *Christians* from *Hems*. That battle determined the fate of *Syria*; the imperial forces being never able to make head against the *Moslems* afterwards in that country. We must not forget to inform our readers, that the *Arabs* lost only 235 men in the last engagement before *Hems*; whereas the *Greeks* had above sixteen hundred men, together with the governor himself, killed upon the spot.

Heraclius  
sends a great  
army against  
the Arabs.

THE emperor *Heraclius* receiving advice of the progress made by the *Arabs* in *Syria*, and of the ravages committed by those barbarians there, resolved once for all to send such an army against them as should drive them into their own dominions, and effectually secure the repose of his subjects in that country. The general he appointed to command these forces was an *Armenian*, called *Mabân* by *Al Wakedi*, but *Manuel* by the *Greek* historians. He also reinforced the garisons of *Cæsarea*, *Jaffa* or *Joppa*, *Acca* or *Ptolemaïs*, *Tyre* or *Sur*,

\* AL WAKED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 178.



- a *Sidon* or *Saida*, *Beirout* *Bairout* or *Berytus*, *Tripoli* *Tripolis* *Tarabolis* or *Trablous*, *Tiberias* *Tabberria* or *Taberya*, and all the other fortresses left him by the *Arabs*. As he apprehended likewise, that *Jerusalem* might be attacked, or at least insulted, by the *Arabs*, he ordered a large body of troops to post themselves before that city; and, in fine, made all the necessary dispositions for securing his territories on that side from all attempts of the enemy. However, as he was sensible that his forces, how numerous soever they might be, could not execute his orders in the manner he desired, unless the divine blessing attended their endeavours, he commanded them to behave as *Christians*, as well as soldiers, and to avoid all dissensions, which could not but prove fatal to them. Then he inquired of his officers and courtiers, what could be the reason that the *Arabs* had hitherto met with such surprising success, when the *Greeks* were in number, strength, and discipline, so much superior to them? Upon which, a person of great piety rose up, and made him the following answer: “The *Greeks* have been every-where worsted by the *Arabs*, because they have for a long time walked unworthy of their *Christian* profession, corrupted their holy religion, injured and oppressed one another, been guilty of fornication, and fomented divisions and animosities amongst themselves.” Which was, indeed, but too true; as has been acknowledged by some of the *Greek* writers, particularly *Theophanes*, themselves; though it must be owned, that the vices of the *Christians* at this time, however flagrant they might have been, were not a little aggravated by the *Arabic* historians. The emperor was sensibly touched with the foregoing answer, and declared his intention of leaving the army, in order to withdraw to *Constantinople*. But, when some of his courtiers represented to him, how dishonourable it would be to abandon his troops at that juncture, and what matter of triumph it would prove to the *Arabs*; he seemed, at least for some time, to have laid aside that design. The grand imperial army consisted both of *European* and *Asiatic* troops, and was joined by a body of 60,000 *Christian Arabs*, under the command of *Jabalab Ebn A' Ayham*, king of *Ghassîin*; after which junction, the imperial forces, destined to act against the *Moslems*, according to *Al Makîn*, amounted to 240,000 men. The *Christians Arabs* *Makân* posted in front, thinking them the most capable of standing the first shock of their countrymen; and, indeed, the *Moslems* were the most afraid of them, as appears from the attempts made by *Abu Obeidab*, though in vain, to bring them to a neutrality. The *Arab* author we chiefly follow here informs us, that the *Greeks* committed great disorders in their march; that they gave their fellow-subjects every-where the most opprobrious language, and compelled them, contrary to their inclination, to attend them in this expedition against the *Moslems*. He also relates, that they treated particularly ill the inhabitants of those places that had been obliged to surrender to the *Khalif's* troops; though, as he insinuates, those poor people were absolutely incapable of defending themselves, and the officers of the imperial forces deserved the severest reprehension for not advancing sooner to their relief. But, notwithstanding we are supplied by this author with many materials necessary for the compiling of the history we are now upon, and consider him in the main as a tolerable good writer; yet we are far from thinking him in all respects, impartial, or that he always supports the character of a true and faithful historian<sup>c</sup>.

- THE news of the great military preparations of the emperor, and even of the near approach of the imperial army, reaching the ears of the *Moslems* in their camp before *Hems*, they were filled with the most terrible apprehensions, and knew not what measures to pursue at this critical juncture. Some would have persuaded *Abu Obeidab* to return home, in order to meet with a more speedy reinforcement, and to avoid the fatal effects of a famine, which so numerous an host must necessarily carry along with it. But this advice was opposed by that general; as such a conduct would be imputed to cowardice, and be highly disapproved of by the *Khalif*. Others proposed to wait for the enemy in the camp; where they doubted not but the *Greeks*, in case of an attack, would meet with a proper reception. But *Kbâled* thought this by no means adviseable; as the emperor's son lay incamped at *Cæsarea*, which he took to be too near *Hems*, with a body of 40,000 men. He therefore, offered it as his advice, that the army should march to *Yermouk*, where they might, better than in any other place, expect assistance from the *Khalif*. As this seemed likewise to *Abu Obeidab* to be the most salutary advice, the army immediately decamped, and advanced to that place, where the *Moslems* again pitched their tents. Soon after the departure of the *Arabs* from *Hems*, the emperor's son wrote a sharp letter to *Makân*, reproaching him for suffering the enemy to slip out of his hands. In the mean time, *Makân*, in pursuance of the emperor's orders, made some overtures of peace to *Abu Obeidab*; which, notwithstanding the apparent inferiority of the *Moslem* forces, were rejected by that general. *Kbâled* finding it impossible to detach *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, with his *Arabs*, from the enemy, resolved to attack him

<sup>c</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan, p. 134, 131, 132, 130. 288, 282, 283, & alib. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 276. Parisiis, 1655. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 22.



without loss of time; taking it for granted, that if he could disperse the body he commanded, the imperial forces would be easily overthrown. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a select body of troops, composed of *Ansârs* and *Mobâjerîn*, and fell upon *Jabalab's Arabs* with such fury, that he put them into disorder, and forced them to retire. However, the action was very hot, and *Khâled* had several of his men killed upon the spot, besides five taken prisoners, three of whom were persons of great distinction, viz. *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, *Rafi Ebn Omeirah*, and *Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr*. The king of *Ghassân* sustained a much greater loss. But this action was by no means decisive; nor did either side reap any great benefit from it. Besides, as *Khâled's* corps contained a greater number of *Ansârs* than *Mobâjerîn*, that general disgusted the whole body of the *Mobâjerîn* by his partiality to the *Ansârs*; and was affronted by one of them called *Katbib*. This might have proved of ill consequence to the *Moslems*, had not *Abu Obeidah*, with his usual prudence, brought about between *Khâled* and *Katbib* a reconciliation. Notwithstanding which, the ill blood produced by this accident remained for some time after it happened. Our readers will remember here, that the *Mobâjerîn* were the *refugees* who fled from *Mecca*, in the infancy of *Mohammedisn*, for the sake of their new religion; and that the *Ansârs* were the *helpers*, or the *Arabs* of *Medina*, who received *Mohammed* and his followers, when they fled thither, into their protection<sup>d</sup>.

The Moslems  
terrified at the  
approach of the  
imperial army.

THE approach of the imperial army, which was much larger than any that had ever been seen in *Syria* since the first irruption of the *Moslems* into that country, gave great uneasiness to *Abu Obeidah*. He, therefore, sent *Abd'allah Ebn Kort* express to *Omar*, to give him an account of the present situation of his troops, and to desire a speedy reinforcement of *Unitarians*, a title the *Mohammedans* lay claim to, as taking themselves to be the only assertors of the unity of the divine nature. The *Khalîf* and his court was extremely surprized at the news brought them by *Abd'allah*; but comforted themselves, says our author, with the promises made to them in the *Korân*, which seemed now to be all they had to depend upon. To encourage the people, *Omar* ascended the pulpit, and descanted much upon the excellency of suffering martyrdom, and distinguishing themselves for the cause of God. Then he returned an answer to *Abu Obeidah*, full of such spiritual comfort as could be afforded by the *Korân*. He commanded *Abd'allah*, when he first came within sight of the camp, to cry out, GOOD NEWS, that he might comfort the *Moslems*, and free them from some of their distracting apprehensions. Having received the letter, message, and the *Khalîf's* benediction, *Abd'allah* set out for the army; but recollecting, that he had not paid his devoirs to *Mohammed's* tomb, which he might possibly never see again, if he did not take this opportunity of visiting it, he posted with all possible celerity to *Medina*. Upon his arrival there, he hastened to the tomb, where he found *Ali* and *Abbâs*, with *Ali's* two sons, *Hasan* and *Hossein*. Having obtained the prayers of *Ali*, and all the others there present, for a safe and expeditious journey to *Syria*, he took his leave of *Medina*, and returned to the camp with such incredible speed, that all the *Arabs* there were filled with admiration. But their wonder ceased, when he informed them of *Omar's* blessing, and *Ali's* prayers at *Mohammed's* tomb; which they thought capable of producing the most miraculous effect. It has been already observed, that the *Mohammedans* condemn the orthodox *Christians* for maintaining the equality of three persons in the divine nature, calling them on that account *Associators*, as they *associate* with the Father, whom the *Moslems* consider as the only true God, the Son and the Holy Ghost; and that the belief of the Trinity is strictly forbidden in the *Korân*<sup>e</sup>.

The Khalîf  
sends 5000 re-  
cruits to the  
army in Syria.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Khalîf* was extremely alarmed at the advice he had received of the enemy's motions, he instantly ordered a proper number of recruits to be raised, being determined to carry on the war with all possible vigour in *Syria*. The command of these recruits he conferred upon *Said Ebn Amir*, honoured him with a flag of red silk, and, after giving him some good advice, dispatched him at the head of them to the *Moslem* army. *Said* losing his way, fell in with a body of 5000 *Greeks*, commanded by the prefect of *Amman*, whom he immediately attacked. After a sharp dispute, he cut all the foot to pieces, and put the horse to flight. However, they were met by a party of the *Arab* cavalry, sent out from the camp to forage, who put every one of them to the sword. *Zobeir*, who commanded the *Arabs*, killed the prefect with his own hand, by piercing him through with a lance. His men cut off all the heads of the *Greeks* they had slain, flayed them, and carried them fixed on the points of their lances, to the great terror of the country through which they passed, in triumph to the *Moslem* camp. Upon their arrival there, they animated their countrymen, by a relation of the advantage they had gained; and the joy occasioned by this was soon after heightened by an account of the victory obtained by

<sup>d</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 134. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ix. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABU'I-FED. de vit. Moham. c. xvii. & alib. <sup>e</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iv. & alib. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, SALE's prelim. disc. p. 39.



- a the new levies commanded by *Said Ebn Amir*. For, *Zobeir* had scarce ended his relation, when *Said* appeared, imparted the good news of the prefect's defeat to *Abu Obeidah*, and reinforced his army with a body of 8000 men<sup>f</sup>.

THIS accession of strength inspired the *Moslem* soldiery with fresh resolution, as thinking themselves now capable of coping with any number of men the enemy could bring into the field. But still they were very uneasy at the loss of the five *Arabs* or distinction taken prisoners by *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, king of *Ghassân*, in the late action between *Khâled* and that prince. To ransom their *Khâled* was sent, at his own desire, by *Abu Obeidah*, escorted by a guard of 100 men, being the best soldiers in the *Moslem* army. Both he and his men were examined by *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham* himself, before they could be introduced to the imperial general. *Mabân*, as the *Arab* writers call that commander, at first insisted upon *Khâled's* dismissing his escorte; which the *Arab* absolutely refused to do, as representing the lieutenant of the *Khalif*. Then he commanded all the *Moslems*, as they approached, to dismount, and deliver up their swords; but with this order likewise not one of them would comply. Upon which, they were brought into *Mabân's* presence, and had seats prepared for them. These they removed from them, and chose to sit upon the ground; which when *Mabân* desired to know the reason of, *Khâled* told him, that what God had prepared for men to sit down on was purer than his finest tapestries; and supported what he had advanced by a passage out of the *Korân*. Then the general began to expostulate with *Khâled* upon the irruption of the *Moslems* into *Syria*, and the hostilities they had committed there. To which *Khâled* replied in such terms as seemed to satisfy *Mabân*; who told him, that heretofore he had entertained a very wrong notion of the *Arabs*, looking upon them as a foolish ignorant people. To which *Khâled* made answer, that they formerly were so, before God sent *Mohammed* to reform them, and enable them to distinguish truth from error. The conference was pretty long, and not carried on throughout with the same temper. For, tho' sometimes they reasoned coolly, at others they suffered a violent transport of passion to take place. *Khâled* once told the general, that he should one day see him led with a rope about his neck to *Omar*, to be beheaded. To which *Mabân* replied, that tho' the law of nations secured ambassadors themselves from violence, which he supposed encouraged him to take that indecent freedom; yet he would chastize his insolence in the persons of the five prisoners, whom he would cause instantly to be beheaded. Upon this, *Khâled* swore by God, by *Mohammed*, and by the *Caaba*, that if he put that menace in execution, he would dispatch him with his own hands; and that every one of the *Arabs* that attended him should kill his man, whatever the consequences of such an action might be. Then rising up, he drew his sword; and every one of his attendants did the like. But *Mabân* not intending to come to such extremities as he had threatened, calmed him again, and made him a present of the five prisoners, whose liberty he so earnestly desired. *Khâled*, by way of return, gave the general his scarlet tent, which he had brought with him; and then, with the prisoners that had been released by *Mabân*, and his escorte, rejoined the *Moslem* army. This conference being a clear and lively description of the fierce and savage disposition of *Khâled*, as well as of the nation to which he belonged, and abundantly confirming what has been advanced concerning that disposition by several authors, and particularly in our Ancient History of the *Arabs*, we could not prevail upon ourselves to pass it over intirely in silence here<sup>g</sup>.

THE two armies, after several movements, coming in sight of each other, both sides made the necessary dispositions for an engagement. How the *Greeks* were drawn up, or what were their tactics on this occasion, our author informs us not; but with regard to the method of fighting observed by the *Arabs*, and their behaviour in the battle of *Yermouk*, he has handed down to us the following particulars. *Khâled* being indisputably the best officer in the *Moslem* army, both with respect to his courage and conduct, *Abu Obeidah* resigned to him the command of all the forces, and posted himself in the rear, under the yellow flag, or standard, that *Abu Becr* himself had given him when he first set out for *Syria*; being the same which *Mohammed* himself had fought under during the war of *Khaibar*. This was the place assigned him by *Khâled*, who imagined his presence there might prevent the *Arabs* from flying, if they should be pressed by the *Greeks*. For the same reason, he posted the women likewise there. The *Greeks*, animated by their numbers, fell upon the right wing of the *Moslem* horse with such fury that they broke it, quite bore it down, and separated it from the main body of the army. But the fugitives were so warmly received by the women, and loaded by them with such reproaches, that, in order to avoid this storm, they were obliged to return to the charge. Notwithstanding which, the *Greeks* forced them again to give ground; and were upon the point of putting them to the route, though their generals,

<sup>f</sup> AL WAKFID, ubi sup.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. DIODOR. SIC. HERODOT. STRAB. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. DIO. APPIAN. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. See also UNIV. HIST. vol. vii. part i. p. 262.



before the beginning of the action, had told them, that *paradise was before them, and the devil and hell-fire behind them*. *Abu Sofiân*, in particular, who had used that very expression, was obliged to retreat; and one of the women that stood near him gave him a violent blow on the face with a tent-pole, for being deficient in his duty. That day the *Moslems* were thrice repulsed, and as often rallied by the women, who exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner on this occasion. At last, night parted the two contending armies, though victory seemed to incline to the *Arabs*. *Abu Obeidah* said at once those prayers that belonged to two several hours, in order to procure his men the longer repose. He was extremely tender of them, especially those that were wounded, binding up their wounds with his own hands, and assuring them, that *their enemies suffered the same pain, without being intitled to the same reward*. The next day, or at least another day not long after, the fight was renewed, and the *Christian* archers did such execution, that 700 of the *Arabs* lost either one or both of their eyes, which they considered as a particular mark of the divine favour. For this reason, the *Moslems* stiled that day *the day of blinding*. The troops on both sides behaved now with such bravery, that *Abd'allah Ebn Kort*, who had been in all the wars of *Syria*, declared, that he never saw any victory more obstinately disputed. Though the *Moslem* generals, as well as the soldiers, greatly distinguished themselves on this auspicious day, their efforts would have proved ineffectual, if the women, by their unparalleled bravery, had not rendered them successful. *Kaulab*, *Derâr's* sister, was wounded, though not mortally, and beat down, by a *Greek*; whose head was immediately struck off by *Oscirab*, another *Arabian* lady, and one of her companions. The enemy being pushed on all sides, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, were forced to abandon the field of battle, and in the night to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. To add to this misfortune of the *Greeks*, at this melancholy juncture, a gentleman of *Yermouk*, whose wife some *Christian* officers had abused, and cut off his little son's head, tho' he had entertained them in a very hospitable manner, decoyed a body of their cavalry into a large water, very deep, and fordable only in one place, by favour of the night, and the assistance of a detachment of 500 *Arab* horse; where, plunging in, the greatest part of them perished. In fine, the *Greeks* were intirely defeated, had 150,000 men killed, and 40,000 taken prisoners; whereas the whole loss sustained by the *Moslems* on this occasion, according to the account sent by *Abu Obeidah* to the *Khalif*, did not amount to above 4030 men. However, it can scarce be doubted, but the *Arab* author, whom we have followed in this relation, greatly diminishes the loss of the *Moslems*, and as much amplifies that of the *Christians*. This is perfectly agreeable to the *Arab* genius and character. However, that the emperor's forces were overthrown in this most bloody engagement, and that the consequence of the victory now gained by the *Arabs* was the total expulsion of the *Christians*, at least of their power and authority, out of *Syria*, is a melancholy truth too apparent to be denied. It has been owned by a *Christian* historian himself, who lived about 150 years after the time of this war. Such was the battle, or rather battles of *Yermouk*, fought in the month of *November* 636, or the fifteenth of the *Hejra*; which, as has been just observed, determined the fate of *Syria*<sup>a</sup>.

Abu Obeidah sends the Khalif advice of the victory he had gained. AFTER the dispersion of the imperial troops, *Abu Obeidah* wrote a short letter to the *Khalif*, wherein he transmitted him a brief and succinct account of the late glorious actions, and of some of the immediate consequences of them, with regard to the *Moslems*. He informed him, that, since the defeat of the *Greeks*, *Noomân Ebn Al Kamah* had killed *Mahân*, their general, at *Damascus*; that *Abu Joaid*, who belonged to them before they were overthrown by the *Moslems*, and came from *Hems*, drowned a vast number of them, known only to God himself; and that he had destroyed all those of the enemy who had taken refuge in the deserts and mountains. He likewise begged the *Khalif* to compose a difference that had happened between two *Moslems* of rank, whose names he thought proper to conceal, that neither party might think himself ill used by the *Khalif's* decision, or have the least reason hereafter to complain. Those *Moslems* were *Serjabil Ebn Shabhnab*, who had formerly been secretary to the prophet, and *Derâr*, an officer of distinction, frequently mentioned in this history. The former having engaged in single combat an officer of the *Christian* army, and being rendered weak by watching and fasting, to which he had wholly given up himself, would have lost his life, had not the latter interposed, and killed his antagonist, when he was upon the point of dispatching him. This happened in the heat of the action, and, after the conclusion of it, both *Serjabil* and *Derâr* demanded the spoil of this officer; the one as having engaged and tired him, the other as having slain him in the field of battle. He also informed the *Khalif* of several other single combats that had been fought, whilst both armies were engaged. The letter was dated from *Damascus*,

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 3. p. 22. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 276, & p. 280.



a to which place the *Arabs* thought proper to move after they had defeated the *Greeks*. Here they refreshed themselves a month; before the expiration of which term *Abu Obeidah* received an answer from the *Khalif*, wherein he expressed great satisfaction at the glorious progress of his arms, thanked his troops for their bravery, and commanded the general to remain at *Damascus* till farther orders. He also adjudged the spoil above-mentioned to *Derâr*, tho' his name had been concealed, as he had killed an infidel, and saved the life of a *Moslem*; which put an end to the foregoing dispute. With regard to the division of the spoil in general, as *Omar* had taken no notice of it, *Abu Obeidah* imagined that it was left intirely to his own discretion. He, therefore, gave to every horseman thrice as much as to a footman; and twice as much to every soldier whose horse was of the true *Arabian* breed, which  
b was judged to be by far the best, as to him whose beast was produced in a foreign country, or at least came by descent from thence. This not pleasing the troops, *Abu Obeidah* told them, that the prophet himself had made the same division after the expedition of *Khaibar*; which being afterwards, upon an appeal made to him, confirmed by *Omar*, every one acquiesced in what the general had done. It ought to be remarked here, that Mr. *Ockley* must be mistaken, or at least the author he follows, when he mentions the BATTLE of *Khaibar*. For it appears from *Abu'l feda*, not to insist upon the testimony of other *Arab* historians, that there was no battle fought in the war of *Khaibar*. *Mohammed*, with those that attended him to *Al Hodeibiya*, made himself master of *Khaibar*, and all the castles and strongholds belonging to it, without ever bringing the enemy to a general action. He likewise  
c divided the spoils, which were of an immense value, amongst those, and those only, who were present at that expedition. That learned man seems to have been misled by *Al Makin*, whose authority in this point appears inferior to that of *Abu'l feda*; especially, as this last writer is supported by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Al Jannabi*, and others. Nor does the text of *Al Makin* absolutely imply, that there was a general action in the war of *Khaibar*, whatever at first sight it may seem to do. For a full account of the expedition undertaken against *Khaibar*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to what has been said of it in our description of *Mohammed's* exploits during the seventh year of the *Hejra* <sup>1</sup>.

Soon after the arrival of the last courier from *Omar*, *Abu Obeidah* dispatched another, to *He also takes* know whether he should attack *Cesarea* or *Jerusalem*; as he thought it would be for the *Jerusalem*.  
d good of the *Khalif's* service to make himself master of both those places. *Ali* being with *Omar*, when the courier arrived, persuaded him to send his forces first against the latter of those cities; telling him, that such an expedition would be more conformable to the sentiments of the prophet, which he had formerly imparted to him. It being, therefore, resolved by the *Khalif*, to lay siege first to *Jerusalem*, orders were directly sent to *Abu Obeidah*, to begin immediately the military operations against that city. *Abu Obeidah*, in pursuance of these orders, instantly detached *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, with a body of 5000 men, to invest that town; and then, for five days successively, commanded considerable numbers of his men to file off after him, under such officers as he thought fit to appoint. The principal of these were *Ayyad Ebn Ghanem*, *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, *Amru Ebn Al*  
e *As*, and his son *Abd'allah*. The inhabitants of *Jerusalem* were not at all intimidated at the approach of the *Moslem* troops under the command of *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*; but planted their engines upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. Upon his arrival before the town, *Yezid*, by an interpreter, summoned the soldiers of the garison to surrender the place, and proposed to them the usual terms; which were rejected by them with scorn. This incensing the troops under his command, they desired to be led on instantly to the attack, in order to make the besieged feel the effects of their temerity and presumption. But *Yezid* not having orders to fight, contented himself at present with sitting down before the city. However, he sent an express to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know the ardour of the troops, and to receive farther orders. Whereupon the general permitted  
f him immediately to begin the siege. Having, therefore, assigned his men their proper posts, the next morning, after prayers were over, he made a general assault, which continued till evening, when he was obliged to desist from his attempt. In this manner continued he to harass the besieged, for ten days together, with reiterated attacks; but without effect. In these conflicts the garison galled his troops terribly with showers of arrows, and destroyed him abundance of men. On the eleventh day the general himself, with the main body of the army, presented himself before the city, and sent a letter to the besieged; requiring them either to embrace *Mohammedism*, or to pay tribute to the *Moslems*; threatening the garison and inhabitants otherwise with final excision, and their children with perpetual slavery. That this menace might make the deeper impression upon them, he farther told

<sup>1</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 235—243, &c. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xlv. p. 87—92. ABU'L RABI, in lib. Splendor. EBN ISHAK, AL BOKHAR. AUCL. libr. MO'ALEM AL TANZIL, AL JANNAB. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 7. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 163. SALE'S notes on the Kor. f. xlviii. p. 414.



them, that his men loved death better than they did either wine or hogs flesh; which he intended as a reflection upon them, in common with other *Christians*, for allowing themselves the use of food and liquors that were prohibited by the *Korân*. But, notwithstanding this, the besieged retained their former courage, and defended themselves for four months with all possible bravery; scarce a day passing, during that term, without an action; wherein the besiegers generally sustained the greatest loss. However, being, at the conclusion of it, reduced to the last extremity, and finding the *Moslems* resolved to carry the town, cost what it would; they prevailed upon *Sophronius*, the patriarch, to have a conference with *Abu Obeidab*, and endeavour to settle with that general the terms of an honourable capitulation. This the patriarch undertook, and, by the help of an interpreter, first told him, “that whoever came into the *Holy Land*, and before *Jerusalem*, the *Holy City*,  
 “with any hostile intent, would render himself obnoxious to the divine displeasure.” To which *Abu Obeidab* answered, “that they knew *Jerusalem* to be a noble city; but that the  
 “*Moslems* were more worthy of the possession of it than the *Christians*, as it was the mine  
 “of the prophets, whose sepulchres lay in it, and as *Mohammed* himself went from it in  
 “one night to heaven, where he was suffered to approach within two bow-shots of his  
 “Lord, or nearer, the *Khalif* was determined to continue the siege, till the place was delivered into his hands.” After several conferences between the patriarch, who had placed himself on the top of the wall for that purpose, and the *Moslem* general, it was finally agreed, that the city should be surrendered to the *Arabs*, on condition that the inhabitants should receive from the *Khalif*’s own hands the articles of their security and protection. *Omar*  
 having approved of the terms granted the besieged by *Abu Obeidab*, resolved to visit *Jerusalem* in person, and immediately made the proper preparations for a journey to the HOLY CITY. This *Othmân* endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking, but without effect; he chusing to follow the advice of *Ali*, who was of a different opinion. The reduction of *Jerusalem* was the first consequence of the battle of *Yermouk*, the *Arabs* now having no enemy in the field to oppose them. According to *Theophanes*, the armies engaged in that decisive action were equal as to their numbers, tho’ the *Arab* writers positively assert the contrary, each of them amounting to 40,000 men. *Al Makin* affirms, that the imperial forces consisted of 240,000 men, and those of the *Arabs* of only 36,000; and from what has been related by *Al Wakedi* we may infer, that the *Christian* troops were vastly more  
 numerous than those of the *Moslems*. Be that, however, as it will, the historians on both sides own the intire defeat of the imperial army; and their own writers themselves acknowledge, that the loss the *Christians* sustained on this occasion was very considerable. *Theophanes* says, that the wind blew full in the faces of the *Christians*, and covered them with dust; which greatly contributed to the fatal overthrow received. He also relates, that vast numbers of them were drowned in the river *Yermochtha*, or *Yermouchtha*, which probably derived its name from the town or village of *Yermouk*, called by him *Yermoucha*, or *Yermouka*, near which the battle was fought; which very well corresponds with what has been transmitted down to us on this head by a celebrated *Moslem* historian. In fine, the loss of this battle put *Egypt*, as well as *Syria*, including *Palestine*, into the hands of the *Arabs*, as will soon  
 more fully appear<sup>k</sup>.

*Omar sets out for that place.* THE *Khalif* having now got every thing in readiness for his intended journey to *Jerusalem*, after he had performed his devotions in the mosque he always frequented, visited *Mohammed*’s tomb, and constituted *Ali* his lieutenant at *Medina*, set out, attended by a numerous retinue, the greatest part of which afterwards returned home, for that city. He rode upon a red camel, and carried with him two sacks; one of which contained his *Sawik*, a sort of provision consisting of barley, rice, or wheat, sodden and unhusked, in use amongst the *Arabs*, and the other fruits. Before him he had a leather-bottle, very necessary in those desert countries to put water in, and behind him a wooden platter. Before he left the place where he had rested the preceding night, he constantly said the morning-prayer; after which, he addressed himself to his attendants in a devout strain, always uttering before them some pious ejaculations. Then he communicated his *Sawik* to them; every one of his fellow-travellers eating with him, out of the same platter, without distinction. His cloaths, according to *Theophanes*, were made of camels hair, and even in a very ragged and tatter’d condition; nor could any thing be more mean and sordid than the appearance he made. This that author mentions as an instance of his consummate, or rather, as he terms it, *diabolical*, hypocrisy; he having nothing more in view than, by this pretended humility and mortification, to impose upon his followers, and be thereby enabled to commit the most enormous and unjustifiable actions; such was the iniquitous invasion  
 of the emperor’s territories, under the cloak of religion<sup>l</sup>!

<sup>k</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 282—285. THEOPHAN. chronograph, p. 280, &c. Parisiis, 1655. <sup>l</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 281.



- a To carry on the farce, and make himself the more revered, not to say adored, by his subjects, he did several popular things, that had the appearance of justice, whilst on this journey. A man was brought before him for marrying two wives, that were sisters both by father and mother; which was considered as a very heinous crime by the *Moslems*. Such marriages had been deemed lawful amongst the *Arabs* in the times of ignorance, or idolatry; but they were abolished by *Mohammed*, and expressly prohibited in the *Korân*. The man being interrogated by *Omar* about it, and asked what religion he was of, said he was a *Moslem*; but swore he neither knew nor believed that his marriage was unlawful. *Omar*, in reply to this, swore that he lied, and that he would either oblige him to part with one of his wives, or strike off his head. To which the man made answer, in an angry tone, *that*
- b *he wished he had never been of the Mohammedan religion, since he had never been the better for it in any respect*. Upon which, the *Khalif* calling him a little nearer, gave him two blows upon the crown with his stick, and severely reprehended him for speaking with so much irreverence of *Mohammedism*. He then forced him to part with one of his wives, by casting lots; as he loved them both so well, that he would not tell which of them it was that he preferred to the other. After this, the *Khalif* assured him, that all who renounced *Islamism* were to be put to death; and that if he ever lay with the wife he had dismissed, he should be most certainly stoned. By which it appears, that *Omar* considered a person in those circumstances in the light of an adulterer, upon whom such a punishment is to be inflicted, according to a passage once extant in the *Korân*; and still by some supposed to be in force.
- c This passage was called the verse of *stoning*, which, according to the tradition of *Omar*, who at this time threatened the infliction of the punishment therein denounced, was extant whilst *Mohammed* was living, tho' it be not now to be found. The passage was couched in terms to the following effect: *Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and a woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by God; for God is mighty and wise*. Which words, tho' they have as to the letter been abrogated, as to the sense, according to some of the commentators on the *Korân*, still remain in force <sup>m</sup>.

- d Soon after, the *Khalif* observing some poor tributaries exposed to the heat of the sun, a very cruel punishment in those hot countries, for not being able to pay the sum demanded of them, he ordered them to be released; telling his attendants, that he once heard the apostle of God say, *Do not afflict men in this world; for those who do so God shall punish in hell-fire at the day of judgment*. This being perfectly oracular with *Omar's* followers, his orders were immediately executed, tho' to the great regret of the oppressors, and the *Khalif* continued his route. But before he got to his journey's end, another person was cited to appear before him. This was an old man, who had suffered a young one to be a partner with him in the fruition of his wife, they being to enjoy her alternately every twenty-four hours. Tho' they both professed *Islam*, they swore, upon their being examined by *Omar*, that they did not know such a partnership to be illicit, or forbidden by the law of God; which greatly exasperated the *Khalif*. The old man then was asked by *Omar*, what could induce him to consent to such a beastly practice? To which he answered, that as his strength failed him, and this young man was very serviceable to him, in assisting him to feed and water his camels, he found himself obliged to allow him access to his wife, not being able to recompense him in any other manner; but promised, that, as he found it to be unlawful, he would abstain from such a permission for the future. Upon which, *Omar* ordered him to take his wife by the hand, and told him, *that nobody ought to approach her but himself*; and then directing his discourse to the adulterer, he said, *If ever I hear, young man, that you are concerned in such an unlawful commerce hereafter, I shall not fail to take off your head*. Such acts of justice as these, from whatever motive they might proceed, attracted both the love and esteem of the *Moslems*, especially as *Omar* generally founded his decisions either upon
- f some of the sayings of the prophet, of which he had preserved a considerable store, or upon some of the precepts and institutions of the *Korân* <sup>n</sup>.

- g *ABU OBEIDAH* receiving advice of the *Khalif's* arrival on the confines of Syria, he went to meet him with an escorte at some distance from Jerusalem, where he was expected with great impatience by the inhabitants, who had sustained great fatigues during the siege. From thence he conducted him to the *Moslem* camp, where he was received amidst the universal acclamations of his subjects, and with all possible demonstrations of joy. The morning after his arrival, the *Khalif* said the usual prayers, and preached to the troops. In his sermon he produced the following passage out of the *Korân*: *Whomsoever God shall direct, he shall be rightly directed; and whomsoever he shall cause to err, thou shalt not find any to defend or to direct*. Upon which, a *Christian* priest rose up, and said aloud twice, *God causes no one to*

*Distributes justice on the road.*

*Arrives in the Moslem camp before Jerusalem, and signs the capitulation.*

<sup>m</sup> AL WAKED, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. l. iii. AL BEIDAWI, S. 115's prelim. disc. p. 67, 135, &c.

<sup>n</sup> AL

WAKED, ubi sup.



*err.* Omar made no answer to him, but ordered the *Moslems* near him to strike off the infidel's head, if he repeated those words again. This being heard by the priest, he took care not to interrupt the *Khalif* any more in his discourse. After the conclusion of his sermon, he pitched his tent, made of hair, within sight of the city. Then he signed the articles of the capitulation, by virtue of which the inhabitants were intitled to the free exercise of their religion, the possession of their properties, and his protection; and he to the sovereignty of the place and all the adjacent territory. These articles being the basis of most, if not all those of the same nature, that have been since granted by the *Mohammedan* princes to the *Christians*, our curious readers will not be displeased to find the substance of them inserted here <sup>o</sup>.

I. THE *Christians* of *Jerusalem* shall build no new churches either in that city, or the adjacent territory thereunto belonging, after the signing of the capitulation. b

II. THEY shall not refuse the *Moslems* admission into their churches, either by day or by night.

III. THEY shall set open the doors of their churches to all travellers and passengers whatsoever.

IV. If any *Moslem* should be upon a journey, they shall be obliged to entertain him *gratis* for the space of three days.

V. THEY shall not teach their children the *Korân*, talk openly of their religion, persuade any *Moslem* to be of it, nor hinder any of their relations from becoming *Mohammedans*, if at any time they should be inclined to prefer *Islâm* to their own religion. c

VI. THEY shall pay a proper deference and respect to the *Moslems*, and rise up to them whenever they are disposed to sit down.

VII. THEY shall never appear in the same dress as do the *Moslems*; their caps, shoes, turbans, parting of the hair, forms of salutation, and even names, shall be different from those of the true believers.

VIII. THEY shall not ride upon saddles, nor carry any sort of arms, nor use the *Arabic* tongue in any of the inscriptions engraven on their seals.

IX. THEY shall not sell wine, nor any other intoxicating liquors whatsoever.

X. THEY shall always wear the same sort of habit wheresoever they go, and keep their girdles at all times about their waists. d

XI. THEY shall erect no crosses upon their churches, nor exhibit either their crosses or their books in the streets openly to the *Moslems*.

XII. THEY shall not ring, but only toll their bells; nor take any servant that once belonged to the *Moslems*.

XIII. THEY shall not overlook the *Moslems* in their houses, nor in any respect act the part of spies upon them. To which some add, that *Omar* commanded the citizens of *Jerusalem* always to have the fore-parts of their heads shaven, and to ride upon their pannels side-ways, in a manner different from that of the *Moslems*.

XIV. THEY shall pay, with all possible punctuality, the capitation, as well as the usual tribute imposed by the true believers upon all the infidels in their situation. e

XV. THEY shall acknowledge the sovereignty of the *Khalif Omar*, and never in any respect act either directly or indirectly against him.

XVI. By virtue of their compliance with the preceding articles, the *Khalif* shall secure to them their lives, properties, and the free exercise of their religion. He shall also screen them from all insults and violences whatsoever, and take them in common with his other subjects into his perpetual and more immediate protection.

Thus fell *Jerusalem*, once the glory of all the east, into the hands of the *Moslems*, in which it has continued ever since; excepting only that interval of near ninety years, wherein it was possessed by the *Christians* in the *holy war*, who were finally driven from thence by *Saladin*. With regard to the manner of reducing it, and the circumstances attending that event, authors are not perfectly agreed; tho' it is allowed on all hands, that *Omar* took a journey thither at the request of the besieged. *Al Wakedi* intimates, that the place was reduced by the *Moslems* in about four months time, as has been already observed; but, according to *Theophanes*, at least two years were elapsed before they could force it to a capitulation <sup>p</sup>. f

Omar enters  
Jerusalem.

AFTER the preceding articles were signed, *Omar*, in pursuance of his engagements, gave the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* the following order, as a proper security against any violences that might be offered them, written with his own hand. *In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to the inhabitants of Ælia, or Jerusalem. They shall be protected*

<sup>o</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xviii, v. 16. P OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i p. 257, 258, 259. MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362. BOHADIN EBN SJEDDAD, in vit. Salad. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. JALLALO'DDIN, MS. Arab. Huntington. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup.



- a and secured both in their lives and possessions. Their churches shall neither be demolished, nor made use of by any but themselves. After the delivery of the schedule, on which this was written, the *Khalif* had the gates opened to him, and with his attendants, entered the town. The patriarch *Sophronius* waited upon the *Khalif*, who conversed familiarly with him, and asked him many questions concerning the antiquities of the city. One of the first places they visited was the temple of the *resurrection*, in the midst of which *Omar* sat down; and, when the hour of prayer was come, told the patriarch he had a mind to pray; and therefore begged he would shew him a place where he might perform his devotions. *Sophronius* told him he might do that on the spot where he then was; but this he absolutely refused. Then the patriarch led him to *St. Constantine's* church, and spread a mat for him; but
- b there he likewise declined saying his usual prayer. At last he thought fit to kneel down alone at the east gate of the church, upon one of the steps, and pray there. After he had finished his prayer, he sat down, and asked *Sophronius*, whether he knew the reason of his refusing to pray in the church? To which when the patriarch answered in the negative, he said, "Had I prayed there, or in any other of your churches, the *Moslems* would most certainly have taken it from you. For, notwithstanding the engagements we have entered into, they would have said, *Here Omar prayed, and therefore we will pray here too*. Which had it happened, they would gradually have possessed themselves of your church; which would have been contrary both to your expectation and my intention. Nay, as this still may happen, unless I take all the necessary precautions to prevent it,
- c "give me some paper, that I may fortify you with a written order, which will have its effect upon my people." Then being supplied with pen, ink, and paper, he wrote down the following words: *In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to the inhabitants of Ælia. The Moslems shall not pray on the steps of the church called St. Constantine's, in any numbers, but only one by one. They shall never meet there to go to prayers. The Muedhdhins, or criers, that call the people to prayers, shall never stand there.* Having then given this paper to the patriarch, for the future security of the *Christians*, he asked him, according to *Eutychius*, whether he could not assign him a proper place to erect a mosque upon, for the celebration of the *Mohammedan* service? To which the patriarch replied, *I will shew the emperor of the faithful a spot, where he may build a place of worship for himself and his subjects.* Then he took the *Khalif* to the place where *Jacob's* stone lay, on which he slept when he saw his vision. Upon this spot, says *Eutychius*, which they held in the highest veneration, the *Israelites* afterwards erected a chapel, or oratory. Nor could they imagine any place to be more proper for the house of God to stand upon, than that which *Jacob* himself emphatically stiled *the house of God, a place to be revered, and the gate of heaven*. For which reason, continues the same author, the *Israelites*, wheresoever they were, prayed with their faces turned towards this place. However, adds *Eutychius*, before *Sophronius* complied with the *Khalif's* request, he obtained from him a written order, that no other mosque should be erected within the precincts of *Jerusalem*. When the *Roman* empire became *Christian*, and *Helena*, the mother of *Constantine*, had built several churches
- e in *Jerusalem*, that stone was slighted, and the oratory upon it, that had been demolished, was consequently not rebuilt. The reason of which, according to *Eutychius*, was, because our Saviour had predicted, that the habitations of the unbelieving *Jews* should be left unto them desolate; and, that there should not be left here one stone upon another that should not be thrown down. Wherefore, in order that this prophecy might have its full completion, the *Christian* emperors would not suffer any church, or other building, to be erected upon that stone; so that it was now quite covered with dirt. The *Khalif*, therefore, took as much of this as he could in his vest, and removed it. Which being perceived by the *Moslems*, they all hastened to assist him. Some filled their bucklers, some their vests, some pitchers, others baskets; inasmuch that they had soon removed all the dirt and rubbish from about
- f the stone. After this, *Omar*, leaving the churches to the *Christians*, built a new mosque on mount *Moriah*, in the place where *Solomon's* temple formerly stood; which was afterwards much enlarged, and greatly adorned with many beautiful and magnificent buildings, by the *Khalif Abd'almalec Ebn Merwân*, as will be seen in its proper place. We are told by *Theophanes*, that when *Omar* entered the temple or church of the *resurrection*, he appeared in such sordid and filthy attire, as gave great offence to the patriarch *Scphronius*; who, with much difficulty, at last prevailed upon the dirty barbarian to put on some clean linen and cloaths that he offered him, till his own filthy rags were washed. The same author relates, that when the patriarch first saw *Omar* in that place, he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: *This is of a truth the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel,*
- g *the prophet, standing in the holy place!* Which words, as Mr. *Ockley* imagines, the *Moslems* afterwards hearing, they inferred from thence, that the patriarch owned their conquest of *Jerusalem* to have been foretold by the prophet *Daniel*; and this enabled them to trump up a fabulous story of an ancient prophecy kept in *Jerusalem* concerning *Omar*; wherein

his



his name and religion were specified, his person described, and he declared to be the only man that could then reduce that city. From what has been said, it will appear, that Omar acted in character, when he would not permit his Moslems to wear any of those rich silks that fell into their hands after the battle of *Yermouk*. From *Jerusalem* the *Khalif* went to *Bethlehem*, and prayed in a church there. This procured another written order from him, which he gave the patriarch, in order to preserve that church in the hands of the Christians, couched in the same terms as the former that he had drawn up at *Jerusalem*. But notwithstanding this precaution, the Moslems afterwards seized upon that church, as well as the other of *St. Constantine* at *Jerusalem*. Half of the porch, where were the steps on which Omar performed his devotions, belonging to the latter of these, they took first, and erected a mosque upon it, in which they included those steps. This, in the days of *Eutychius*, they denominated the mosque, or oratory, of Omar. We must not forget to inform our readers, that, according to *Al Makin*, the Arabs took *Jerusalem* in the sixteenth year of the *Hejra*; or, as appears from *Al Wakedi*, about April or May, in the year of our Lord 637<sup>a</sup>.

The Arabs meet  
with great  
success in the  
territories of  
Persia.

THE same year in which *Abu Obeidab* reduced *Jerusalem*, *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas*, as we learn from *Al Makin*, another of Omar's generals, met with an uninterrupted course of success in the territories of *Persia*. He advanced with a body of Moslem troops to *Al Madâyen*, a city not far from the confluence of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and made himself master of that town. Here he found the *Shâh*, or king of *Persia*'s treasury, which was immensely rich, and one of his principal magazines. He took out of the treasury, according to *Al Makin*, 3,000,000,000 *dinârs*; which appears almost incredible. From thence *Saad* found his way to that part of the royal palace where *Khosrû*'s plate was deposited, and another full of camphire; both of which were plundered by the Moslems. The camphire they were not very well acquainted with the nature of, and therefore mixed it with their leaven; which rendered their bread bitter and disagreeable to the taste. Afterwards the Arab general met with *Khosrû*'s crown, and his cloaths, adorned with gold and jewels of inestimable value; all which he carried off with him. He also plundered his armory, which was well stored with helmets, coats of mail, and weapons of various kinds. Then he ordered the roof of *Khosrû*'s porch to be opened, where he found 1,000,000 *methkâls*, every one of which, says *Al Makin*, was worth ten *dirbêms*. He also discovered, amongst *Khosrû*'s furniture, a piece of silk tapestry, sixty cubits square, which was adorned with a great variety of beautiful flowers, herbs, and plants, drawn to the life, and formed of silver, gold, and jewels, the most valuable that could be procured. This being brought to Omar, he cut it in pieces, and distributed it amongst the Moslems. That part of it which fell to *Ali*'s share, which yet was none of the best, he sold for 20,000 *dirbêms*, or pieces of silver; from whence we may infer, that the whole must have been almost invaluable. Nine months after the reduction of *Al Madâyen*, the Arabs defeated the Persians in a great battle near *Jaloûlah*, and put a vast number of them to the sword. According to some of the eastern authors, the city of *Al Madâyen* was at this time the capital of the Persian dominions, and was now so pillaged, that it did not lift up its head again for many ages. Mr. *D'Herbelot* seems to adopt the opinion of some of the oriental writers, who place the battle of *Kadesia*, already mentioned, in this year. But this must by no means be allowed, as it confounds the battle of *Kadesia* with that of *Jaloûlah*; which runs counter to *Al Makin*, and is not supported by any of either the best Arab or Persian historians. *Tazdejerd*, or *Khosrû Tazdejerd*, *Khosrû* being a name common to many of the *Shâhs*, or kings, of *Persia*, as *Ptolemy* was to those of *Egypt*, and *Cæsar* to the Roman emperors, finding things every day to grow worse and worse, retired with great precipitation to *Fargâna*. It must here be observed, that Monsieur *D'Herbelot* is inconsistent with himself, when, in one part of his work, he makes the battle of *Kadesia* to have been fought whilst *Abu Obeidab* was carrying on the siege of *Jerusalem*, which he admits to have been in the sixteenth year of the *Hejra*, and yet, in another, asserts that decisive action to have happened the preceding year; but such inconsistencies as these are pretty numerous in that learned author. *Al Makin* relates, that *Tazdejerd*'s plate at *Al Madâyen*, of exceeding great value, was put in baskets covered with lead. *Fargâna*, or *Fargânab*, is the capital of a large province of the same name, sometimes called *Andojiân*, or *Andujiân*, tho' the last is more properly the name of one of its dependencies. This province is one of the countries of the *Transoxiana*, or the *Regio Transoxiana*, and extends itself along the *Sihûn*, or the *Jaxartes*, in 92° long. and 42° 20' lat. according to *Abu'l-feda*, tho' a Persian geographer, according to *Goliûs*, places it in long. 102°. However, *Ulugh Beigh*, and another Persian geographer, assign it long. 101° 20', and lat. 52° 25'.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 284—289. GEN xxviii. 16, 17. MAT. xxiii. 38. MAR. xiii. 2. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 137—140. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 248, 249.



- a So that the oriental writers themselves are not perfectly agreed with regard to its situation: Some authors have imagined, that the capital of *Fargānah* had likewise the name of *Akhsikat*; which seems, according to *Golius*, to be derived from *Akhsbid*, an appellation peculiar to the kings of that country. This region, either contiguous to *Turkestan*, or a part of that country, is mountainous, and abounds with fountains of naphtha, as well as veins of gold and silver, turcoises, or stones of an azure colour, being a sort of jasper, an uncommon variety of the most excellent trees, shrubs, and plants, &c. that the earth brings forth spontaneously, without any manner of culture there. *Fargāna* has produced likewise a very considerable number of learned men, who have been rendered famous by their writings; and amongst others, *Mohammed Ebn Kathir Al Fargāni*, commonly called by the
- b *Europeans Alfraganus*, who wrote an astronomical treatise, intitled, *ASTRONOMICAL ELEMENTS, OR THE ELEMENTS OF ASTRONOMY*, published, with a *Latin* version, and some learned notes upon it, by the excellent *Golius*, at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1663. *Al Bergendi* places *Fargāna* in the fifth climate, and the neighbourhood of *Al Shāsh*, beyond the *Jaxartes*, and makes the city of *Coba*, from whence many grand personages have sprung, to be one of its dependencies; tho' others affirm that city to belong to *Al Shāsh*. Besides the mines of gold and silver above-mentioned, there are others in this extensive region, if some good oriental authors may be credited, of lead and iron. Several geographers have fixed here the cities of *Khovakand*, *Khejiand*, and *Marghinan*, as also the limits of *Mohammedism* on that side. But, for a farther account of this country, we must beg leave to refer our curious
- c readers to the learned *Golius*, who has endeavoured to reconcile the jarring accounts given us by the oriental geographers, of its situation. Into this remote tract *Tazdejerd* retired, after the defeat of his forces near *Jaloūlak*, and not to a city, or rather pitiful village, of *Persia*, of the same name, as Mr. *Ockley* suggests. This sufficiently appears from the eastern writers, and might be proved by some irrefragable arguments, would the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit. That prince was never thoroughly subjugated by *Omar*, whatever may be insinuated to the contrary by certain authors, as has already been observed in our ancient history of the *Persians*; tho' the overthrow here mentioned seems to have given almost the finishing stroke to his affairs<sup>r</sup>.

- But to return to the affairs of *Syria*:—*Omar* remained ten days in the *Moslem* camp, after
- d the reduction of *Jerusalem*, in order to settle matters there. In a part of this interval, according to *Al Wakedi*, one *Caab*, a *Jew*, came to the *Khalif* to be instructed in the principles of the *Mohammedan* religion, and told him, that he had been informed by his father, who was perfectly well skilled in the law of *Moses*, that *Mohammed* was to be the seal of the prophets; and consequently, that, after him, the world must not expect any farther inspiration. He then demanded of *Omar* what account of *Islamism* was to be met with in the *Korān*? The *Khalif*, in order the more effectually to carry his point, cited such texts of that book as were suited to the palate of one who had been brought up a *Jew*; to some of which we shall beg leave to refer our learned readers. The *Jew* pretending to be convinced by some of these texts, that *Mohammedism* was in reality no other than the religion of *Abraham* and the
- e patriarchs, repeated instantly the *Moslem* confession of faith, *There is but one God, and Mohammed is his apostle*. This gave great satisfaction to *Omar*, who invited his new proselyte to go with him to *Medina*, to visit the prophet's tomb there; to which he very readily agreed. As the *Arabs* are very inaccurate in their chronology, as we have already demonstrated in a former part of this work, Mr. *Ockley* takes this *Caab* to have been the *Jew* of that name converted by *Mohammed* himself, about ten years before *Jerusalem* was taken by *Omar*. But that learned and ingenious gentleman has been led into this mistake by Dr. *Prideaux*, whom he has followed in the point before us relating to the *Caab* here last mentioned. For Dr. *Prideaux* has confounded *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, the *Jew*, who was really put to death by *Mohammed*, for being a most inveterate enemy to him and his new
- f religion, with *Caab Ebn Al Zohair*, a famous poet, but no *Jew*, who was pardoned by *Mohammed* for an enormous offence against him he had been guilty of, after he had determined to put him to death, and became a convert to *Islamism*. All conjectures, therefore, founded upon the truth of Dr. *Prideaux*'s supposition, must fall to the ground of course. Besides, Mr. *Ockley* himself is almost as inaccurate in his chronology here as the *Arabs*, whom he condemns. For, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, whom he follows, the conversion of *Caab*, the *Jew*, happened in the second year of the *Hejra*, and consequently fourteen years, not about ten, as he imagines, before the reduction of *Jerusalem* by *Omar*. But Dr. *Prideaux*, however this may have escaped Mr. *Ockley*'s notice, is here again mistaken. For, *Caab Ebn Zohair*, the person really pardoned by *Mohammed* for writing satirical verses upon

<sup>r</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 22, 23. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 226, 687, 996, &c. AL BERGENDI, ABU'LFED. ULUGH BEIGH, EBN HAWKEL, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 168—171. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 265. Univ. Hist. vol. v. p. 403—406. Lond. 1747.



him, embraced *Islamism* in the ninth year of the *Hijra*, and not the second, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, whose authority cannot certainly be disputed in this particular; and *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf*, the Jew, tho' never made a proselyte by *Mohammed*, was dispatched by *Mohammed Ebn Moslema*, the *Ansâr*, at the prophet's instigation, six or seven years before. These remarks we thought proper to make here, being desirous of setting our readers right as to the knowledge of some facts relative to the history we are now upon, that have not, at least till of late, been sufficiently understood even by those who were the best acquainted with oriental literature \*.

Omar returns  
to Medina.

BEFORE the *Khalif* took his leave of Syria, he thought fit to divide that country into two parts; one of which, that lay between *Haurân*, or *Aurân*, and *Aleppo*, and was not perfectly conquered, he committed to the management of *Abu Obeidah*, giving him the strictest orders to reduce it as soon as possible to his obedience. *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân* was commanded to take upon himself the care of the other, which comprehended *Palestine* and the sea-coast, and to make himself absolute master of it, having a body of troops assigned him for that purpose. *Amru Ebn Al As*, in pursuance of his instructions, was to invade *Egypt*, then in a very languishing condition, with a body of the *Moslem* forces. After he had made these dispositions for extending his conquests, *Omar* set out for *Medina*, where he arrived in perfect health. His presence there inspired the inhabitants with inexpressible joy; who, from his long stay at *Jerusalem*, concluded that he did not intend to return to their city. As *Jerusalem* was seated on a fertile spot of ground, had a most salubrious air, and was the principal habitation of the ancient prophets, as also taken by the *Moslems* to be the place where all mankind must be summoned together at the resurrection; they were afraid the *Khalif* would have fixed his residence there. Soon after his departure, *Abu Obeidah* exacted of the inhabitants of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn* 5000 ounces of gold, as many of silver, 2000 suits of cloaths of various kinds of silk, and 500 ass-loads of figs and olives, for the refreshment of his troops. We are told by *Eutychius*, that he moved likewise about this time to *Hems*, in order probably to extort from the citizens a sum of money, and a proper quantity of provisions. But how he treated them, what he actually proposed to himself by the visit he made them, or what sort of a reception he met with from them, at this juncture, we have not been informed by any of the *Arab* historians †.

Abu Obeidah  
moves towards  
Aleppo.

Soon after *Omar* had left Syria, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân* advanced to *Cæsarea*, in order to besiege it; but, upon his approach to that town, he found it so well fortified, and the garison so strengthened by a reinforcement of 2000 men sent them lately by the emperor, that he judged such an attempt would be impracticable. Besides, the small body of troops he commanded was not large enough to form the siege of a place defended by so numerous a garison. Nor could he entertain the least hopes of starving them to a surrender, as they had lately been supplied with a vast store of all sorts of provisions by sea. He, therefore, was obliged to continue for some time in a state of inaction. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah* having visited *Haurân*, or *Aurân*, the province called by *Josephus Auranitis*, and one of the extremities of that part of Syria over which he presided, he marched from thence towards *Aleppo*; which, conformably to the *Khalif's* orders, he proposed immediately to invest. Besides *Tiberias*, or *Tabariyah*, and *Besra*, or *Besra*, its capital in the province of *Haurân*, there were several other considerable towns. The castle of *Aleppo* was, at this time, as we learn from *Al Wakedi*, the strongest citadel in Syria †.

The governor  
of Aleppo  
defeats a body  
of Arabs.

THE citizens of *Aleppo* being informed of the surrender of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*, were struck with great terror and consternation, as expecting soon to see the *Moslem* army before the town. They had at that time two governors, who were brothers, and resided in the castle, which was not then within the city, but stood at a little distance from it. The names of these two governors, who were of very different dispositions, if we may believe *Al Wakedi*, so often cited here, were *Youkinna* and *John*. Their father, by the emperor *Heraclius's* appointment, presided over the whole tract situated between *Aleppo* and the *Euphrates*; and, after his death, *Youkinna* had the chief management of affairs, *John* spending his time in retirement, reading, and acts of charity. As he had therefore no notion of war, he would fain have prevailed upon his brother to have purchased a peace of the *Arabs* for a good round sum of money, and not made his country a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion. But this by no means suiting *Youkinna's* martial genius, he armed a considerable number of the citizens, amongst whom were several *Christian Arabs*, and distributed a sum of money amongst them. He then told his men, that he intended to act offensively against the *Arabs*, and even, if possible, to engage them, before they drew too near the district of *Aleppo*. In

\* AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. v. 126. f. iii. v. 60, 77, 78, 96. f. xxii. v. 77. CCKLEY ubi sup. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 59. Lond. 1713. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xxx. p. 64, &c. c. lvi. p. 122. JOAN. GAGN. in not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. SALE'S note on the Kor. c. iii. p. 46. † AL WAKED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 292. " AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. HADR. RELAND. Pal. hist. p. 107. ALE. SCHULT. ubi sup. GOLL not. ad Al-Baghat. p. 153.



- a order to inspire them with the greater courage and resolution, he took the liberty to observe, that the grand army of the *Arabs* was divided into several bodies; one of which had orders to besiege *Cæsarea*, another to march to *Damascus*, and a third to invade *Egypt*. From whence he concluded, that *Abu Obeidah's* troops, of whose march towards *Aleppo* they had received some intelligence, could not be so formidable but that they might easily oppose them. Having thus animated his men, he put himself at the head of 12000 of them, and marched forwards to get advice of the enemy's motions. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah* had sent before him *Caab Ebn Damerah*, with 1000 men, and given him express orders not to fight, till he had received certain information of the strength of the enemy. *Zoukinna's* spies discovered *Caab* and his men resting themselves, and watering their horses, quite
- b secure, and not in the least apprehensive of any danger. *Zoukinna* being apprized of this, posted one part of his troops in an ambuscade at a small distance from them, and with the other advanced to attack the *Moslems*. The dispute that happened on this occasion was sharp and bloody, and the *Moslems* at first repulsed the *Christians* with great bravery; but the troops that formed the ambuscade at last rushing upon them, they were forced to retire, had 170 of their men killed upon the spot, and most of the rest wounded. In fine, had they not been enabled by favour of the night, which then very opportunely approached, to make a tolerable retreat, they had every one of them been inevitably put to the sword \*.

- AFTER *Zoukinna's* departure with his forces in quest of the *Arabs*, the wealthier part of
- c the citizens of *Aleppo* considering that they should be stripped of every thing valuable belonging to them, and perhaps be put to death likewise, if the *Moslems* carried the city by storm, they resolved, without farther delay, to submit to *Abu Obeidah*. They, therefore, sent a deputation, consisting of thirty of the chief of them, to that general, then at *Kinnisrîn*, and upon the point of beginning his march for *Aleppo*, in order to make proposals of submission to him. At first, *Abu Obeidah* seemed averse to a pacification, as not being perfectly convinced of the sincerity of their intentions; but at last they prevailed upon him to take them into his protection. Their submission was accepted upon the same terms as those upon which the *Moslem* general had before granted the *Khalif's* protection to the inhabitants of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*; excepting that the tribute and capitation imposed upon them did
- d not amount to above half the sum exacted of the citizens of *Kinnisrîn*. For that city was then in a much more flourishing condition than *Aleppo*, and consequently able to pay a much more considerable tribute and capitation. The merchants, on their return home, meeting with one of *Zoukinna's* officers, gave him an account of the whole transaction; which he immediately communicated to his master, who was then making the proper dispositions for pursuing *Caab*, as soon as the morning appeared, who had made his escape only by favour of the night. *Zoukinna* receiving this disagreeable news, was afraid lest any attempt should be made upon the castle in his absence; and therefore posted home with all possible expedition. This gave *Caab* an opportunity of rejoining the *Moslem* army, which soon after, with *Khâled* and *Abu Obeidah* at the head of it, arrived at the spot where the late action happened.
- e Immediately after their arrival, the *Moslems* buried the bodies of their countrymen that had been killed, whom they called martyrs, all bloody as they were, together with the arms that lay by them, and the cloaths with which they were covered. This was done by *Abu Obeidah's* command, who said, that he had frequently heard the apostle of God declare, that the martyrs, and those who die in the service of God, shall be raised at the day of judgment with their blood upon their throats. To which he added, that this should have the colour of blood, and the smell of musk; and that those on whom it appeared, should be led directly into paradise. The citizens of *Aleppo's* submission to *Omar* has been taken notice of by *Eutychius*; but he has transmitted down to us no particular and circumstantial account of that affair \*.

- f IN the mean time *Zoukinna* arrived at *Aleppo* soon enough to secure the castle from all attempts the citizens might make upon it, and to put himself in a posture to receive the enemy. He was greatly incensed at the conduct of the deputies, who had lately concluded a treaty with *Abu Obeidah*, and threatened the inhabitants with present death, if they would not join him against the *Arabs*, disannul that treaty, and deliver into his hands the author of the late defection, that he might meet with condign punishment. The citizens not immediately complying with this demand, he fell upon them with great fury, killed about 300 of them, and amongst the rest his brother *Jobn*, whose head he caused to be cut off, charging him with being the contriver and abettor of the late pernicious scheme. Nor would he have stopped here, but had made a much greater slaughter of them, had not the *Moslem*
- g army at that instant arrived before the town; upon which he retired, and threw himself

\* AL WAKED. ubi sup.  
GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 277.

\* Idem ibid. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 283.



with a considerable body of troops, into the castle. But before this could be done, he was <sup>a</sup> obliged to sustain an attack from the *Arabs*, wherein, according to *Al Wakedi*, he lost 3000 men. The action was no sooner ended, than the inhabitants of *Aleppo* brought out forty of *Youkinna's* men, whom they had taken prisoners, and put them, as a proof of their fidelity to him, into *Abu Obeidab's* hands. Of these seven embraced *Mohammedism*, and the rest were beheaded. *Aleppo*, which the *Moslems* had now possessed themselves of, is situated on a fine open plain, about two days journey from the *Euphrates*; from whence, by means of certain subterranean canals, great plenty of water is derived to the town. It abounds with cotton, sesame, panic, and a vast variety of fruits; all which are the produce of the adjacent territory. For the irrigation of the circumjacent gardens, which are extremely pleasant, the inhabitants are obliged to the aforesaid canals, by whose assistance they are continually sup- <sup>b</sup> plied with proper quantities of water from the *Euphrates*. The soil is exceeding rich, and of a reddish colour, resembling *Bolus Armeniaca*, and in rainy weather, with which *Aleppo* in the spring season is very comfortably refreshed, emits a most grateful odour; whence it comes to pass, that the water drunk out of the cups made of this earth is esteemed to be more wholesome than any other. The river *Kowaik*, that derives its name from the croaking of frogs, which at a certain season of the year are seen in great numbers there, runs close by the town. It has its source to the north of the city, near the town of *Aintâb*, or *Antâb*, and passes by that gate of *Aleppo*, which is called the *Antioch* gate, towards *Kinnisrîn*; beyond which town it loses itself in a place, covered with rushes and reeds, called by *Yacût Ebn Abd'allah* the *red meadow*. *Aleppo* is a very large city, fortified with a wall and towers, all <sup>c</sup> made of stone. It had anciently eight gates only, but has at present ten. Amongst the principal curiosities of the place, may be reckoned the large high artificial mountain that stands in the middle of the town. The city and the suburbs near a century ago contained above thirty streets. *Aleppo* is seated in the province of *Kinnisrîn*, from the city of which name, according to *Abu'lfeda*, it is about twelve miles distant. The castle was looked upon to be almost impregnable when besieged by the forces of *Omar*, and considered as a place of great strength likewise in the days of *Abu'lfeda*. It is at present, as it has been for many years, one of the most celebrated empories of the east. That *Aleppo* was the *Beræa* of the ancients, sufficiently appears from *Abu Nasr Ebn Hazir* and *Strabo*. It stands about  $10^{\circ} 35'$  to the east of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the latitude assigned it by *Golius* is  $39^{\circ} 46'$  N. tho', accord- <sup>d</sup> ing to *Dr. Halley*, this has been determined more accurately to be  $36^{\circ} 30'$  N. Its longitude has been differently defined by *Ulugh Beigh* and *Abu'lfeda*. For a fuller and more particular description of this city our readers may have recourse to *Golius*, *D'Herbelot*, several modern travellers of good note, and the eastern geographers <sup>e</sup>.

but in vain.

IMMEDIATELY after *Youkinna* had shut himself up in the castle, a council of war was held in the *Moslem* camp, wherein it was deliberated what measures were to be pursued on the present occasion; and all the principal officers of the army assisted at those deliberations. Some were of opinion, that the citadel should be besieged in form by one part of the army, whilst the other was sent out to forage. But *Kbâled*, whose judgment was generally follow- <sup>e</sup> ed, thought it most advisable to attack the castle with all the *Arab* forces, that they might be able to reduce it before any supplies could be sent from the emperor. In pursuance of this advice, *Abu Obeidab* caused the citadel to be invested, and soon after he had surrounded it with all his forces, he made a most vigorous assault. The besieged defended themselves with great bravery; and, after a very warm dispute, drove the enemy to their camp. As they threw a vast number of stones out of their military engines in this action, they destroyed abundance of the besiegers, and wounded many more. This encouraged *Youkinna* to make a sally with a strong part of the garison, in the dead of the following night. The fires being then out in the *Moslem* camp, and the besiegers not expecting so unseasonable a visit, *Youkinna* killed sixty of them upon the spot, and carried off with him fifty prisoners into the castle. However, being briskly attacked by *Kbâled*, who soon drew together a body of <sup>f</sup> troops to oppose him, in his retreat he lost about 100 men. The prisoners were beheaded by *Youkinna's* order, the next day, in sight of the *Moslem* camp. *Youkinna* then receiving advice, that a strong detachment of the *Arabian* cavalry was sent out to forage, ordered a body of his horse to drive them to their camp, and clear the country of them; which they did accordingly, killed 130 of them in the action, seized all their camels, horses, &c. and then retired to the mountains. Here they proposed to lie concealed till the following night, and then return to the castle. But *Abu Obeidab* being informed of what had happened by some of those who had escaped the fury of the *Christians* in the late engagement, he detached *Kbâled* and *Derâr* with a body of troops to pursue the *Greeks*, and revenge the

<sup>e</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. AL AZIZ. STRAB. ABU NASR EBN HAZIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 270—276. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 423. PH. LOSOPH. TRANSACT. N° 218. p. 173. LOWTHORP'S abridg. of the Philosph. Transact. vol. i. p. 652. & vol. iii. p. 525.



- a late affront. *Kháled*, therefore, was conducted by some of the fugitives to the place where the action happened, and received intelligence there of the route the *Christians* had taken. Upon this, he possessed himself of the only passage by which they could return to the castle, and posted there in ambuscade a party of his men, whose courage he could depend upon. The *Greeks*, not apprehensive of any danger, as being perfectly ignorant of the enemy's motions, advanced to this passage, when about a fourth part of the night was past, in order to rejoin their countrymen, who defended the castle; but, upon their arrival there, they were surprized by the *Arabs*, who fell upon them so briskly, that they took 300 of them prisoners, and put all the rest to the sword. The prisoners, in order to retaliate *Youkinna's* cruelty the day before, were all brought out the next morning before the castle, and beheaded in sight of the garison here. Some of the oriental writers believe, that *Aleppo* was built by the *Amalekites*, after they had been expelled their native country by *Joshua*; and that one of the principal of these founders was called *Hakib*, from whom the new city derived its name; but others are of a different opinion. Be that as it will, that this place is of a very high antiquity, and made a very considerable figure in antient times, is universally allowed<sup>a</sup>.

- NOTWITHSTANDING the late disaster, the garison made several sallies with good success, *He continues: the siege;* wherein they killed the besiegers a great number of men, and harassed them in such a manner, that *Abu Obeidab* found himself obliged, for his farther security, to remove his camp to about a mile's distance from the castle. He had likewise a farther view in this point of conduct. He imagined, that, after such a step was taken, *Youkinna* would be less upon his guard, and afford him an opportunity of taking the citadel by surprize. But the *Greek* commander, by the prudent measures he took, frustrated his expectations. *Abu Obeidab* perceiving all his designs unsuccessful, had a strong suspicion that he was betrayed by some *Christian* spies lurking about the camp, who gave the enemy secret intelligence of what was transacting there. This induced him to cause a strict search to be made. Upon which, *Kháled*, who assisted herein, discovered a *Christian Arab*, of the tribe of *Ghassân*, who, upon examination, appeared to be a spy, employed by *Youkinna* to procure him intelligence of the *Moslems* designs. In fine, he owned his crime, and confessed, that he had had several accomplices, who were returned to the castle; but avoided death by professing himself a *Mohammedan*. It may not be improper here to observe that the principal tribes of the *Arabs* that embraced *Christianity*, were those of *Hamyar*, *Ghassân*, *Rabiâ*, *Taghlab*, *Babrá*, *Tonúch*; part of the tribes of *Tay* and *Kodâa*, the inhabitants of *Najrán*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The kings of *Hira* were lieutenants over the *Arabs* of *Irâk* for the kings of *Persia*; as the kings of *Ghassân*, the last of whom was *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, mentioned above, were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*<sup>a</sup>.

- THO' the siege of the citadel continued above four months after the last-mentioned blow given by *Kháled* to the garison, the *Moslem* general had scarce any prospect of bringing it to a happy conclusion. Nor had he any thing material to write to the *Khalif*; which made the *Arabian* pontiff very uneasy. He, therefore, wrote to *Abu Obeidab*, to let him know, that he was extremely concerned at his long silence, and therefore ordered him to give him an account of the present situation of his affairs in *Syria*. That general, upon this, dispatched a courier to the *Khalif*, with advice, that *Albâdir*, *Kinnifrîn*, and the city of *Aleppo*, had surrendered to him; and that the citadel of *Aleppo* was the only place in that part of the country which held against him, before which he had lost a considerable number of men. This, continued he, had induced him to entertain thoughts of raising the siege, and moving with his army in that tract which lay between *Antioch* and *Aleppo*; but that he would remain in his camp till the return of the courier with farther orders. This news was by no means agreeable to the *Khalif*, who commanded him at all events to continue the siege, and sent him a reinforcement of *Arab* troops, together with seventy camels, to assist the foot in their march, with all possible expedition. This inspired new life into the *Moslems*, who began to be greatly dejected at the losses they had sustained. The *Khalif* was very well pleased with that part of *Abu Obeidab's* letter, which informed him of the surrender of *Aleppo*; which, he apprehended would facilitate the reduction of the castle. It is intimated by *Golius*, that *Ayyad Ebn Ganem*, either at this juncture, or at least somewhere about this time, took possession of that town; and afterwards made an irruption into *Mesopotamia*<sup>b</sup>.

- IN the body of troops sent by *Omar* to reinforce his army before the castle of *Aleppo*, *At last he takes the citadel by a stratagem.* there was an *Arab* of a gigantic size called *Dames*, who was a man of great courage and resolution. Tho' the *Moslems*, in pursuance of the *Khalif's* orders, had carried on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of, yet very little progress had been made therein for forty-seven days after *Dames's* arrival in the camp; which induced him to meditate the reduction of that fortress by a stratagem, as it seemed so difficult a thing to effect it by force.

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. AL AZIZ. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 274. ALR. SCHULT. ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> AL WAKED, ubi sup. AL MOSTATRAF, Poc. not. in spec. h. st. Arab. p. 137, & alib. PROCOPI. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c.

<sup>c</sup> AL WAKED, ubi sup. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 273.



He, therefore, desired that *Abu Obeidab* would assign him the command of a party, consisting only of thirty men; which, at *Khaled's* request, was readily granted. Then he begged the general to raise the siege, and pitch his tents at about three miles distance from the castle; which petition likewise was immediately complied with. The following night, *Dames*, who had posted himself with his party very near the citadel, found means to seize a *Greek* belonging to the garison, from whom, by the assistance of a *Christian Arab* he had taken, who served him for an interpreter, he learned several agreeable particulars. The *Greek* informed him, that, after the siege was raised, *Youkinna* had exacted large sums of money of the citizens, in order to punish them for the treaty they had concluded with the *Arabs*; and that he was one of those who had endeavoured to make their escape from the oppression of such a tyrant, by leaping down from the wall. This man *Dames* took under his protection, by virtue of the submission made by the townsmen to *Abu Obeidab*; but beheaded five or six others, who fell into his hands, and could give no good account of themselves. He then covered his back and shoulders with a goat's skin, with which he had provided himself for that purpose, and took a dry crust in his hand, creeping gradually on the ground till he got close to the foot of the wall. If he heard any noise, or suspected any person to be near, in order to prevent being discovered, he made such a noise with his crust as a dog does when he is gnawing a bone; his companions sometimes walking, and sometimes creeping along after him in the same manner that he did. He had before dispatched two of his men to *Abu Obeidab*, to desire that a detachment of horse might be sent him by break of day, to support his small party, and facilitate the execution of the plan he had formed. At last *Dames* found an opportunity of raising seven men upon his shoulders, who stood upon one another's shoulders in such a manner that the highest of them reached the top of the wall. Here he soon placed himself, seized a watchman he found asleep, and threw him down amongst his companions, who immediately cut him to pieces. Two others in the same condition he stabbed with his dagger, and sent them after the former. Then he laid down his turbant, and drew up the second of his brethren, as they two did the third. By this method, at last, *Dames* himself, and the remainder of his men, were enabled to mount the wall. The commander having enjoined silence, went himself to see what posture the governor was in; and at last met with an opportunity of observing him, and that without being discovered himself, engaged in discourse with his officers, for whom he had prepared an entertainment, probably on account of *Abu Obeidab's* raising the siege of the castle, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending danger. Then *Dames* privately stabbed the centry posted at every gate, and, by favour of the night, put his men in possession of them all, without opposition. However, the soldiers of the garison were at last alarmed, and surrounded the *Arabs*. The latter defended themselves for some time with great bravery; but being bore down by the multitude of the former, they were upon the point of perishing; when *Khaled*, with a detachment of cavalry, advanced to their relief. As soon as that general, who was grown terrible to the *Christians*, appeared, the besieged threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. *Youkinna*, and some of the principal officers, in order to have their wives, children, and riches, restored to them, turned *Mohammedans*; tho' others chose rather to lose every thing that was dear and valuable to them, than to give their consciences a mortal wound, by preferring to the sublime truths of *Christianity* the crude absurdities and blasphemous effusions of a most infamous impostor. The castle being taken by storm, it was pillaged by the *Moslems*; *Abu Obeidab* reserving a fifth part of the spoil, which was very valuable, in compliance with an injunction in the *Koran*, and dividing the rest amongst his troops. *Dames* acquired great glory on this occasion; and, out of complaisance to him, the army did not decamp from *Aleppo* before he and his men were perfectly cured of their wounds. From the account of the aforesaid siege inserted here, it plainly appears, that the citadel of *Aleppo* was a place of very great strength; and this it continued to be in the days *Ismael Abu'l-feda*, as we learn from the express words of that celebrated historian.

The Moslems  
take Aazáz.

AFTER the reduction of the citadel of *Aleppo*, *Abu Obeidab* intended to have marched with his army to *Antioch*, in order to oblige that city likewise, then the seat of the *Greek* emperor, to submit to the *Khalif*. But he was diverted from carrying that design into execution by *Youkinna*, who was now become a violent enemy of the *Christians*. He told the *Moslem* general, that his conquest of that part of the country would not be complete till he had taken the castle of *Aazáz*, a place of great importance, where *Theodorus*, his cousin-german, was then commandant. This fortress he proposed to make himself master of, by putting himself at the head of 100 *Arab* horse, dressed in the *Greek* habit, who were to attend him to *Aazáz*. Upon his arrival there, he was to assure his cousin *Theodorus*, that he was still in reality a *Christian*, and had taken that opportunity to escape from the *Moslem* camp. But to make his story appear more probable, *Abu Obeidab* was to send after him a detachment of 1000 horse, who were to pursue him as far as *Akrab*, a village in the neigh-

\* AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL AZIZ. apud Ism. Abu'l-feda. in geograph. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid.



- a bourhood of *Aazáz*, with orders to post themselves there; from whence, if such a measure should be judged necessary, they might easily advance to *Aazáz*, to facilitate the conquest of that place. *Toukinna* having prevailed upon *Abu Obeidah* to approve of his scheme, marched at the head of 100 *Arab* horse, who appeared like *Greeks*, to *Aazáz*, but was, with all his men, immediately taken prisoner by *Theodorus*, to whom the whole affair had been discovered by an *Arab* of the tribe of *Ghassân*, then a spy in the *Moslem* camp, by means of a pigeon that had carried a letter to him from thence, tied under one of its wings. To oppose the *Moslems* on this occasion, *Theodorus* had assembled a body of 3000 *Greeks*, and 10000 *Christian Arabs*, besides some other forces that marched to his assistance out of the neighbouring villages. He also expected a reinforcement of 500 horse from the governor of
- b *Arrawendân*, to whom he had sent an account of the intelligence he had received. With these troops he doubted not, but he should be able to make a stand against the *Moslems*. In the mean time, *Abu Obeidah* sent a detachment of 1000 horse under the command of *Malec Al Ajbtari*, after *Toukinna*, in the manner concerted between him and the *Moslem* general, which advanced to *Morab*. This village *Malec* found the inhabitants had abandoned at his approach; however, he intercepted a *Christian Arab* here, who informed him, that *Theodorus* was apprized of *Toukinna*'s design, and made great preparations to oppose him. Soon after, *Malec* fell in with the five hundred *Arrawendânian* horse, sent to the assistance of the governor of *Aazáz*, and made them all, with *Lucas*, the prefect, at their head, prisoners. Then ordering his men to disguise themselves in their cloaths, and to take the *Christian*
- c colours in their hands, he advanced to *Aazáz*. But before he reached that fortress, he dispatched *Tharik Al Ghassâni*, the *Arab* he had intercepted, who, at his request, had professed himself a *Moslem*, to *Theodorus*, to inform him that the governor of *Arrawendân* was on his march, and would soon join him with a body of 500 horse. This, in all probability, of itself would have produced the desired effect; but *Malec* was introduced into the town by an accident altogether unforeseen, that rendered him master of *Aazáz*, without the least effusion of *Moslem* blood. *Theodorus* had committed *Toukinna*, and the other prisoners, to the care of his son *Leon*; who being desperately in love with *Toukinna*'s daughter, whom he had sometimes visited at *Aleppo*, released them all, restored them their arms, and admitted *Malec*'s detachment into the castle. His elder brother *Lucas*, at *Leon*'s instigation, killed his father
- d *Theodorus*, at that time, as *Al Walkedi* relates, asleep and intoxicated with wine. It was no difficult matter for the *Moslems*, after this, to possess themselves of the castle of *Aazáz*. The two pious youths above-mentioned renounced the *Christian* faith, embraced *Mohammedism*, and were received by the *Moslems* with open arms. Nay, *Malec* himself caressed them both in an extraordinary manner, and was pleased to confer upon the parricide his particular benediction. The forces assembled by *Theodorus*, at the approach of the *Arabs*, had taken care to disperse themselves. However there still remained in the castle 1000 young men, 245 old men and monks, 1000 young women and girls, and 180 old women; all which the *Moslems* probably carried into captivity. Then leaving *Saad Ebn Amer* with a garison of 100 men at *Aazáz*, *Malec* marched with the spoil he had acquired in this expedition to *Aleppo*.
- e Nothing can give a more just portrait of *Islamism*, and the infernal disposition of its professors, at least in the time of *Omar* than the conduct of *Malec* on this occasion, which was authorized by the example of *Mohammed* himself. That impostor oftener than once, when other means failed, carried his point by assassinations, as has been already observed. The castle of *Aazáz*, mentioned here by *Al Walkedi*, seems to be the *Ezzaza*, or *Azaza*, of *Abu'lfeda*, a town with a citadel of considerable strength, situated in a very pleasant part of the territory of *Aleppo*, to the N. W. of that place. Another *Arab* author assures us, that in his time the inhabitants of this place breathed a very salubrious air, and had many wells or fountains which supplied them with excellent water. He also pretends, that no scorpions would then live amongst them. Besides this, there is another *Azaza*, not far from *Rakka*, the
- f *Areka*, *Arekka*, or *Nicephorion*, of the ancients, in *Mesopotamia*. That city is seated on the *Euphrates*, and supposed by *Goli* to be the same place with *Ara*, where the famous *Abetani*, whom we shall probably have occasion hereafter to mention, made his astronomical observations. *Abu'lfeda* assigns the *Azaza* in the district of *Aleppo*, or the *Aazáz* of *Al Walkedi*, long. 61° 55', lat. 36° 0'.

WHILST *Malec* was on his march for *Aleppo*, he was joined by a *Moslem* detachment of *Haïm Ebn* 1000 horse, under the command of *Al Fadl Ebn Al Abbâs*, whom *Abu Obeidah* had sent to *Jabalab Ebn* plunder all the villages about *Manbij*. This he had effectually done, and was with the spoil *Al Aynam* on his route to the *Moslem* camp. There were in *Al Fadl*'s detachment about two hundred *d. f. is a* *Moslem* detachment.

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKEDI. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xxx. v. 64, & alib. AL JANNAB. p. 102, & alib. AL TABARI. apud AL MAKIN, ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad ISM. Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. ubi sup. & la vie de Mahom. tom. i. p. 351, 352, & alib. BEN SAUD, apud ISM. Abu'lfed. in geogr. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. BOHADIN BEN SJEDDAD, in vit. Salad. p. 51. AL E. SCHULT. ubi sup. PROL. geogr. lib. v. c. 15. GOLII not. ad Asiagan. p. 252, 253, 254, 255.



renegado's, who had formerly served under *Youkinna* in the castle of *Aleppo*, and with him likewise had renounced the *Christian* faith. These *Youkinna* desired *Al Fadl* to permit to march under his orders to *Antioch*, that he might have an opportunity of doing some service to the *Khalif*, by their assistance, there. This being granted, he, with four friends that he could intirely confide in, struck out into a by-way that led to *Antioch*, the other renegado's being commanded to keep the high road to that place. *Youkinna* and his friends soon met with a party of imperial horse, that seized them, and conducted them to *Antioch*. *Youkinna* being brought before his old master *Heraclius*, who then resided at *Antioch*, informed him, that, "he was still a *Christian*, tho', in order to be the more capable of serving his imperial majesty, he had pretended to be a *Moslem*; and that he had taken the opportunity of flying to him from *Aazâz*, solely with a view of demonstrating his fidelity to him." This open and explicit declaration made such an impression upon the emperor, that he did not only constitute him the commander of the 200 men, who, as he pretended, had made their escape with him, and who arrived soon after him at *Antioch*, but also sent him with a body of 2200 men, to conduct his youngest daughter, then in a place at a considerable distance from home, to court. *Youkinna*, with the troops under his command, who served the princess for an escorte, being on his return to *Antioch*, received advice from some of his advanced guards, that he would soon come up with a party of *Arabs* asleep, with their horses feeding by them, all of whom he might easily put to the sword. But *Youkinna* taking these to be *Moslems*, whom he had a secret inclination to serve to the utmost of his power, commanded them to be taken prisoners, in order to be exchanged for some *Christians* that *Abu Obeidah* had still in his hands. However, they happened to be not *Moslems*, but *Christian Arabs*, of the tribe of *Ghassân*, under the conduct of *Haïm Ebn Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham*, who had surprized a *Moslem* detachment, commanded by *Derâr*, that had been foraging in the northern parts of *Syria*. *Derâr* himself was taken prisoner, with 200 men, and many of the *Moslems* likewise were killed in the action. *Youkinna* paid his respects to *Haïm* in a very complaisant, tho' at the same time hypocritical, manner, and congratulated him upon his good success. We are told by *Al Wakedi*, that when the prisoners were brought into the emperor's presence, they refused to approach him with those marks of homage and submission that his subjects did, which they termed adoration; and that *Derâr* being asked the reason of this, replied, that *their prophet had forbidden them to pay adoration to any creature*. The emperor then proposed several questions to *Kais Ebn Amer*, an old man, one of them concerning *Mohammed*. Amongst others, he asked him, "By what signs or tokens their prophet perceived himself inspired, when he first set up for a reformer?" To which, *Kais*, almost in *Mohammed's* own words, made answer, "Sometimes he heard a sound resembling that of a bell, but stronger and sharper; sometimes an angel in a human shape appeared to him, and discoursed with him upon various subjects, and once, according to *Ayesha*, the spirit of prophecy descended upon him on a very cold day, and, after its departure, he was in a violent sweat. The first message," continued he, "that he received, was in a dream; others were imparted to him in visions, which resembled the morning brightness. At such times he confined himself in some solitary place, till the Truth appeared. Once an angel approaching him, said READ; to which he replied he could not read, as being perfectly illiterate: upon which the command was repeated, and attended with a promise, that God, who had inspired man with the art of writing, would graciously remedy this defect in him. At another time, being on mount *Harâ*, and hearing himself called, he looked upwards, and saw the angel *Gabriel* on a throne, between heaven and earth; at which sight being greatly terrified, he returned to his wife *Khadijah*, and said to her, *Zammilouni, zammilouni; Wrap me up, wrap me up*: after, which, the angel descended, and revealed to the prophet the words that form part of the seventy-third and seventy fourth chapter of the *Korân*." Then the emperor demanded of *Kais*, "Whether he had ever been an eye-witness of any of *Mohammed's* miracles?" To which *Kais* replied, that "he was once with *Mohammed*, when he pressed an idolatrous *Arab* to acknowledge that there was only one God, and that he was his prophet. This the *Arab* refused to do, unless *Mohammed* could produce some witnesses to attest the reality of his mission: upon which, the prophet calling a tree to him, that stood at some distance, it instantly obeyed him, came erect to him, plowing up the ground with its roots, and said three times aloud, *Thou art the apostle of God*. After which, it returned to its former place." Then *Kais* in answer to several other questions, assured the emperor that "every virtuous action according to the principles of the *Moslems*, would be intitled to a tenfold reward; but every evil one would be punished precisely according to the degree of its demerit; that their prophet was the witness in this world, and would be that in the world to come; that he really performed a night-journey to heaven, actually conversed there with God himself, and received several institutions immediately from him; and that they were all of them obliged to fast the month of *Ramadân*, in which, on the night



- a "night *Al Kadr*, the *Korán* was sent down from heaven." All which he endeavoured to support by passages taken out of the *Korán*. This impious deduction of falsehoods so incensed a venerable bishop, who was present at the conference, that he could not forbear uttering some things that seemed to reflect upon *Mohammed*; which so exasperated *Derár Ebn Al Azwar*, one of the prisoners, that he gave him the most opprobrious language, affirming, that *Mohammed* was a prophet divinely inspired, but that the knowledge of such an excellent truth was intercepted from him by the veil of infidelity. This language, says *Al Wakedi*, so provoked some of the *Christians* who heard it, that they drew their swords, to chastise his insolence, and made fourteen pushes at him; but he was delivered from them in a most wonderful and surprizing manner. However, he would have been immediately executed,
- b by the emperor's command, had not *Youkinna* procured a respite for him. These circumstances we could not omit inserting here, as they are a clear and incontestable proof of the enthusiastic genius and disposition of the *Arabs* in the days of *Omar*. The *Moslem* general treated with uncommon marks of distinction both *Malec*, who had acquired such reputation at *Aazáz*, and *Al Fadl*, who had so effectually pillaged the villages in the neighbourhood of *Manbij*, after their return to *Aleppo*. It may not be improper to observe, that *Manbij* was a city of the province of *Kinnisrín*, situated in a plain, about two days journey from *Aleppo*, and one from the *Euphrates*. It seems to have derived its name from a *Magian* temple called *Manba*, erected on a spot at a small distance from it, by one of the *Persian* kings, surnamed *Khostrú*, who subjugated *Syria*. It has been proved by *Golius* to answer to the *Hierapolis* of *Ælian*, *Appian*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. It was famous for the worship of the goddess *Atargatis*, *Derceto*, *Athara*, *Astbara*, or *Astarte*; by all which names that deity went. There stood a little fortified town on the *Euphrates*, the fields adjacent to which were irrigated and fertilized by the water of that river, called the *Bridge of Manbij*; which is supposed by *Golius* to have been the *Zeugma* of the antients. The temple of the *Dea Syria*, *Dea Hierapolitana*, who was the *Syrian* or *Phœnician Astarte*, was immensely rich when it was plundered by *Crassus*, as we learn from *Appian*. Some think, that the *Magian* temple above-mentioned was the temple of the *Syrian* goddess taken notice of by the antients; and that it was converted into a FIRE-TEMPLE by one of the latter *Persian* kings, surnamed *Khostrú*. Be that as it will, our learned readers will find a very large and curious description of *Manbij* drawn up by *Golius*, to whom, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, we shall beg leave to refer them<sup>c</sup>.

- AFTER *Abu Obeidab* had been rejoined by all his detachments, which he had sent out on different occasions, he began his march to *Antioch*, which he proposed to reduce to the obedience of the *Khalíf*. He made himself master of several fortified places, that surrendered to him on his march, and then advanced to the bridge called the *Iron bridge*, at a very small distance from *Antioch*. In the mean time, the emperor appointed the treacherous *Youkinna* governor of that city, constituting him at the same time commander of all his forces on that side, and delivered to him a crucifix that was never exposed to public view, but upon very extraordinary occasions. The emperor then, being informed of the approach
- e of the *Moslem* army, discovered an inclination to put all the prisoners taken by *Haim Ebn Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham* to death; but was diverted from that design by *Youkinna*, who represented to him, that it would be better to exchange them for an equal number of *Christian* captives, that either had or might fall into the hands of the *Arabs*. *Amer Ebn Refâa*, one of them, embraced the *Christian* religion, and was baptized in the great church of *Antioch*. His conversion, says *Al Wakedi*, in this point possibly not quite an impartial writer, was effected more by the dress and beauty of the *Greek* ladies, of whom he was a vast admirer, than any conviction of conscience. Be that, however, as it will, this event gave his father *Refâa* infinite uneasiness and concern; who, upon hearing the first news of it, broke out into a very passionate exclamation, too large to be described here. After his
- f baptism, he was received with great kindness both by the bishops and the emperor. The latter of whom made him a present of a young woman and a horse; and then ordered him to be incorporated in the body of *Arab* troops commanded by *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*. The patriarch asked the other prisoners, what hindered them from following his example? To which they answered, "The truth of our religion." The patriarch then represented to them the danger to which they exposed themselves, by displeasing *JESUS CHRIST*. To which they replied, that "it would one day be seen which party was rejected, and which "in the favour of God." The emperor desired to know what could induce the *Khalíf* to appear in such mean and sordid attire, so different from that of other princes, when he had

<sup>c</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xcvi, lxxiii, lxxiv, vi, xl, xlviii, xxxiii, &c. SALE's notes on the Kor. f. xcvi, lxxiii, lxxiv. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. YACUT, ÆLIAN. hist. animal. lib. xii. c. 11. APPIAN. in Parthic. p. 223. PLIN. lib. v. cap. 23, 24. STRAB. lib. xvi. STEPH. BYZANT. THEOPHAN. chronograph. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 260, 261, 262. & CHRIST. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 428, Lipsiæ, 1706.



taken so much wealth from the *Christians*? *Refâa* told him, "The consideration of the  
 "other world, and the fear of God." The emperor asked them farther, what sort of a  
 palace the *Khalîf* had? They answered, "One of mud." "Who," said he, "are his  
 "attendants?" "Beggars," replied they, "and poor people." "What tapestry does  
 "he sit upon?" "Justice and equity." "What is his throne?" "Abstinence and cer-  
 "tain knowledge." What is his treasure?" Trust in God." Who are his guards?" "The  
 "stoutest of the UNITARIANS." To which they added, "Knowest thou not, O king!  
 "that some have said to him, O *Omar*! thou possessest the treasures of the *Cæsars*; kings  
 "and great men are also subdued unto thee; why, therefore, puttest thou not on rich gar-  
 "ments?" To whom he made answer, "Ye seek the outward world, but I the favour of  
 "him who is Lord both of that and the other." A sort of enthusiastic and fanatical cant b  
 this, extremely similar to that which prevailed in our own nation about a century ago, and  
 even not at present grown into absolute disuse amongst us; which, whatever disposition it may  
 be intended to exhibit, in reality points out nothing, for the most part, to the sober, ratio-  
 nal, and we may add, the virtuous part of mankind, but SATANICAL HYPOCRISY, to  
 adopt the very terms made use of by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* on the present occasion <sup>f</sup>.

and takes the  
 two towers  
 there.

ABU OBEIDAH being arrived at the *Iron Bridge*, in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, with  
 all his forces, made the proper dispositions for attacking that important post. The two  
 towers erected there were places of considerable strength, and furnished with numerous  
 garisons, that were commanded by 300 officers. But they surrendered to the *Moslem* gene- c  
 ral, without making any defence. A certain great man coming one day from court to  
 visit these towers, and see what condition they were in, as he generally did once a day at  
 this dangerous conjuncture, observed a total neglect of duty; the soldiers being engaged in  
 drinking and riotous living, and having deserted all their posts. Incensed at such an into-  
 lerable relaxation of discipline as this, he ordered them fifty lashes apiece; which inspired  
 them with vindictive sentiments. As soon, therefore, as *Abu Obeidah* with his army appeared,  
 they proposed to him a capitulation, which he immediately signed; and they, in conse-  
 quence of this, delivered the towers into his hands. This is a full and incontestable proof  
 of the great degeneracy of the *Greeks*, and of the irrecoverable loss of discipline amongst  
 their troops, at this fatal period; which will of itself, even without the additional confi-  
 derations that have already been offered, enable us to account for the rapid progress, made d  
 at this time by the *Moslems*, in the conquest of *Syria* <sup>2</sup>.

An attempt to  
 assassinate the  
 Khalîf mis-  
 carries.

WHEN the emperor received advice of the surrender of the *Iron Bridge*, and that it had  
 submitted to the *Arabs* in so ignominious a manner, he could not forbear giving *Antioch*  
 itself up for lost, nor bemoaning the unhappy fate of *Syria*. This being observed by *Jaba-*  
*lah Ebn Al Ayham*, king of *Ghassân*, he told him, that however embroiled his affairs might  
 then appear, they would be perfectly re-established by an assassination of the *Khalîf*. He,  
 therefore, undertook to perform this piece of service for the emperor; and dispatched one  
*Watbek Ebn Mosâfer*, an *Arab* of his tribe, and a resolute young man, to *Medina*, for that  
 purpose. *Watbek*, some time after his arrival there, observing *Omar* to fall asleep under a  
 tree on which he had placed himself, so as not to be discovered by any person whatsoever, c  
 drew his dagger, and was upon the point of stabbing him, when, lifting up his eyes, he  
 saw a lion walking round about him, and licking his feet. Nor did the lion cease to guard  
 the *Khalîf* till he awoke; but then instantly went away. This struck *Watbek* with a most  
 profound reverence for *Omar*, whom he now looked upon as the peculiar care of heaven.  
 He, therefore, came down from the tree, on which the lion had forced him to remain, kissed  
 the *Khalîf*'s hand, confessed his crime, and embraced the *Mohammedan* religion; being so  
 strongly affected with the wonderful deliverance he had been an eye-witness of. In the mean  
 time, the *Moslem* and the *Christian* armies before *Antioch* were drawn up in order of battle.  
*Nestorius*, one of *Heraclius*'s commanders, challenged any man in the *Moslem* army to fight  
 him in single combat, before the beginning of the action. This challenge was accepted by f  
*Dames*, who had distinguished himself on a former occasion, and a combat was accordingly  
 fought. But *Dames*'s horse stumbling in the engagement, he was seized before he could  
 recover himself, and carried bound to *Nestorius*'s tent. This affair being over, *Nestorius*  
 engaged, in a second combat, one *Dekâc*, who behaved with great bravery and resolution.  
 The multitude of soldiers on both sides that assembled to see the combatants, was so great  
 and tumultuous, that they overturned *Nestorius*'s tent; and, in the hurry and confusion  
 which this occasioned, *Dames*, who was there confined, found means to make his escape.  
 Nothing decisive happened between *Nestorius* and *Dekâc*, who were so equally matched that  
 they found themselves obliged to part by consent. Whilst these things happened, *Youkima*  
 remained within the city, and turned all the power he enjoyed against his natural sovereign, g

<sup>f</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 281. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 426, 427.  
<sup>2</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 19. SALE'S prelim. disc. sect. iii. p. 36, &c.



- a who had intrusted him with it. He not only released all the prisoners taken by *Haïm Ebn Jabalab* above-mentioned, and restored them their arms, but likewise assured them, that many persons of quality engaged in the emperor's service were disposed to a revolt. This coming to that prince's ears, he began absolutely to despond; and being at the same time greatly terrified by his crown's falling from his head, and a bad dream, in which a person seemed to thrust him out of his throne, both of which he interpreted as ill omens, he left his troops in and about *Antioch* to themselves, and embarked for *Constantinople* with some of his domestics, that had attended him privately to the sea-shore. In fine, tho' *Heraclius* was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the *Persians*; yet the very
- b vitals of the empire seemed then to have been mortally wounded; so that the *Arabs*, by reason of the extreme degeneracy of the *Greeks*, who were at this time become even the very scum of mankind, found it no difficult matter to carry the vast designs they had formed into execution<sup>h</sup>.

- AFTER the two combats above-mentioned, which had no great effect either upon the *Abu Obeidah Christian* or the *Moslem* affairs, the two armies came to a general action. The *Christians* at first behaved with a good degree of bravery and resolution; but through the treachery of *Xoukinna* and several other persons of note, as well as the activity of *Derâr* and his companions, who were intermixed with *Xoukinna's* men, they were at last overthrown with very great slaughter. This defeat, which rendered the *Greeks* incapable of making any farther
- c resistance, occasioned the loss of *Antioch*. The people of the town perceiving the battle lost, surrendered immediately to *Abu Obeidah*, and paid him down the sum demanded of them, which amounted to 300,000 *dinârs*. After which, the *Moslem* general triumphantly entered the town. This, according to *Al Wakedi*, happened on Tuesday, August 21st, in the year of our Lord 638, and in the 17th year of the *Hejra*. *Antioch*, or *Antiochia*, called by the *Arabs* *Antakiyah*, or *Anthakia*, was seated upon the *Orontes*, and stiled the head, or metropolis, of Syria by *Strabo*. It was a city of very large extent, stood in a fertile pleasant province, abounding with wells or fountains, and about a day's journey from the *Mediterranean*. The walls were built of stone, being extremely strong and thick; and, besides them, the place was fortified with a very considerable number of towers, which rendered it capable
- d of sustaining a long siege. It was founded by *Seleucus Nicator*, who, from his father *Antiochus*, denominated it *Antioch*, or *Antiochia*. The same prince also built another city, that, from himself, he called *Seleucia*; a third, to which, from his wife *Apama*, he gave the name of *Apamea*; and a fourth, that, from his mother, he named *Laodicea*. *Antioch* consisted of four cities, and for that reason was stiled *Tetrapolis* by *Strabo*. It may now be considered as a large village, if not a collection of villages; many fields, pastures, and gardens, as well as houses, being contained within the remains of the antient walls, which are still to be seen. The houses are inhabited chiefly by *Christians* and *Jews*; not many of the *Turks* being settled there. The patriarchal see, which formerly rendered this city so famous, was long since translated to *Damascus*; so that the person who now supplies the place of the patriarch can scarce be looked upon as equal to an acolyte. Some traces of *Christian* antiquity
- e are still visible in the northern part of the place, which have been touched upon by several authors. The lake of *Antioch*, about three miles distant from the remains of the town, is about twenty miles long, and seven broad. The tract to which this belongs is called *Alamk*. Into this lake three rivers disembogue themselves; the *Ifrin*, which moves in an eastern direction; the *Afwad*, or *black river*, which comes from the west; and the *Yagra*, that derives its name from a *Christian* village thro' which it passes. Within the circumference of the walls there are five mountains, and the place was fortified in *Abu'lfeda's* days by a citadel. The walls were likewise, in the *Moslem* times, both strengthened and adorned with 360 towers. The city had then also five gates. *Ebn Hawkel* assigned it the next
- f place to *Damascus*, in point of dignity and pleasantness of situation. *Al Azizi* relates, that the walls were twelve miles in compass. The tomb of the *Moslem* martyr *Habib Alnajjar*, held in the highest veneration by the *Mohammedans*, was to be seen here in the time of *Saladin*. *Abu'lfeda* places *Antioch* in long. 60° 00', and lat. 35° 00'. In fine, the inhabitants of this city, when it was reduced by *Abu Obeidah*, enjoyed such a profusion of delights, that he would not permit his troops to stay there above three days. He imagined that a continuance in so charming a place would enervate his men, and render them unfit for action, as well as absolutely incapable of sustaining the fatigues of war<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 19, 20. THEOPHAN. in vit. Herac. SALE, ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 516. PLIN. lib. v. cap. 21. PROL. lib. v. cap. 15. THEOD. hist. eccles. lib. v. c. 11. CIC. pro Arch. cap. iii. PROCOPI. lib. ii. c. 10. & lib. v. c. 5. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ISM. ABU'LFEDA, in geogr. EBN HAWKEL & AL AZIZI, apud Ism. Abu'lfeda. ubi sup. BOHAD. vit. & res gest. Salad. p. 86. GOLLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 278—282. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. &c.



Abu Obeidah  
sends the Kha-  
lif advice of  
this by an ex-  
press.

ABU OBEIDAH having thus made himself master of *Antioch*, dispatched an express to the *Khalif* with an account of the success that still attended his arms. He informed him, that *Heraclius* had taken his flight to *Constantinople*, and that, by abandoning his subjects in *Syria*, he had thrown *Antioch* into the hands of the *Moslems*. To which he added, that the *Moslems* had discovered a strong inclination to marry the *Greek* women; which, as a thing not at all conformable to the spirit of the *Korân*, he had forbidden them to do. *Zeid Ebn Waheb*, *Omar Ebn Awf*'s slave, who was employed as an express on this occasion, did not only obtain his master's consent to go to *Medina*, but was likewise manumitted by him, for the alacrity he discovered when *Abu Obeidah* first made choice of him for that service. *Omar*, in answer to his lieutenant in *Syria*, expressed great satisfaction at the reduction of *Antioch*, permitted his subjects who had no families in *Arabia* to marry the *Greek* women, and allowed them the liberty of purchasing as many female slaves as they pleased. In the conclusion of his letter, he commanded *Abu Obeidah* to pursue the enemy into the mountainous part of the country, and to take the most effectual measures to secure the conquests he had made. We are told by *Al Makin*, that *Abu Obeidah* was so much pressed this year, that he was obliged to demand assistance of *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*, who commanded the *Moslem* forces in *Persia*, who sent him a reinforcement of 40,000 men. He also relates, that *Omar* himself came this year to *Damascus*; and that this was the fourth expedition he made in person. But we find neither of the two last particulars mentioned by any other *Arab* historian<sup>k</sup>.

Khâled takes  
several towns  
not far from  
the Euphrates.

Soon after the surrender of *Antioch*, *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, one of the most active of the *Moslem* generals, advanced with a body of troops as far as the *Euphrates*, took *Manbij*, *Berâa*, *Bales*, or *Balis*, and several other towns. He also exacted of the inhabitants 100,000 *dinârs*, for their present security, and obliged them to submit to an annual tribute, which he imposed upon them, for the time to come. This happened in the month of *Al Mobar-ram*, and the 18th year of the *Hejra*; which answers to *January*, in the year of our Lord 638. To what has been already observed of *Manbij*, we must beg leave to add, that it was sometimes called by the antients *Bambyce*, as well as *Hierapolis*, as we learn from *Pliny*; and that *Manba*, or *Menba*, from whence *Manbij* is apparently derived, seems to be a corruption of the former name. The word *Manba*, or *Menba*, was first used by the *Persians*, after they had made themselves masters of *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*; so that the aforesaid corruption, if it be really one, must be imputed to them. This place was famous not only for the worship of *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, as she is called by *Ctesias*, but likewise on account of the sacred fishes, at the head of which that goddess was supposed to have been; a most curious description of which we meet with in *Ælian*. According to *Ebn Hawkel*, it is situated in a plain, whose fields are frequently refreshed with rain, and produce nothing noxious or bitter. All the adjacent territory was formerly covered with a face of plenty, contained many aqueducts, and abounded with mulberry-trees, which supported a vast number of silk-worms, from whence proceeded very considerable quantities of down, or silk-yarn, that was spun by those animals. Hence probably came the *Persic* name *Pambe*, or *Pembe*, pronounced by the *Arabs* *Bambe*, which denoted that kind of down, or yarn. From the *Persic* *Pambe*, or *Pembe*, in all likelihood, the *Greek* and *Latin* word *Bombyx*, signifying the same thing, and consequently *Bambyce*, the ancient name of *Hierapolis*, taken notice of by *Pliny*, is to be deduced. *Pambe*, *Pembe*, or *Bambe*, some of the orientals might naturally convert into *Mambe*, as *Baalbec* into *Malbec*, *Becca* into *Mecca*, &c. from whence might come the *Arabic*, *Menbij*, or *Manbij*, and the *Syriac* *Mabog*. For the *Syrians* frequently expunged *Nun*, as from a great number of instances might easily be evinced. These observations will enable us to emend a passage in *Pliny*, wherein, according to the present reading, that author informs us, that the *Syrians* called *Hierapolis*, or *Bambyce*, *Magog*. For, from what has been advanced, we may infer, that *Magog* there was originally *Mabog*. *Manbij*, according to an oriental geographer, was about ten parasangs distant from *Aleppo*, and three from the *Euphrates*. The longitude assigned *Manbij* by *Abu'l-feda* is 62° 50', and the latitude 36° 35'<sup>l</sup>.

BESIDES *Manbij*, *Berâa*, or rather *Bira*, and *Balis*, the *Arabs*, about this time, if not the preceding year, possessed themselves of *Raabân*, *Dulouc*, *Korus*, the *Cyrus*, or *Cyrrhus*, of the antients, *Tezîn*, and several other fortified towns in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*; nothing now being able to stand before them. *Balis* is a small fortress of *Kinnisrîn*, on the western bank of the *Euphrates*. It faces *Arakka*, or *Arrakka*, on the opposite bank, and stands upon the confines of the deserts of *Shâm* and *Irâk*. It is also, according to *Abu'l-feda*, about thirteen parasangs off *Arrakka*, and fifteen off *Aleppo*. *Raabân*, or *Rahaba*, is likewise seated on the western bank of the *Euphrates*, at no very great distance from *Tadmor*, which stands in a south-western direction from it. *Rahaba* has a castle of some strength, and was

<sup>k</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 3. p. 23.

<sup>l</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. PLIN. lib. v. c. 23. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 517. ÆLIAN. hist. animal. lib. xii. cap. 2. CTESIAS, apud Strabon. ubi sup. LUCIAN. de Dea Syr. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. EBN HAWKEL, apud Abu'lfed. ibid. YACUT, GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 98, 99, 260, 261, 262, 279. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. pass.



a overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt by *Saifo'ddawla*. *Bira* was a little fortified town, with a citadel of considerable strength, on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*, above the city of *Manbij*, tho' in the district belonging to that place. The longitude assigned it by *Abu'lfeda* is  $62^{\circ} 30'$ , and the latitude  $36^{\circ} 50'$ . As for *Duluc*, *Korus*, *Tezin*, and other small fortresses, taken about this time by the *Moslems*, and situated in this part of *Syria*, we must refer our curious readers, for a description of them, to *Goli*, and the eastern geographers, who, in this point, will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>m</sup>.

UPON *Zeid*'s arrival from *Medina* at the *Moslem* camp, *Abu Obeidah* perused with great attention the letter he brought to him from the *Khalif*; and finding an order therein to invade the mountainous part of *Syria*, he demanded of the general officers, which of them would command the body of troops destined for that invasion. For some time they were all silent, tho' from what motive their silence proceeded no one could pretend to say. But, at last, *Meisarab Ebn Mesrouk* offered his service, and received from the general a black standard, with the following inscription upon it in white letters: THERE IS BUT ONE GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. The body assigned him for this expedition consisted of 300 *Arabs*, besides 1000 black slaves commanded by *Dames*. *Meisarab*, at the head of his troops, with some difficulty, ascended the mountains, and, with much more, advanced to that part of the tract where the emperor's forces were posted. The cold was so intense on the summits of these mountains, that the *Arabs*, who had always been inured to a hot climate, could scarce sustain the severity of it. For some time, they could not meet with a single person to give them intelligence of the enemy's motions; but at last they took a *Greek* prisoner, who informed them, that the imperial army, which consisted of 30,000 men, lay incamped upon a spot not above three leagues from them. The prisoner refusing to profess *Islamism*, the *Moslems* cut off his head, and then moved towards the imperial camp. The *Greeks*, having received advice of this invasion of the *Moslems*, advanced to meet them, and quickly appeared in fight. Then the action soon began, and *Meisarab* was hemmed in on all sides, tho' for some time he defended himself with extraordinary bravery. However, being overpowered at last, he was obliged to dispatch a courier to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know the danger he was in, and to desire a speedy reinforcement. Upon the arrival of the courier at the *Moslem* camp, *Abu Obeidah* instantly detached *Khaled Ebn Al Walid* with a body of 3000 horse, to support *Meisarab*; and, after him, *Ayyad Ebn Ganem*, with 2000 more, for the same purpose. In the mean time, *Abd'allah Ebn Hodafa*, an *Arab* of distinction, and one of *Omar*'s particular favourites, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and sent directly to *Constantinople*. But notwithstanding the advantage gained by the *Greeks*, they thought fit to retire at the approach of the *Moslem* horse, under the conduct of *Khaled*, who was extremely dreaded by the *Christians*, and abandoned in the night all their tents, together with all the rich furniture and most valuable effects in them, to the *Arabs*. However, as *Meisarab* and his men had little knowledge of the country they were in, he did not judge it proper to pursue them, but returned with his detachment to *Abu Obeidah*, and gave him an account of what had happened. This the *Moslem* general took care to notify to *Omar*, who was greatly concerned at the captivity of *Abd'allah Ebn Hodafa*; and, in order to procure his liberty, wrote to the *Greek* emperor the following letter: "In the name of the most merciful God. Praise be to God, the LORD of all creatures; who hath taken no wife, nor hath he begotten any issue. And the blessing of God be upon *Mohammed*, his prophet and apostle, divinely assisted. From the servant of God, *Omar Ebn Al Khattab*, to *Heraclius*, king of *Greece*. As soon as this letter shall reach thee, send me the prisoner that is with thee, whose name is *Abd'allah Ebn Hodafa*. This if thou shalt think proper to do, I shall hope that God will direct and lead thee into the right way. But if thou refusest, I shall send thee men, whom trade and merchandize shall not divert from the remembrance of God. Health and happiness be upon every one that follows the right way." *Heraclius* having received this letter, not only dismissed *Abd'allah Ebn Hodafa*, but likewise made both him and the courier dispatched to *Constantinople* by *Omar* several very valuable presents, and allowed them a sufficient guard to conduct them safe through that part of his territories they were to traverse. He also sent a jewel of very great value as a present to the *Khalif*, who offered it to the jewellers at *Medina*; but they were ignorant of the worth of it. The *Moslems* begged him to keep it for his own use; but that he said he could not answer to the public. Being, therefore, sold, the money paid for it was put into the treasury; of which the *Khalifs*, in these early times of *Islamism*, looked upon themselves only as the stewards and managers. They seldom, notwithstanding it was all at their disposal, applied any part of it to their own private use, much less to gratify a luxurious and extravagant taste; but expended it in such a manner as rendered it the most serviceable to the public. We are told by *Al*

<sup>m</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 249, 259, 279, &c. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. See also SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary discourse.



*Wakedi*, that several attempts were made at the imperial court to prevail upon *Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa* to drink wine, eat hogs-flesh, and, in fine, to become a *Christian*; but without effect. He was not only tempted by advantageous offers, but likewise menaced, and confined in a room three days together without any sustenance, in order either to induce him by pleasing considerations, or force him by motives of terror, to pay adoration to a crucifix, as well as to eat and drink what was prohibited by the *Korân*; but all the means made use of to draw him out of the paths of *Islamism* proved ineffectual. We are told by *Al Makin*, that *Heraclius* besieged *Hems* with a numerous army in the seventeenth year of the *Hejra*, and was forced by *Abu Obeidab*, after he had received a reinforcement from the *Khalif*, to raise the siege. But from what has been already related here, this seems highly improbable; nor has it been taken notice of by any other, either *Arab* or *Greek* historian <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *Amru Ebn Al As* marches into Palestine; It has been already observed, that, after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, *Omar* sent an army, under the command of *Amru Ebn Al As*, to invade *Egypt*. That general did not march directly into *Egypt*, but remained some time in *Palestine*, in order to take some places that still defended themselves there. As he was advancing to *Cæsarea*, he found the weather extremely cold. It happened during this march, that *Sobeib Ebn Hamzah*, by eating some grapes, was so chilled that he could scarce keep pace with the army; which being perceived by an old man, that was a *Christian*, he persuaded him and his companions, who had suffered likewise by eating grapes, to drink some wine that he set before them, which he assured them would infallibly cure the disorder they laboured under. In consequence of this advice, they drank so freely of that liquor, that *Amru* plainly discovered them to be disguised, and even inebriated, upon their arrival in the camp. This so provoked him, that he informed *Abu Obeidab* of the crime they had been guilty of, who immediately ordered them to receive the number of stripes usual on such occasions upon the soles of their feet; which punishment was accordingly inflicted upon them. This so irritated *Sobeib*, that he would have killed the poor man that supplied him with wine, as a remedy for his disorder, had he not before been taken under the protection of the *Moslems*. So strict were the *Arabs* at this time in their observance of that negative precept of the *Korân*, relating to inebriating liquors; though some of the commentators on that book have since approved of the moderate use of them. The more received opinion, however, is, that the *Moslems* are not only commanded to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, but likewise never to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of them; of which we have given our readers a more particular account in a former part of this work <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> *And has a conference with the emperor's son Constantine.* UPON *Amru's* arrival in *Palestine*, he was informed, that *Constantine*, the emperor's son, lay incamped with a body of troops not far from *Cæsarea*, and was very attentive to his motions. That prince frequently sent some of the *Christian Arabs*, whom he employed as spies, into the *Moslem* camp; where one of them, swearing by *CHRIST*, was discovered, and instantly cut to pieces. This rash action gave great offence to *Amru*, who ordered his men for the future to bring all the spies they should detect to him, in order to their examination, before they proceeded to such extremities; especially as it was probable that such spies, in cases of conviction, would rather embrace *Islamism* than suffer death. About this time, *Constantine* dispatched a priest to *Amru*, to beg, that he would send an *Emîr*, or principal officer, to the *Christian* camp, that he might have a conference with him. This coming to the ears of *Belâl*, a black, or *Ethiopian*, who had formerly been the *Muedhdin*, or crier, that is, the person who calls the people together to prayers, of the prophet, and valued himself not a little on that account, he desired to be employed on this occasion; which, tho' not without great difficulty, was at last granted by *Amru*. But *Belâl* having more the appearance of a slave than a principal officer, he was denied admission; which determined *Amru* himself to go in person. Upon his being introduced to *Constantine*, he refused to make use of a seat that was offered him, and took his place cross-legged on the ground, after the *Arab* manner, with his sword upon his thigh, and his lance laid across before him. *Constantine* then told him, that, "as the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were relations they ought not to make war upon one another." To which *Amru* answered, that their being of a different persuasion would justify that, however nearly related they might be; but that, for his part, he could discover no consanguinity between the *Koreish* and the *Greeks*. To this *Constantine* replied, "Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Esau, were the progenitors both of the *Greeks* and the *Arabs*, who must therefore be related, and consequently they ought not to quarrel about the division of territories, which was made for them by their forefathers." "True," said *Amru*, "but that division at present does not subsist. This land was not originally yours, but belonged to the *Amalekites*, who had it before you." <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 23. <sup>c</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. ii. & f. v. JALLALO'DDIN. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 6, 6. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. lib. i. c. viii. p. 78, 79. SALE'S notes on the Kor. c. ii p. 25, c. v. p. 94. & c. xvi. p. 219. See also his preliminary discourse, sect. v. p. 122, 123, 134.

<sup>f</sup> "Noah



- a “ *Noah* divided the world amongst his three sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; to the first of whom he gave *Syria*, and what lies round it, from *Yaman* and *Hadramaut* to *Ammán*. Now all the *Arabs* are the descendents of *Shem*, *Kabtán*, *Tefm*, *Jadis*, and *Amalek*, who was the father of the *Amalekites*. To his son *Ham* *Noah* gave the west and sea-shore, and *Japhet* he left in possession of the tract between the east and the west. We, therefore,” continued he, “ only desire to have this ancient division restored; to take possession of your fertile territories, rich pastures, pleasant rivers, and stately buildings, and relinquish to you our rocky and barren habitations.” “ The present division,” returned *Constantine*, “ having been already made, it would be injustice in you not to be content with what has fallen to your share.” To which *Amru* made answer, “ We are so much better pleased with your manner of living in *Syria* than our own, that we cannot think of leaving so delightful a country till we have made ourselves masters of it. However,” continued he, “ you may still remain secure in the enjoyment of your large possessions, provided you will either change your religion, or pay the tribute exacted by us of unbelievers.” But neither of those conditions pleasing *Constantine*, *Amru* told him, that “ he had pointed out to him the means by which he might have saved both himself and his people; but that he was rebellious, like his father *Esau*, who refused to obey his mother. You pretend to be related to us,” added he; “ but we shall disclaim all manner of consanguinity with you, as long as you persist in your infidelity. Besides, you are descended from *Esau*, we from *Ishmael*. God likewise chose *Mohammed* to be his last great prophet, and had him in view from the creation of *Adam* to the time that he came out of his father’s loins. This same great prophet *Mohammed* God made the noblest of the sons of *Ishmael*, who was the first that spoke *Arabic*. He also rendered the tribe of *Kenánab* the most illustrious of the *Arabs*; the family of *Koreish* the best of any belonging to that tribe; the offspring of *Háshem* the most worthy of the *Koreish*; and *Abd’almotalleb*, the prophet’s grand-father, the most excellent of the sons of *Háshem*. To *Mohammed* likewise he sent the angel *Gabriel* with inspiration.” Hence it appears, as has been observed by Mr. *Ockley*, that the *Arabs*, at this juncture, whatever may be insinuated to the contrary by some *Christian* writers, were so far from being ashamed of *Ishmael*, and his mother *Hagar*, who was *Abraham*’s slave, that they gloried in being descended from them. Which notion is not only supported by *Al Wakedi*’s authority here, but likewise confirmed by the concurrent testimony of other *Arabian* authors <sup>p</sup>.

- THE conference between *Constantine* and *Amru* producing no good effect, all hopes of an accommodation vanished into smoke; so that the generals on both sides prepared to enter upon action. As there was now no room for pacific measures, the quarrel between the *Christians* and the *Moslems*, the latter of which were undoubtedly the aggressors, was left intirely to the decision of the sword. In the mean time an officer came out of the *Christian* camp, in very rich apparel, who challenged to fight the stoutest man in the *Moslem* army. This challenge was accepted by a young *Arab* officer of *Yaman*, who being animated by a notion derived from the prophet himself, that the spirits of the martyrs should rest in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise, discovered an uncommon eagerness to engage his antagonist. But the *Christian* officer not only killed this youth, but two or three more of the *Moslems*, who had the courage to enter the lists against him. Nay, he would finally have dispatched *Serjabil Ebn Hosanab*, a person so weakened and emaciated by fasting, that he was not able to stand before him, tho’ he could not be diverted from encountering this champion, had not a horseman of the *Greek* army very opportunely interposed, and with one blow of his scymitar cut off the *Christian*’s head. This unexpected deliverance greatly surprizing *Serjabil*, he asked the supposed *Greek* who he was, and from whence he came? Who replied in the following terms: “ I am the unfortunate *Toleiba Ebn Khowailed*, who set up for a prophet; and, lying against God, pretended to inspiration.”
- f “ Brother,” answered *Serjabil*, “ knowest thou not, that God said to our prophet, MY MERCY IS EXTENDED TO EVERY CREATURE THAT DESIRES IT; and that the prophet himself has declared, THAT REPENTANCE TAKES AWAY WHAT WAS DONE BEFORE IT.” To which he added many other considerations, in order to comfort his dejected deliverer. The truth of the matter was; *Toleiba* was afraid of *Kbáled Ebn Al Walid*, who had defeated both him and *Moseilama*, and was the scourge of false prophets. But *Serjabil* introducing him to *Amru*, to whom he gave an account of what had happened, that general engaged to bring about between him and *Kbáled* a reconciliation, and even to procure him, notwithstanding his former defection, a favourable reception at the *Khalif*’s court. Writing, therefore, a recommendatory letter to *Omar*, he acquainted him with the signal proof
- g *Toleiba* had given of his unfeigned repentance, and the sincerity of his conversion. *Toleiba*

<sup>p</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL JAWHAR. in voc. *Agara*. OCKLEY’S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 331. AL BAIHEKI & AL JARRA. apud Ism. Abu’lfed. de vit. Moham. cap. ii. p. 7. Oxon. 1723, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 45, 46.



found the *Khalif* at *Mecca*, where he delivered him the letter, and told him who he was, a expressing at the same time a most hearty sorrow for the enormous crime he had been guilty of. *Omar* no sooner heard his name mentioned, than he made off as fast as he could, saying, “Alas for me! If I forgive thee, how shall I answer to God the murder of *Ocâfab*?” “*Ocâfab*,” answered *Toleiba*, “suffered martyrdom by my hand; which I am very sorry for, and hope that God will forgive me what I have done.” *Omar* then having perused the letter sent him by *Amru*, immediately pardoned him, took him with him to *Medina*, and employed him afterwards in his wars against the *Persians*. When *Khâled* defeated him, he was at the head of the tribe of *Asad*, which had adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of *Ghatfân* and *Tay*. His shattered troops, after the overthrow they had received, were obliged to retire into *Syria*. Here he lived for some time privately with a *Mohammedan*, who entertained him in a very hospitable manner, till the false prophet discovered himself to him. But then being dismissed by his benefactor, he proposed to withdraw into some island, where he might the more easily keep himself concealed. This design the *Christian* army hindered him from carrying into execution, by marching at that very juncture into the part of *Syria* where he had been forced to seek for refuge; so that he found himself obliged to take on in the emperor’s service. Nor was he greatly averse to this, as he flattered himself it would supply him with an opportunity of ingratiating himself again with his countrymen the *Arabs*. After he had been pardoned by *Omar*, he took the oath of fidelity to him, embraced *Mohammedism* in his presence, and, as we are informed by *Al Beidâwi* and *Al Makîn*, being of the tribe of *Asad*, returned to his own country and people.<sup>a</sup>

Youkinna  
takes Tripoli  
from the  
Christians by  
perfidy and  
surprize.

THOUGH the two armies, which lay incamped very near one another, did not come to a general action; yet frequent skirmishes and rencounters happened between their parties and detachments, wherein the *Arabs* always had the advantage; and in some of these the *Greeks* sustained a very considerable loss. This, together with the severity of the season, which was then extremely cold, so dejected the *Greek* soldiery, that they began to desert in great numbers. *Constantine* finding his forces to diminish daily, and the *Arabs* to grow stronger and stronger, he began to be in pain for *Cæsarea*; and therefore, in order to animate the inhabitants by his presence, he resolved to retire into that city. A proper opportunity, therefore, offering itself, he made his escape thither in a tempestuous night, and abandoned d his camp to the *Moslems*. *Amru* considered this as a victory obtained without any effusion of blood, and immediately dispatched a courier to *Abu Obeidab*, with advice of the precipitate retreat, or rather shameful flight, of the *Greeks*, and received express orders from him to march directly to *Cæsarea*, where he promised speedily to join him, in order to form the sieges of *Tripoli*, *Acca*, and *Tyre*. Soon after, *Tripoli* was taken by *Youkinna*, who made himself master of it by perfidy and surprize. He had scarce entered the town, when fifty ships from *Cyprus* and *Crete*, with a supply of arms and provisions for *Constantine*’s troops, entered the port. These he seized, together with a considerable number of officers, who were not apprized that *Tripoli* was possessed by the *Arabs*, on board them; all which he put into the hands of *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who came in a short time after this seizure e happened, with a *Moslem* detachment, to take possession of the town. *Tripoli*, called by the *Arabs* *Tarabolis*, *Tarabolos*, *Trablous*, *Itrabolis*, and *Atrabolos*, is a maritime city of *Phœnicia*, seated on the *Mediterranean*, in the district of *Hems*, and about two days journey to the west of that town. It stands under mount *Libanus*, or *Lebanon*, between the mountain called by the *Italians* the mountain *Della Croce*, and the promontory stiled formerly by the *Greeks* the *Face of God*; from the latter of which it is about a parasang distant. This city derived the name of *Tripolis*, by which it was known amongst the *Greeks*, either from the three parts, or cities, of which it was composed, or from the colonies detached from three cities that built it. The first of these seems to be assigned as the reason of the name by *Diodorus Siculus*, who informs us, that *Tripoli* consisted of three towns, or cities, which were f about a stadium distant from one another; and the latter by *Strabo*. The last author, in support of his opinion, observes, that this city was founded by the *Sidonians*, the *Tyrians*, and the *Aradians*; from which circumstance it may very naturally be supposed to have been denominated *Tripolis*. And these are the very people by whom it is said to have been inhabited by *Diodorus Siculus*; as well as by *Scylax*, *Stephanus* of *Byzantium*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*. It was anciently situated near a plain, and fortified with a wall and several towers. It had likewise a commodious haven, and was plentifully supplied with water by aqueducts and fountains. The present town, according to *Abu’lfeda*, stands about a mile from the spot occupied by the ancient city, which was demolished by the *Moslems* about the year of the *Hejra* 688, when it was taken by *Al Malec Al Mansûr*, the king, or *Soltân*, of *Egypt*. Several g

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 16. AL BEIDAWÎ, in AL KOR. Moham. f. v. See also SALE’s notes on the Kor. c. v. p. 90.



- a trees and sugar-canes have since been planted about the place, which at present extends itself on one side towards the declivity of a hill, having on the right hand a plain covered with mulberry trees, which sustain a vast number of silk worms, very considerable quantities of silk being produced here; and on the left an olive-yard, which supplies the neighbouring parts with abundance of oil. The town itself, which consists of above 2000 houses, is without walls or fortifications; but the area which lies between the port and the city is fortified with six or seven square towers, for the greater security of the place. There is a fine plain before the city, at a small distance from the sea. *Tripoli* is said to stand about 20 German miles from *Damascus* to the north, and a little farther from *Famagusta* to the south; and to have been lately the seat of a *Turkish Sangiâk*. The plain in the neighbourhood of the town, covered with olives, some authors make to be twelve leagues long; and further assure us, that the city is defended by a very strong castle, built upon a rock, at some distance from the town, supposed to have been first erected by the *Franks*. Some modern writers place *Tripoli* in long.  $62^{\circ} 30'$ , and lat.  $34^{\circ} 20'$ ; though the longitude assigned it by *Abu'lfeida* is only  $59^{\circ} 40'$ , and the latitude  $34^{\circ} 00'$ . It abounds with gardens, trees, shrubs, plants, &c. of various kinds. *Yâkût*, an *Arab* author, cited by *Abu'lfeida*, says it was founded by the *Greeks*; but this must be a mistake. Dr. *Pococke*, who seems to have given us a tolerable good description of the present state of *Tripoli*, tells us, that this city is now governed by a *Pasha*, and situated at the entrance of a narrow valley between the hills, and to the east of a low promontory, that extends itself about a mile into the sea, but is not above half a mile broad. He also relates, that the town is about two miles in circumference, and stands low, tho' there are some buildings belonging to it on the side of the hills. A river likewise, according to him, runs through it, which after great rains, overflows, and does much damage to the city. The valley through which this river passes, he says, is extremely delightful. The harbour, which is used at this time, is sheltered by some islands and rocks towards the west. The square towers abovementioned are about a quarter of a mile distant from each other on the north side of the cape, and at present serve to protect the place against corsairs and privateers; tho' at first probably they might have been joined by a wall erected for defence along the shore. On this side, where the wall might have crossed the promontory, is a little town, called the *Marine*, inhabited chiefly by *Greeks*.
- d The custom-house is there, and all goods are landed in small boats from the ships, which lie at a distance. Notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Al Wakedi*, we are assured by *Goliûs*, who, however, does not cite any oriental historian in proof of what he asserts, that *Tripoli*, called by the *Arabs* *Trablous Al Shâm*, and by the *Italians* *Tripoli di Soria*, was taken by *Amru Ebn Al As*, with the *Moslem* forces under his command, after two months siege<sup>r</sup>.

- THE ships *Youkinna* made himself master of in the port of *Tripoli*, enabled him to undertake an expedition against *Tyre*, after the reduction of the former city. Having, therefore, put a body of land-forces on board, he set sail for *Tyre*; and, upon his arrival there, told the citizens, that he had brought with him a supply of arms and provisions for *Constantine's* army; and therefore desired that he might be admitted into the town. This being granted, he landed about 900 of his men, and met with a kind reception from the *Tyrians*; but, being soon discovered by one of his own soldiers, they were all seized, and immediately put under arrest. In the mean time, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân* having not been able to take *Cæsarea*, as has been already observed, left that place to be besieged by *Amru Ebn Al As*, who had a larger body of troops under his command, and advanced with his detachment, which did not amount to above 2000 men, to *Tyre*. At his approach, the governor of the castle ordered *Youkinna* and his men to be carried prisoners thither, and made a vigorous sally upon the *Arabs*. In the heat of the action, which was very sharp, one *Basil*, a *Greek* officer belonging to the garison of the citadel, who had long had a secret inclination to favour the *Moslems*, having been intimately acquainted with *Boheira*, the monk, and with him when he had first an interview with *Mohammed* at *Bosra*, released *Youkinna* and his men; who finding means to inform the other land-forces on board the ships, as well as those commanded by *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, of what had happened, the place was carried by storm. For, as soon as *Youkinna* and his troops found themselves at liberty, they opened the gates, and introduced all their countrymen, whom they had before apprized of what had happened, into the place; so that all the *Moslem* troops now joining in a body, the people and garison found it impossible to make head against them. Some of them, therefore, fled one way, and some another; but the *Arabs* pursuing them very closely, great numbers of them were

Yezid Ebn  
Abu Sofiân  
reduces Tyre.

<sup>r</sup> AL WAKEDI. ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvi. c. 41. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 519. SCYL. in peripl. p. 99. POMFON. MEL. lib. i. cap. 12. PLIN. lib. v. cap. 20. STEPH. BYZANT. in VOC. Ἱππὸν. ISM. ABU'LFED. in gen. hist. & geograph. YAKUT, apud Abu'lfeida. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 282—285. BOHAD. ubi sup. p. 70. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. Pococke's description of the East, vol. ii. par. i. p. 100, 101, 102.



put to the sword. However, *Yezid* at last told them, that tho' by staying till the town was carried by assault, they had forfeited their lives, or at least their liberty, yet if they would become converts to *Islamism*, they should meet with the same treatment as did the *Moslems*. The greatest part of them, therefore, in order to secure their liberty, privileges, and possessions, embraced *Mohammedism*. *Constantine*, receiving advice of the surrender of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, set sail with his family, and the greatest part of his wealth, for *Constantinople*, on board a ship he had prepared for that purpose; so that the war in *Syria* now seemed to be drawing towards a conclusion. The city of *Tyre*, at this time reduced by the *Moslems*, was called by the orientals *Sur*, or *Tzur*, from whence the *Romans* seem to have derived the name *Sarra*, which they sometimes applied to that place; as the word *Sur*, or *Tzur*, the original name, may, with equal propriety, be converted into *Tyr*, or *Tyrus*, and *Sar*, or *Sarra*. It was formerly the principal city of *Phœnicia*, mistress of the sea, and extremely well fortified both by nature and art. It was all, except about a fourth part of it, surrounded by the sea; which rendered it almost inaccessible, especially as the spot joining it to the continent had an exceeding strong citadel erected upon it. *Tyre* sustained a five months siege, in the year of the *Hejra* 518, or of *CHRIST* 1124; when the *Franks*, or *Christians*, starved it to a surrender. From them the *Moslems* took it the year of the *Hejra* 690, or of our *LORD* 1291. After which, it fell to decay, and became at last buried in its own ruins; so that it has, for several ages, been little better than a mere solitude, in exact completion of some of *Ezekiel's* prophecies concerning it. *Tyre* was anciently seated in an island, which remained after the days of *Alexander the Great* connected with the neighbouring continent. It was a town of great antiquity, but not so ancient as *Sidon*; the people of that city having been the founders of it. We find it no-where mentioned in Scripture before the reign of *David*; and that it has never been taken the least notice of by *Homer*, tho' that this celebrated poet mentions both *Sidon* and the *Sidonians*, is observed by *Strabo*. The old city, however, called, after the erection of that which succeeded it, *Palætyrus*, was built on the continent. The *Tyrians*, as well as the *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, in the remoter periods of antiquity, planted colonies in many parts of the then known world, as we learn from a great number of authors, both antient and modern, and particularly from the learned *Bochart*. It had a very commodious harbour mentioned and described by *Sharif Al Edrisi*, an *Arabian* writer cited by the famous *Abu'lfeda*. *Palætyrus* stood within thirty stadia of the new city, and was to the south of it. *Yâkût* determines its latitude to be  $33^{\circ} 40'$ ; but *Abu'lfeda* places it in lat.  $32^{\circ} 40'$ , and long.  $58^{\circ} 35'$ . Some remains of the old haven, which with its wall was formerly surrounded by the walls of the town, as well as those of a most remarkable antient aqueduct, and of certain temples, and other superb edifices, were not long since to be seen. This we learn from *Goliüs*, who had himself been a great traveller in the east, and had undoubtedly visited this place. But for a full and most accurate account of the ruins and remains of the city and aqueduct, or rather aqueducts, of *Tyre*, we must refer our readers to the description given us of them by the learned *Dr. Pococke*, who was himself very lately upon the spot; which is much more curious and particular than any thing relating to the present state of *Tyre*, or, as it is still called by the orientals, *Sur*, that has hitherto, besides it, been communicated to the world<sup>a</sup>.

Amru Ebn  
Al As takes  
Cæsarea.

At the time that *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, by means of *Basil's* and *Youkinna's* treachery, made himself master of *Tyre*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, with the *Arab* forces under his command, was carrying on the siege of *Cæsarea*; which, till the surrender of *Tyre*, and the departure of *Constantine*, continued to make a vigorous defence. But the citizens having received advice of those two fatal events, thought it high time now to shift for themselves, and to procure the best terms they could, both for themselves and their families, of the *Moslem* general. They, therefore, surrendered the city to *Amru*, and paid him down 200,000 *dirhems*; in consideration of which, and an annual tribute imposed upon them, they were secured in the free exercise of their religion, as well as the possession of their properties and effects, and taken under the *Khalif's* protection. As *Constantine*, with his family, and the best part of his wealth, abandoned *Cæsarea*, upon the first news of the loss of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, the inhabitants considered themselves as deserted by him, and therefore delivered into *Amru's* hands all the effects of that prince which he could not carry off with him. Thus

<sup>a</sup> AL WAKED ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. cap. iv. p. 10, 11. AHMED EBN YUSEF, sect. i. p. 39. ABU'L HASAN AL BECRI, AL MASUDI, ABU NAZAR, AL BOKHAR. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. in prodrom. par. i. p. 42. GAGN. not ad h'm. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 10, 11, 12. SALE's notes on the Kor. p. 224. JUSTIN. lib. xviii. cap. 3. CURT. lib. iv. c. 4. STRAB. ubi sup. p. 520. PLIN. lib. v. cap. 19. MEL. lib. i. cap. 12. VIRG. georg. lib. ii. v. 506. SIL. ITAL. lib. xv. v. 205. JUV. sat. x. v. 38. GELL. lib. xiv. cap. 6. SERV. in Virg. ubi sup. JOSEPH. lib. ix. EZEK. xxvi. 14, 21. xxviii. 19. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. c. 40, & alib. BOCHART. in Phal. & Chan. pass. YAKUT. SHARIF AL EDRIÏ, apud Abu'lfed. in geogr. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 130, 131. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. BOHAD. ubi sup. p. 72, 75, 76, 224, &c. POC. ubi sup. chap. xx. p. 80—84.



- a was *Cæsarea* taken by the *Arabs*, towards the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth, year of the *Hejra*, and the fifth of the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; which answered to the year of our LORD 633, or 639. and the twenty-ninth of *Heraclius's* reign. *Cæsarea* was called at first the *Tower of Strato*; but *Herod*, after he had repaired, beautified, and enlarged it, gave it the name, in honour of *Augustus*, of *Cæsarea*. It is about twelve parasangs S. W. of *Acca*; and was taken from the *Franks*, or *Christians*, by the *Moslems*, in the year of the *Hejra* 663. *Al Azizi* makes it to be thirty-two miles distant from *Ramla*, and is herein followed by *Abu'lfeda*. *Tâkût* affirms it to have been antiently a very considerable place, but tells us it lay waste in his days. *Strato*, from whom *Cæsarea* received its first name, was a *Greek*, and the founder of it. We are told by *Dr. Pococke*, who gives us an accurate account of the present state of it, that *Cæsarea* is sixty-two miles distant from *Jerusalem*, thirty from *Joppa*, and thirty-six from *Acre*, or *Acca*. This city was named *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*, to distinguish it from *Cæsarea Philippi*, or *Paneas*, which stood near the source of the river *Jordan*. It was made a *Roman* colony by *Vespasian*, and denominated the first *Flavian* colony from him and his family. The antient city extended further to the north than the present walls, as appears from a wall on the shore running about half a mile to the north, near some aqueducts. We find a particular description of the extraordinary port made here by *Herod*, in *Josephus*, the *Jewish* historian. There was another *Cæsarea*, besides those above-mentioned, which was a city of *Cilicia*, and not far from *Anazarbus*. *Al Biruni* places *Cæsarea* of *Palestine* in long.  $55^{\circ} 20'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 50'$ . *Al Faras* in long.  $57^{\circ} 30'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 30'$ . *Ptolomy* in long.  $57^{\circ} 30'$ , lat.  $33^{\circ} 15'$ ; and *Kiyâs* in long.  $56^{\circ} 15'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 40'$ .

THE surrender of *Cæsarea*, which immediately followed the reduction of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, struck the remaining imperial garisons of *Syria* with such terror, that *Ramla*, *Acca*, *Joppa*, *Joppe*, *Jafa*, or *Jaffa*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Sichem*, *Nabulos*, or *Naplosa*, and *Tiberias*, *Taberria*, or *Tabariyah*, opened their gates to the *Arabs*, upon the first summons; and soon after, *Beirût*, *Bayreut*, or *Berytus*, *Saida*, *Seida*, or *Sidon*, *Jabalab*, and *Ladikia*, *Latikia*, or *Laodicea*, followed their example. As the knowledge of the situation of these towns, most of which were places of great note and antiquity, will give us a better idea of the theatre of this war, and render more intelligible that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon; the following short description of them, however it may for a moment interrupt the thread of our historical narration, cannot prove unacceptable to our learned and curious readers<sup>u</sup>.

- RAMLA, or *Rama*, the first of the aforesaid fortresses, is situated in a fertile plain, about *Ramla*, a day's journey distant from *Jerusalem*, and half a day's from *Joppa*. This place, according to the *Arab* annals, was not of very high antiquity; it having been built by *Solimân*, the son of *Abd'allah*, the fourteenth *Khalif*, of the house of *Ommiyah*. *Lydda*, about three parasangs to the east of *Ramla*, a more ancient city, was demolished by the said *Solimân*, the son of *Abd'almalec Ebn Merwân*, after he had founded *Ramla*. But whatever may have been advanced to the contrary by some of the *Moslem* writers, who have been followed herein by *Schultens* and *Golius*, *Rama*, or *Ramla*, must have been not only a considerable town, but even a fortress, before the time of the *Khalif Solimân*, of the family of *Ommiyah*; since it was one of those fortified places of *Syria*, or *Palestine*, that surrendered to the forces of *Omar* near eighty years before the *Khalif Abd'almalec* entered upon his reign. Nor is there any room to doubt, but the *Ramla* mentioned here by *Al Wakedi* is the antient *Rama* belonging to the tribe of *Ephraim*, called by the *Arabs* at this day *Rameli*, seated in a rich plain, and supposed to be the *Arimathea* of *Joseph*, according to the learned *Dr. Pococke*. There were formerly two *Christian* churches in this place, which were afterwards converted into mosques. In one of these it is said, that some of the bodies of the martyrs of *Sebastè* in *Armenia* were deposited. There are great ruins of houses in this town; so that it seems to have been formerly a much more considerable place than it is at present. And, indeed, this is sufficiently implied by what we find related of it by *Abu'lfeda*. That author, amongst other things, which he takes from *Al Azizi*, relates, that *Abd'almalec* himself had a palace in *Ramla*; which is a sufficient proof that his son *Solimân* did not found this city; tho' that had been just before absurdly asserted, at least if we admit of no corruption of the text there, by the same author. *Al Faras* assigns *Ramla* long.  $56^{\circ} 50'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 10'$ . *Kiyâs*, long.  $56^{\circ} 20'$ . *Al Biruni*, long.  $56^{\circ} 20'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 40'$ .

ACCA

<sup>u</sup> AL WAKED. ubi sup. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 522. PTOL. in Palest. lib. i. cap. 16. TACIT. histor. lib. ii. c. 79. PIIN. lib. v. c. 13. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 296, 297. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 282. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 426, 427. JOSEPH. antiq. lib. xv. AL AZIZ. apud Abu'lfed. in geograph. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. YAKUT, apud Abu'lfed. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 136. POCOKE's descript. of the East, vol. ii. par. i. p. 58, 59, 60. AL BIRUNI, AL FARAS, & KIYAS, apud Abu'lfed ubi sup.

<sup>w</sup> AL WAKED. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup.

YAKUT, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABU'LFED.



Acca.

ACCA, or, as 'tis now called, especially by the *Franks*, *Acre*, stands in a very large and a fertile plain, bounded on the north, at about twelve miles distant, by the mountains anciently called *Antilibanus*, or *Antilebanon*, and to the east by the fine and fruitful hills of *Galilee*, about ten miles from this city. The antient name of this place was *Ace*, or *Accho*. It was one of the towns out of which *Affer* did not drive the antient inhabitants, and seems always to have retained this name among the natives of the country; the *Arabs* still calling it *Acca*, or *Akka*. The *Greeks* gave it the name of *Ptolemais*, from one of the *Ptolemies*, kings of *Egypt*. And when it was in the possession of the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, it was called *St. John D'Acre*. The present town seems to be on the spot occupied by the old city, being at the S. W. corner, and is washed by the sea on the S. and W. sides. It has a small bay to the E. which seems to have been the antient port, and a very considerable one b in the days of *Sbarif Al Edrisi*, when it insinuated itself into the middle of the city, and had two towers erected upon it. There are great remains of the old port, within which small ships come to anchor in the summer, and take in their loading. The present town is near a mile in circumference, and has no walls. *Abu'lfeda* makes it to be twenty-four miles from *Tiberias*, and half that number from *Tyre*. *Said* assigns its long.  $53^{\circ} 8'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 20'$ . *Al Biruni* long.  $53^{\circ} 20'$ . *Al Faras* long.  $53^{\circ} 15'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 30'$ . *Ptolemy* long.  $56^{\circ} 25'$ , lat.  $33^{\circ} 20'$ ; and *Kiyas*, long.  $54^{\circ} 30'$ , lat.  $33^{\circ} 00'$  x.

Joppa.

JOPPA, at present denominated by the natives *Jaffa*, or *Jafa*, and in the Holy Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, *Japbo*, or *Jaso*, stands six miles to the W. of *Ramla*, in the champaign country of *Sidon*, which extended from this place northward as far as *Cæsarea*. c It is situated on the side of a low hill over the sea. There seems to have been an antient port, which formerly might have contained large vessels; but now large boats only can go into it. The ships ride in the open road, and are often obliged to go to sea in stormy weather. The people of *Joppa* have a great trade in soap, and also export large quantities of cotton in small boats to *Acre*, to be shipped off for other parts. They have a constant supply of good water, by digging wells close to the sea-shore. The town belongs to the *Kisler Aga*, or head of the *Grand Seigneur's* black eunuchs, who sends a governor to this place, that resides in a small castle at the S. end of the town, and has a soldiery under him. *Richard I.* king of *England*, with a small body of troops, forced *Saladin* to raise the siege of the citadel of *Joppa*, after he had made himself master of the town, and even obliged d that conqueror to cede them both to him by treaty; which heroic actions, to our very great surprize, have not been taken notice of by any of the *Christian* writers. The longitude of *Joppa*, or *Jaffa*, has been determined by *Al Faras* to be  $56^{\circ} 40'$ , by *Al Biruni*  $56^{\circ} 20'$ , and by *Kiyas*  $56^{\circ} 00'$ . Its latitude is settled by the first of these at  $32^{\circ} 20'$ , by the second at  $33^{\circ} 8'$ , and by the last at  $32^{\circ} 40'$ . *Joppa* was not a town of any great note in *Abu'lfeda's* days; but it made a very good figure in the time of *Saladin*, and is mentioned as a fortress of considerable strength by *Bobadin*, in his life of that prince y.

Ascalon.

ASCALON was a maritime town of *Palestine*, about eighteen miles from *Ramla*, and in antient times one of the strongest places of *Syria*. It was a town of great antiquity, three parasangs from *Gaza*, and enjoyed for a certain period a very extensive commerce. It e was taken by the *Franks* in the year of the *Hejra* 548; but retaken by *Saladin* thirty-five years after, who dismantled it in the year of the *Hejra* 587. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that, in his days, it was little better than a heap of ruins. *Al Faras* makes its longitude to have been  $56^{\circ} 30'$ , and lat.  $32^{\circ} 55'$ ; but, according to *Kiyas*, the former was  $56^{\circ} 10'$ , and the latter  $32^{\circ} 10'$  z.

Gaza.

GAZA was one of the last towns of *Palestine*, on the side of *Egypt*, and about three parasangs S. of *Ascalon*. The *Arabs*, in their pronounciation of this word, double the middle letter, calling it *Gazza*; as did likewise the *Hebrews* themselves, according to *Goliis*. But this must not be understood of the earlier *Hebrews*, notwithstanding the great authority of *Goliis*, as very clearly appears from the *Septuagint*. The word *Gaza*, signifies strong, or f powerful, and might possibly allude to the strength of the fortress, as it was one of the stron-

ABU'LFED. *ibid.* AL AZIZ. *ibid.* BOHAD. *ubi sup.* AL MAKIN, *hist. Saracen.* lib. i. c. 14. p. 73—75. AL WAKED. *ubi sup.* POCOCK. *ubi sup.* p. 3, 4. JOSEPH. *antiq. Jud.* lib. viii. c. 6. CHRIST. CELLAR. *geogr. antiq.* lib. iii. c. 13. GOLII *not. ad Alfragan.* p. 140, 141. ALB. SCHULT. *ubi sup.* AL FARAS, AL BIRUNI, & KIYAS, *apud Abu'lfed.* *ubi sup.* \* STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 521. JUD. i. 31. PLIN. lib. v. c. 19. DIOD. SIC. lib. xix. cap. 93. SHARIF AL EDRISI, & AL AZIZ. *apud Abu'lfed.* in *descript. Syr.* ut et ipse ABU'LFED. *ibid.* GOLII *not. ad Alfragan.* p. 131—133. POC. *ubi sup.* p. 51—54. SAID, AL BIRUNI, & AL FARAS, *apud Abu'lfed.* *ubi sup.* PTOL. in *Syr.* ALB. SCHULT. *ubi sup.* y 2 CHRON. ii. 16. EZR. iii. 7. JOH. i. 3. POC. *ubi sup.* p. 2, 3. ISM. ABU'LFED. *ubi sup.* BOHAD. in *vit. & reb. gest. Salad. pass.* AL FARAS, AL BIRUNI, KIYAS, *apud Abu'lfed.* *ubi sup.* STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 52, JOSEPH. *de bell. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 29. POMPON. MEL. lib. i. c. 11. PLIN. lib. v. c. 13. Vide etiam CON. *apud Photium*, *cod. clxxxvi.* SALMAS. in *Solin.* cap. xxxiv. et ALB. SCHULT. *ubi sup.* z STRAB. *ubi sup.* PTOL. PLIN. lib. v. c. 13. JOSEPH. *de bell. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 1. PAUSAN. in *Artic.* c. 14. ABU'LFED. *ubi sup.* BOHAD. *ubi sup.* *pass.* AL FARAS & KIYAS, *apud Abu'lfed.* *ubi sup.* GOLII *not. ad Alfragan.* p. 141. ALB. SCHULT. *ubi sup.*



- a tiers of the *Philistines* on the side of *Egypt*. Be that as it will, we can by no means allow, that it derived the name of *Gaza* from the treasure of *Cambyses* deposited there; the word *Gaza*, in antient *Perfic*, signifying a *treasure*, as is affirmed by *Mela*, and, after him, insinuated by *Goli*; since it was called *Gaza* in the time of *Samson*, who lived many ages before *Cambyses* was born. It was taken by *Alexander the Great*, who was obliged to sap its walls, before he could make himself master of it; which is a plain proof of the strength of the place, and, therefore, not a little countenances what has been here advanced concerning the origin of the name. After this, it lay waste till *Constantine the Great* rebuilt it. *Omar Ebn Al Kbattáb*, the present *Kbalif*, was taken prisoner in a war between the people of *Gaza* and the *Arabs* of *Hejá*, that happened before the commencement of *Mohammedijm*.
- b The famous *Mohammed Ebn Edris Al Sháfí*, author of one of the most noted orthodox sects of the *Mohammedans*, was born here, if not, as some say, at *Ascalon*, in the year of the *Hejra* 150. *Gaza* was taken from the *Franks* by the *Egyptian Moslems*, in the year of the *Hejra* 552, and afterwards dismantled by *Saladin*. Some time after which, the *Franks* restored the fortifications; but were finally obliged to demolish them by treaty. We must not forget to observe, that both *Ascalon* and *Gaza* belonged, in the earliest ages, to the *Philistines*. *Al Faras* assigns to *Gaza* long.  $56^{\circ} 10'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 00'$ ; but *Ebn Said*, long.  $57^{\circ} 00'$ , lat.  $32^{\circ} 00'$ . *Reland* has committed a small error in the numbers he has transcribed from *Abu'lfeda*, who prefers those of *Al Faras*, relating to the longitude and latitude of *Gaza*, to the other. This place, as appears from the relations of the most authentic modern
- c travellers, is at present quite obscure<sup>2</sup>.

*SAIDA*, *Seida*, or *Tzaida*, called by the *Hebrews* *Sidon*, or rather *Tzidon*, and by the *Saida*. *Greek* and *Roman* writers *Sidon*, was a most celebrated city and sea-port of *Phœnicia*, about three days journey S. of *Tripoli*. It was the boundary of *Judæa*, or rather *Palestine*, on that side, and one of the most antient cities in the world, being supposed to have derived its name from *Sidon*, or *Tzidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*. Before it was taken by the *Persians*, it was looked upon to be the largest city of *Phœnicia*, according to *Mela*. The *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* makes it to be twenty-four miles distant from *Tyre*; which pretty nearly corresponds, or rather is the same, with the 200 stadia, or furlongs, assigned for the distance between those two cities by *Strabo*. And this is likewise apparent from the present distance

d between the remains of those two cities. For, *Tyre* is about six hours journey from *Serphant*, or *Sarphenda*, the antient *Sarepta*, which is two hours from *Sidon*, to the district of which city it formerly belonged. But, according to *Dr. Pococke*, the distance between *Tyre* and *Sidon* is not quite so large as it has been defined by the antients. The plain of *Sidon* is not above two miles wide; whereas that of *Tyre* is four or five miles broad. To the E. of the former there are some fine fruitful hills. *Sidon* was in the territory belonging to the tribe of *Asher*, or *Asher*, but the *Israelites* could not drive out the antient inhabitants of it. It always underwent much the same fate as *Tyre*, is said to have produced the inventors of arithmetic and astronomy, and was in remote times a place of very great trade. It was likewise famous for a manufacture of glass, as we learn from *Pliny*. *Dr. Pococke* tells us, that

e it is computed to be 66 miles W. S. W. of *Damascus*, and a day's journey from the source of the river *Jordan*. It was situated on a rising ground, defended by the sea on the N. and W. The present city is mostly on the N. side of the hill; tho' the old one seems to have extended farther E. as may be judged from the foundations of a thick wall that extends from the sea to the E. On the S. it was probably bounded by a rivulet, and on the N. by another, both of which are now to be seen. Some think, that the antient city stretched to the E. as far as a high hill that is about three quarters of a mile from the present town. The space between that hill and the town is now all laid out in gardens, or orchards, which appear very beautiful at a distance. On the N. side of the town there are great ruins of a fine port, the walls of which were built with very large stones, twelve feet in length, which

f is the thickness of the wall, and some are eleven feet broad, and five deep. The harbour, which is now choaked up, seems to be the inner port mentioned by *Strabo*, for the winter; the outer one probably being to the N. in the open sea between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, where the shipping ride in safety during the summer-season. *Sidon* is at present the residence of a *Pasha*, and there are in it a great number of new-built houses. The trade here is carried on intirely by the *French*, the export being chiefly raw silk, cotton, and corn. The distance between *Sidon* and *Damascus* is computed in the following manner. From *Sidon* to *Mashgara* 24 miles, from *Mashgara* to *Kamad* six miles, from *Kamad* to *Ain Sher* 18 miles, and from *Ain Sher*, to *Damascus* 18 miles; the sum of which is 66 miles. Though it appears from

<sup>2</sup> JOSH. xv. 47. JUD. i. 18. POMPON. MEL. lib. i. c. 11. GEN. x. 19. STRAB. lib. xvi. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 150. POLYE. in excerptis Valesii, p. 86. JOSEPH. lib. 13. c. 21. STEPH. BYZANT. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. BOHAD. ubi sup. pass. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 142. HADR. RELAND. Palæst. illustr. p. 510, 511. EBN KHALECAN, AL FARAS, & EBN SAID, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup.



*Moses*, that *Sidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*, was probably the founder of *Sidon*, as many of the most ancient cities derived their names from their founders; yet some thought it might have been denominated *Sidon* from the great plenty of fish found by the *Phœnicians* there. But as the former opinion seems more agreeable to the sentiments of the sacred historian, and is supported also by *Josephus*, we are inclined to adhere to it. One of the oriental writers makes *Sidon* to be six parasangs distant from *Tyre*; which, as a parasang consists of 30 stades, or furlongs, falls something short of the distance between those two cities, as defined by *Strabo*. The longitude of *Sidon*, or *Tzaida*, as ascertained by *Al Faras*, is  $58^{\circ} 15'$ , and its latitude  $33^{\circ} 8'$ ; but, according to the determination of *Al Biruni*, the former is  $59^{\circ} 20'$ , and the latter  $33^{\circ} 55'$ <sup>a</sup>.

Nabolos.

NABOLOS, or *Naplosa*, supposed by some to have been the ancient *Sichem*, or *Sechem*, so famous in holy writ; by others, to have been erected near the ruins of that place; was seated on the foot of mount *Girizim*, about thirteen parasangs from *Jerusalem*. The word *Nabolos*, or *Naplosa*, is a corruption of *Neapolis*; by which name, as well as that of *Flavia Neapolis*, it went in the time of *Pliny*. The cognomen *Flavia* points out nearly the time when, and the person in honour of whom, the city of *Sichem* received the name of *Neapolis*; that is, either in the reign of *Vespasian*, or his son *Titus*, and in honour of one of those princes, who were of the *Flavian* family. This city has been, for many ages, as it probably is still, the chief seat of the *Samaritans*, who admit only for canonical the *Pentateuch*, or five books of *Moses*, and were lately reduced to a very small number. *Al Faras* asserts the longitude of *Nabolos*, in his time, to have been settled at  $57^{\circ} 35'$ , and its latitude at  $32^{\circ} 10'$ ; but *Kiyas* fixes the former at  $56^{\circ} 25'$ , and the latter at  $32^{\circ} 8'$ <sup>b</sup>.

Tiberias.

THE TOWN of *Tiberias*, or *Tabariyah*, was situate on the sea, or lake, of that name, at the N. end of a narrow plain, which runs along by that sea, and extends farther south by the river *Jordan*, being about half a mile broad. The town at present has indifferent walls on three sides, on the fourth is open to the lake, and seems to be about three quarters of a mile in circumference. There are the remains of a very large castle here; and the *Sheikh*, by whom this town, or rather village, is governed, has built one on a hill to the N. of it. Some think, that the town of *Kenereth* stood on the spot that was afterwards occupied by *Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius*, and said by *Josephus* to have been founded by *Herod*; though others maintain that it was built by *Tiberius* himself. But *Reland* takes this to be a mistake. After the destruction of *Jerusalem*, the *Jewish* rabbins settled here, and remained in the place till after the beginning of the tenth century. The province in which *Tiberias* stands was called by *Josephus* *Auranitis*, as has been already observed. The lake, or sea, of *Tiberias*, which, according to *Abu'lfeda*, is about twelve miles long, and six broad, empties itself into the *Jordan*, and is about 75 miles N. of the *Dead Sea*. The water of this lake is good, and it abounds with fish. There are hot baths a quarter of a mile S. of the walls of old *Tiberias*, which extended about half a mile farther to the S. than the present inclosure, that have been taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Josephus*, *Al Azizi*, *Abu'lfeda*, and others of the oriental writers. We must not omit observing, that Dr. *Pococke* asserts the *Jewish* rabbins to have lived at *Tiberias* till the eleventh century; and yet in the same breath affirms the *Jews* to have left that place before the year of our LORD 945. So that, in this point, he seems not perfectly consistent with himself. The citadel of this place surrendered to *Saladin*, after the fatal battle that put a period to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. After which, it was recovered by the *Franks*; but finally taken from them by *Ayub*, in the year of the *Hejra* 642. *Tiberias*, *Taberria*, *Taberya*, or *Tabariah*, according to *Al Faras*, is in long.  $58^{\circ} 15'$ , and lat.  $30^{\circ} 31'$ ; but according to *Ebn Said*, in long.  $56^{\circ} 35'$ , and lat.  $32^{\circ} 10'$ <sup>c</sup>.

Beirût.

THE city of *Beirût*, *Bayreut*, or *Bayrût* the ancient *Berytus*, was about a day's journey N of *Tzaida*, or *Sidon*. It was made a colony by *Augustus*, who denominated it from his daughter *Colonia Felix Julia*. It is at present situated over the sea, on a gentle rising ground, on the N. side of a board promontory. The gardens appear very beautiful on the hanging ground<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> JOSEPH. antiq. lib. i. c. 7. JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 3. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvi. cap. 41. POMPON. MEL. lib. i. cap. 12. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 756, 757, 758. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. v. c. 19. GEN. x. 15. xii. 13. JOSH. xi. 8. xix. 28. JUD. i. 31. POLYB. lib. v. c. 69. VIRG. ÆN. i. v. 619. ÆN. iv. v. 75, 683, &c. DIONYS. Perieg. v. 913. HIERON. in onomast. AL AZIZ, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. BOHAD. ubi sup. GOLII not. Alfragan. p. 287, 288, 289. AL FARAS, & AL BIRUNI, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. Poc. ubi sup. p. 85, 86, 87. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> GEN. xii. 6. xxxvii. 12. JOSH. xxiv. 1. 33. JUD. viii. 31. ix. 1, 7, 45. 1 KING. xii. 25. JOH. iv. 5. JOSEPH. antiq. lib. iv. c. 8. PROCOPIUS. de ed. lib. v. c. 7. PLIN. lib. v. c. 13. AL AZIZ, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut et ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. BOHAD. ubi sup. CHRIST. CELLAR. in hist. Samaritan. collectan. cap. i. sect. 15, 16, &c. AL FARAS & KIYAS, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> JOSEPH. ubi sup. lib. xviii. c. 3, & alib. JOH. vi. 23, xxi. 1. PLIN. lib. v. c. 15. STEPH. BYZANT de urbib. Hieronym. in Ezech. cap. xlviii. 21. TALMUD, cod. Megill. fol. v. col. 2. PTOL. geogr. lib. v. c. 16. AL AZIZ, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 133, 134. EZEK. xlvii. BOHAD. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. Poc. ubi sup. p. 68—71. AL FARAS & EBN SAID, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup.



- a over it. The old port is a little bay, and was formerly well secured by strong piers, which were destroyed by *Feckerdine*, prince of the *Druses*, who had possession of this city. To the E. of the port is a castle built on two rocks in the sea, with a bridge to it. E. of this, over the sea-cliffs, is another castle; and to the E. of that are remains of a very large one, defended with a fossé, where Dr. *Pococke* saw some broken pillars. About a furlong to the E. of this place, he came to the old city walls on that side. The town, according to him, may be about two miles in circumference. At a small distance to the W. is a little bay, which opens to the N. where he saw some signs of ruins, but could not judge what they were. *Beirût* is under the influence of the *Maronites* and *Druses*, as many other places are under the *Arabs*, and the inhabitants of *Lebanon*, or *Antilebanon*, dare not go to any other town. It was taken from the *Moslems* by *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, after a vigorous siege, in the year of our LORD 1111; but retaken by *Saladin* in 1187. *Ebn Said* calls it the port of *Damascus*. According to *Al Azizi*, it was 18 miles from *Giobeila*, or *Sjceila*, 24 of *Argimousum*, and 36 of *Baalbec*. We are told by the very learned and curious Dr. *Shaw*, that upon the *Castravan* mountains, above *Bayrût*, there is a curious bed of whitish stone, of the slate kind, which unfolds in every fleak of it, a great number and variety of petrified fishes. These, for the most part, according to that ingenious naturalist, lie exceeding flat and compressed, like fossil fern plants, yet are, at the same time, so well preserved, that the smallest strokes and lineaments of their fins, scales, and other specifical distinctions, are easily discovered. For a very considerable period, *Beirût* was a most eminent seat of literature. It is placed by *Abu'lfeda* in long.  $59^{\circ} 30'$ , and lat.  $34^{\circ} 00'$ <sup>d</sup>.

- JABALAH, *Jibla*, *Jablab*, *Jibala*, or *Jabala*, for it went by all those names, was formerly *Jabalab*, a pretty celebrated maritime town of *Syria*. *Al Azizi* tells us, that in his days, it was but a small town, but that it had a territory annexed to it of a very considerable extent. It was, according to the same author, about twelve miles from *Laodicea*; and is mentioned, as in the vicinity of that city, by the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. It was taken, after a short siege, by *Salâdin*. *Bobadin*, says, that it had two strong towers, which resembled citadels; and *Ismael Abu'lfeda* gives us a tolerable good description of it. Dr. *Pococke* calls it *Jebilee*, which probably is the name it goes by amongst the natives and the neighbouring *Arabs*. It is governed by an *Aga*, who resides in the place, and undoubtedly answers to the *Gabale*, or *Gabala*, of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. This was anciently a small city, and is at present a poor miserable town, thinly inhabited. There are still some traces of the ancient walls. It was once a considerable sea-port, but has not now above four or five boats, and is intirely destitute of trade. The chief remains of antiquity here are several sepulchral grotts cut in the cliffs on the sea-shore. The town is supplied with water by a channel on the ground, which winds round to the N. and seems to come from the river of *Jebilee*, half a league S. of the town. The mosque here is famous among the *Turks* for being the place where the body of *Sultan Ibrahim* is deposited. Dr. *Pococke* is undoubtedly mistaken in his conjecture relating to that *Sultan*, when he supposes him to have been *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid* he should have said, the sixteenth *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*. Nor is there the least foundation in history for such a conjecture. On the contrary, had he consulted *Abu'lfeda*, he would have found, that this *Ibrahim* was the son of one *Adham*, who bore no manner of relation to that *Khalif*. As greatly is this learned author mistaken, when he asserts *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid* to have been the sixteenth *Khalif* of the family of *Ommiyah*; since both M. *D'Herbelot*, the very author he cites in support of his assertion, and *Al Makin*, expressly declare, that he was the thirteenth *Khalif* of that family. The longitude assigned this place by *Abu'lfeda* is  $60^{\circ} 20'$ , and the latitude  $35^{\circ} 55'$ <sup>e</sup>.

- LAODICEA, *Ladikia*, or *Latikia*, called also *Laodicea ad mare* by the ancients, in order to *Laodicea*. distinguish it from other cities of the same name, was built by *Seleucus I.* king of *Syria*, who founded also *Antioch*, *Selucia*, and *Apamea*, as has been already remarked. It is situated on the sea, and the plain in which it stands is exceedingly fruitful, as it also was in the earliest times. The country about it was famous for wine, with which it supplied the inhabitants of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; the hills to the E. having been well cultivated with vineyards. To the S. of the present town there are some low hills, on the top of which the ancient city-walls were probably erected. It had a very commodious haven. Towards the S. E. corner of the town there is a remarkable triumphal arch, which is still almost intire. It is conjectured that this arch was raised in honour of *Lucius Verus*, or *Septimius Severus*. The present town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and has many gardens inclosed within the walls. It is but very lately that an *English* consul has been established here; this port being formerly

<sup>d</sup> STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 520. PLIN. lib. v. c. 20. EBN SAID & AL AZIZ. apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 289. BOHAD. ubi sup. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. Poc. ubi sup. p. 90, 91. SHAW's physical observat. &c. in Syria, Phœnice, &c. p. 372. <sup>e</sup> AL AZIZ. apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. BOHAD. ubi sup. ANTONIN. itinerar. Poc. ubi sup. p. 198, 199. PLIN. PTOL. STRAB. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 480. AL MAKIN, hist. Sarac. lib. i. cap. xx. p. 87, 88.

dependent



dependent on *Aleppo*. It abounded with cisterns, and had a monastery, that was looked upon as an elegant structure, in the days of *Abu'lfeda*. *Al Azizi* says it was a splendid city, when he wrote, and situated in the prefecture of *Hems*. He also relates, that it was 12 miles distant from *Jabalab*, and 48 from *Antisch*. To which he adds, that, both with respect to the number of its inhabitants, and the strength of its fortifications, it was one of the most considerable maritime cities of *Syria*. Its citadel has been taken notice of both by *Abu'lfeda* and *Yacut*, and seems to be, according to *Goli*, the *Platanus* of *Antoninus*. We meet with a short and slight description of it in *Bohadin's* life of *Saladin*. *Abu'lfeda* asserts its longitude to be  $60^{\circ} 40'$ , and its latitude  $35^{\circ} 15'$ .

The Arabs  
complete the  
conquest of  
Syria.

AFTER the *Arabs* had possessed themselves of these towns, which are the only places of strength the emperor had left in *Syria*, all the other fortified posts of lesser note of course submitted to them. So that the *Khalif* was now master of the whole country of *Syria*; his forces having driven the *Greeks* out of every part of the tract extending from the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates*; which comprehended all the provinces of that wealthy and populous region denominated *Syria* by the ancients. Nay, we are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, that, two years before the reduction of the fortresses last-mentioned, that is, in the 27th year of the emperor *Heraclius*, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sefiân* advanced with a body of *Arab* troops to the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*, and had actually made an irruption into the province of *Osroëne*, had not *John Cateas*, the imperial procurator of that province, prevailed upon him not to pass the *Euphrates*, by submitting to pay a very large annual tribute, amounting to 100,000 pieces of gold, or *dinârs*, that was imposed upon him. The same author adds, that, in consequence of this treaty, the imperial procurator paid the money when it became due, by way of tribute, exacted of him, and then returned to *Edeffa*, a city near mount *Taurus*, on the *Mesopotamian* bank of the *Euphrates*, where at that time he resided. However, *Theophanes* likewise observes, that as soon as the emperor was informed of the ignominious treaty concluded with *Yezid*, (for this, it seems, was kept a secret as long as it could possibly be concealed from him) he sent *Cateas* into exile, and disannulled all his clandestine negotiations. That writer calls *Yezid* *Jasrus*, and *Cedrenus* denominates him *Jadus*; tho' neither of them take the least notice of *Amru Ebn Al As*. *Cedrenus* gives the prefect above-mentioned, who was banished by *Heraclius*, the name, or rather surname, of *Catzas*. We are told by *Theophanes*, that *Cateas* came to *Chalcedon*, ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΗΔΟΝΑ, in order to have an interview with *Yezid* there, and settle with him the articles of the aforesaid treaty. But the text of *Theophanes* must undoubtedly have been corrupted here, and that even before the time of *Cedrenus*, who has copied the depravation; since *Chalcedon* was a city of *Bithynia*, seated on the *Bosphorus*, at an immense distance from *Mesopotamia*, and a place that *Yezid* never saw. In the room of ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΗΔΟΝΑ, therefore, we must substitute either ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΑ, or ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΤΒΟΝΑ; *Chalcis* being the capital of *Chalcidene*, a province of *Syria*, at no great distance from the *Euphrates*, that separated *Syria* from *Mesopotamia*, and *Chalybon*, the principal city of *Chalybonitis*, another province of *Syria*, terminated by that river. But the first of these two readings, in our opinion, is preferable to the latter; since *Chalcis* was a city of much greater note than *Chalybon*, and mentioned by some of the *Arab* historians, who have wrote the life of *Omar*; whereas *Chalybon* has been passed over in silence by every one of them. The *Moslems* completed the conquest of *Syria*, in six years; that term elapsing between the first expedition against *Syria*, which was undertaken in *Abu Becr's* reign, and the final expulsion of the *Greeks* out of that region by *Omar*, in the 18th year of the *Hejra*.

A great mortality  
in Syria  
and Arabia.

THERE happened this very year such violent storms of hail in the peninsula of the *Arabs*, that a considerable extent of territory was laid waste by them, and a great number of animals of various kinds destroyed. An epidemical distemper likewise raged at *Medina*, which spread itself over all the adjacent territory, and swept away abundance of people. *Omar* himself and *Abbâs* were visited by the common calamity; but, by the application of proper remedies, they recovered. Nor did *Syria* escape the fatal effects of such a terrible malady, the plague this very year making dreadful ravages in that county. The *Moslems* there lost 25,000 men, who were carried off by the pestilence; and amongst them *Abu Obeidab* himself, who was about 58 years old, *Serjabil Ebn Hasanab*, who had been *Mohammed's* secretary, *Maad Ebn Hamil*, *Al Fadl Ebn Al Abbâs*, an *Arab* commander, who had been sent by *Abu Obeidab* to plunder *Manbij*, *Yezid Ebn Abu Sefiân*, and other persons of distinction. In fine, the mortality occasioned by the plague, both in *Arabia* and *Syria*, was so frightful, that

<sup>f</sup> STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 751, 752. CIC. epist. lib. xii. ep. 14. VAILL. Seleucidar. imper. p. 262. DIONYS perieg. v. 915. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xiv. c. 8. edit. Vales. AL AZIZ. apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 298, 299. Poc. ubi sup. p. 196, 197, 198. YACUT, ANTONIN. itinerar. SHARIF AL EDRISI, BOHAD. ubi sup. p. 81. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. & AL WAKED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 282. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429. PLIN. STRAB. TACIT. JOSEPH. PTOL. STEPH. BYZANT. &c. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, ABU'L FAR. &c.



- a the *Arabs* stiled the 18th year of the *Hejra*, notwithstanding the beginning of it had proved so favourable to them, *the year of destruction*. As for *Khâled Ebn Al Walîd*, he survived *Abu Obeidah* only three years. Some of the *Arab* writers say, that *Hems* was the place both of his death and interment, others *Medina*; so that in this point the *Moslem* historians are not agreed <sup>h</sup>.

- AMRU EBN AL AS having executed the *Khalîf's* orders in *Syria*, and settled every thing there to the satisfaction of the *Arabian* pontiff, began his march for *Egypt*, at the head of the forces assigned him for the invasion of that country. In the mean time, *Amru* having had some ill offices done him at court by *Othmân Ebn Affân*, as was supposed, the *Khalîf* dispatched a courier to him with a letter couched in the following terms: "If this letter reaches you before you enter *Egypt*, return; if not, continue your march, and the blessing of God attend you. The supplies you may at any time stand in need of shall be sent you with all possible expedition." The courier overtook *Amru* before his troops were out of *Syria*, tho' they were all then in motion for *Egypt*, and delivered him the *Khalîf's* letter. But he either suspecting, or having received some secret intelligence of what had happened, ordered him to follow the army till he should be at leisure to read it; and then, by forced marches, he advanced from *Rafakh*, where the courier found him, to a village not far from *Arish*, a place within the territories of *Egypt*, where he ordered his army to halt. Here he opened the letter before the messenger, and all the officers assembled in his tent, with the same gravity and formality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the contents. Having read it in the presence of them all, he asked whether they were in *Syria* or in *Egypt*? To which they replied, in *Egypt*. "Then," said he, "we are to pursue our march, and make ourselves masters of that country." *Rafakh*, or *Rafakh*, is said to be the first town, or village, of *Egypt*, on the side of *Syria*, by *Abu'lfeda*, who calls the tract betwixt it and *Farma Al Jafâr*. From whence it appears probable, that *Amru* was within the territories of *Egypt*, when he received this letter from the *Khalîf*; though Mr. *Ockley* seems to have been of a different opinion. We are told by *Eutychius*, that *Othmân Ebn Affân* prejudiced *Omar* against *Amru Ebn Al As*, of whom he had always entertained a very good opinion, by representing him as an officer that was too rash and precipitate, as well as too imperious, and consequently as one who would in all probability expose his troops to very great dangers, to the *Khalîf*. Be that as it will, *Amru* suspected, if he did not know, that the contents of *Omar's* letter were not favourable to him. Some say, that the *Khalîf* himself had informed him, when he was engaged in the siege of *Cæsarea*, privately, what measures he was to pursue. But the *Arab* writers themselves, as sufficiently appears from *Eutychius*, were not perfectly agreed as to the circumstances of this affair <sup>i</sup>.

- It being determined to penetrate farther into *Egypt*, *Amru* resumed his march, and advanced to *Farma*, or as it is called by some authors, *Farama* and *Faramia*, a town of *Egypt*, on the *Mediterranean*, known amongst the *Copts*, or *Coptis*, by the name of *Beramîn*, where he immediately ordered his tents to be pitched. With what sort of garison that place was then provided, we are no-where told; but the troops of which it was composed made a pretty vigorous defence, since *Amru* found himself obliged to carry on in form the siege of it a month before he could force it to surrender. *Farma* was seated on the isthmus that separates the *Arabian* gulf from the *Mediterranean*, or rather connects *Egypt* with *Syria* and *Arabia*, not far from *Tina*, or *Pelusium*, on the first mouth of the *Nile*. After *Amru* had made himself master of this place, he narrowly viewed its situation; and, according to *Ebn Said*, formed a design to cut a channel through the isthmus on which it stood, and thereby open a communication between the *Arabian* gulf and the *Mediterranean*. But this project by no means met with the approbation of the *Khalîf*, as he imagined that the execution of it would facilitate the entrance of the *Christians* into *Arabia*. The name *Farma*, or *Faramia*, seems to be *Egyptian*, and may possibly have been originally deduced from the *Egyptian* word *Pharmuthis*, or *Pharmutosis*; either of which, by contraction, might have become *Farma*, or *Faramia*. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that the isthmus between the seas *Al Rûm* and *Al Kolzom*, as he termed the *Mediterranean* and *Arabian* gulf, was about 70 miles over; and that the canal projected by *Amru* was to have been made in a part of that isthmus called in his time, by the *Arabs*, *Dhanab Al Tamsâb*. That author gives the town we are now speaking of the name of *Al Farama*. *Ebn Hawkel* relates, that the sepulchre of *Galen*, or, as he calls him, *Jalinus*, was to be seen here in his time, who died at *Farma* on his return home. It was taken in the 18th year of the *Hejra* by *Amru Ebn Al As*, and likewise by *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, in the year of our LORD 1117. Afterwards it went to ruin, and has for a considerable period been so completely buried in the sands on which it stood, that

<sup>h</sup> AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. iii. p. 24. AL WAKED ubi sup. Auth. of the hist. of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. POCOCC. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362. <sup>i</sup> EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 296—303. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 29. ISM. ABU'LFED. in descript. Ægypt. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 345.



at present scarce any remains of it are to be seen. It has been remarked by *Golius*, that a species of palm-trees flourish here, which in size, fecundity, and the excellency of their fruit, are superior to those to be met with in any other part of the world <sup>k</sup>.

He marches to  
Mefr;

AMRU having made himself master of *Farma*, or, as it is called by *Abu'lfeda*, *A' Farama*, marched directly to *Mefr*, *Mifr*, or *Mifra*, the *Memphis* of the old geographers, and the residence of the antient *Egyptian* kings. *Mefr*, or *Mifr*, was the first and original name of *Egypt*, being the same as the *Mizraim*, or *Misraim*, of Scripture, and is applied to the whole region, as well as the ancient capital of it, by the *rabian* writers. The city of *Mefr* was situated on the western, or *Lybian*, bank of the *Nile*, and occupied the spot on which the village of *Geeza* at present stands. This we learn from Dr. *Shaw*, whose geographical observations relating to *Egypt* and *Arabia Petraea* are more curious, and superior in point of truth, at least probability, learning, accuracy, and judgment, to those of any other modern traveller. This we think ourselves obliged to own, though, in our *ANTIEN* *UNIVERSAL HISTORY*, we have sometimes taken the liberty to differ from him. 'Tis true, he has not, by any lukewarmness or indifference to revealed religion, endeavoured to accommodate his observations to the vitious and depraved taste of our modern unbelievers; but then he has not, by any tedious and jejune descriptions of things meriting not the least regard, by citing authors in support of facts they never mention, and by many inaccuracies, as well as some gross blunders and misrepresentations, rendered them unworthy of the perusal of the learned. In fine, his book will stand its ground, after all the efforts of envy and malice against it have been spent; when some of those, either written in imitation of it, or with a design to depreciate it, will be buried in oblivion, or at least meet with that contempt which they so justly deserve <sup>l</sup>.

and besieges it.

MESR being the most considerable and strongest fortress of *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*, in the time of *Omar*, the *Greeks* had taken care to fortify it, as expecting a visit from the *Arabs*, in the best manner they were able. They had surrounded the castle, of itself a place of considerable strength, with a foss, or ditch, into which they had thrown great quantities of nails, iron spikes, &c. in order to render the place inaccessible to the *Arabs*. However, *Amru*, tho' with great difficulty, first invested the town, and then besieged it in form. The siege he continued seven months, without being able to make an impression upon the citadel; from which, indeed, the greatest resistance was apprehended by the *Moslems*. Nor was he much surprized at this, since his troops at first did not amount to above 4000 men, and many of these he had lost since the commencement of the siege. This he apprized the *Khalif* of by the courier, dispatched to him for that purpose; who, immediately after the intelligence came to hand, sent him a reinforcement of 4000 men. But neither would this additional force, that marched instantly under the command of *Zobeir Ebn Al Awam* into *Egypt*, have been sufficient to enable him to carry his point, had not *Mokawkas*, a *Copt*, the governor of *Mefr*, by treachery, delivered up both the city and the castle into his hands <sup>m</sup>.

Miffr delivered  
into the hands  
of the Arabs.

MOKAWKAS, who had for some time been the emperor's lieutenant, or prefect, of *Mefr*, was of the *Jacobite* sect, and a mortal enemy to the *Greeks*. When *Khosru*, the king, or *Shah*, of *Persia*, besieged *Constantinople*, he considered the emperor as upon the brink of destruction; and, therefore, thought he had then a fair opportunity of setting up for himself in *Mefr*, or *Egypt*. Instead, therefore, of affording his master any assistance at that perilous conjuncture, as in duty he was obliged to do, he hoarded up the publick revenues of *Mefr* for his own use. Conscious of his own guilt, and apprehensive of the punishment he deserved, he ever after did his utmost to prejudice and embarrass the emperor's affairs. His intention now, of consequence, was not to defend the citadel, but to surrender it to the *Arabs*, upon as good terms as he could procure for himself, and, above all, to secure to himself the possession of the immense treasure he had so villainously acquired; not being at all solicitous for the welfare of the *Greeks*, to whom he bore the most implacable hatred that could be conceived. In order, therefore, to facilitate the execution of the scheme he had formed, he prevailed upon the greatest part of the *Greeks* to abandon the castle, and retire into a little island of the *Nile*, between the citadel and the opposite bank, where he told them they would not be exposed to any attacks of the besiegers, who had lately received a strong reinforcement, and must of course soon possess themselves both of the town and citadel of *Mefr*. The *Copts* withdrew with *Mokawkas*, when he deserted his post, and accompanied the body of the *Greeks* to the island whither he had decoyed them; so that a very small number of men were left to defend the castle. He had no sooner taken this step, than

<sup>k</sup> EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN SAID, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. EBN HAWKEL, ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 145--147. <sup>l</sup> EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, in clim. iii. c. 3. ABU'LFED. in descript. Egypt. OZJOT, in Al Kahir. & Egypt. chron. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 151--157. SHAW'S geographic. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, &c. p. 341. <sup>m</sup> EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. SHARIF AL EDRISI, OZJOT & GOL. ubi sup.



a the Nile began to overflow. Then he sent messengers to *Amru*, to know the reason of his invasion of *Mesr*, and what he proposed to himself by such an unexpected irruption into that country. In answer to which, *Amru* informed him, by an *Ethiopian*, named *Abadab Ebn Al Samet*, whom he immediately dispatched to *Mokawkas*, that the *Khalif*'s orders to him were, to oblige the people of *Mesr* either to embrace *Mohammedism*, or to pay an annual tribute, or, lastly, to leave the dispute between them and his subjects to the decision of the sword. *Mokawkas* and the *Copts*, without any farther delay, submitted to become tributaries to the *Khalif*, and concluded a treaty of peace with *Amru*; but the *Greeks* taking the terms of it to be too dishonourable, refused to accede to that treaty. But they were too weak in the castle to hold out long; so that, upon intelligence given the enemy of the weakness of the garison by *Mokawkas*, *Zobeir Ebn Al Awam* stormed it, after a faint resistance, and either killed or took prisoners all the *Greeks* they found therein. The body of *Greek* troops that had taken post on the aforesaid island, who were joined by some that had made their escape out of the citadel, finding themselves deceived by *Mokawkas*, reached the opposite bank of the Nile, and marched to *Keram Al Shoraik*, between *Kairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, and *Alexandria*, where they endeavoured to put themselves into a posture of defence, and resolved to wait for the *Arabs*. The articles of the treaty concluded between *Amru* and *Mokawkas*, which included the whole nation of the *Copts*, were to the following effect.

c I. THE *Coptic* boys, not arrived at the years of puberty, the men worn out with old age, and all the women, shall be exempted from the payment of the annual tribute to be imposed upon all the other individuals of the *Coptic* nation.

II. ALL the *Copts*, except those above-mentined, that live both above and below *Al Mesr*, shall pay yearly two *dinârs* each, without any difference or distinction; no regard being had to the circumstances of the persons of whom the money is to be exacted.

III. THE *Copts* shall entertain all the *Moslems* that shall occasionally pass through the country, for three days together, if required, at their own expence.

d IV. THE *Copts* shall supply, for ready money, with provisions, the *Moslem* camp; repair two bridges, that have been broken down; build others, that are necessary for the more expeditious march of the army; and render more practicable the roads between the city of *Al Mesr* and *Al Escandaraïah*, or *Alexandria*, which the *Moslem* general has an intention soon to besiege.

V. THE *Moslems* shall be at liberty to continue the war against the *Greeks*, who deserve the most rigorous treatment, till they have either reduced them to a state of slavery, or pursued them to utter destruction.

VI. *MOKAWKAS* himself shall always be considered as a *Copt* by the *Moslems*; and, after his death, his body shall be interred, by the *Khalif*'s permission, in the *Coptic* church of *St. John* in *Alexandria*.

e VII. In consideration of the foregoing concessions, the *Khalif* shall also secure to *Mokawkas*, and the *Copts*, the free exercise of their religion, as well as the possession of their properties and effects, and take all of them under his immediate protection<sup>n</sup>.

THESE articles being signed by *Amru* and *Mokawkas*, who had acted such a perfidious part, the *Copts* remained in quiet possession of all their properties and effects. The traitor *Mokawkas*, therefore, enjoyed the fruits of his iniquitous conduct, as his immense treasures so villainously amassed, were not touched by the *Moslems*, and escaped being brought to that condign punishment he so richly deserved. The reduction of *Al Mesr*, in the manner here related, happened in the 18th, according to some, or, as others will have it, in the 19th year of the *Hejra* °.

f AL ZOBEIR EBN AL AWAM, in order to facilitate the attack he made upon the citadel, *Al Zobeir* stormed, by the assistance of his military engines, the weakest part of it, on the side called *Ebn Al Awam* *Sîkol Hamam*, that is, the market-place of the bagnio; and, by the help of a scaling-ladder, takes the citadel by storm. mounted the walls, before the besieged had any notice of his design. We are told by *Al Makîn*, that the *Copts*, of whom the tribute was collected, were at least 6,000,000 souls, and consequently, that the sum now advanced, as well as that paid afterwards to the *Khalif* yearly, by the *Coptic* nation, amounted to 12,000,000 *dinars*. We must not forget to inform our readers, that the city of *Al Mesr*, notwithstanding the treaty concluded with *Mokawkas* and the *Copts*, was afterwards destroyed by *Amru Ebn Al As*, and the city of *Al Fostat* built on the opposite bank of the Nile, by the command of the *Khalif Omar*. Very considerable remains of the ruins of *Al Mesr* were to be seen in the days of *Abu'lfeda*; but these remains are now so intirely buried in the soil, that no traces of them are to be discovered. This g we learn from the most ingenious and accurate Dr. *Shaw*, who, in his description of *Egypt*,

<sup>n</sup> EUTYCHIUS & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in hist. general. GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 178.

° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 23, 30.



does not only agree with the antients, but likewise with the *Arabian* geographers; which, notwithstanding what has been insinuated to the contrary by some who envied his superior merit, is a strong presumption of the truth of what he has there advanced. The *Copts*, after the retreat of the *Greeks* to *Keram Al Shoraik*, did not only give the *Arabs* a particular account of their situation, but likewise animated *Amru* to pursue them, without giving them time to breathe, and (so inveterate was their enmity to their fellow *Christians*!) even, if possible, to complete their utter excision <sup>p</sup>.

The Arabs  
drive the  
Greeks into  
Alexandria.

In compliance with the reiterated solicitations of *Mokawkas* and the *Copts*, *Amru*, after he had settled matters to his satisfaction at *Mesr*, advanced at the head of his troops to *Keram Al Shoraik*, where the *Greeks* had taken post, after their departure from the island in the *Nile*. Both armies being animated by resentment, an action immediately began. The *Greeks*, for some time, behaved with great bravery, but were at last forced to give way. The *Arabs*, flushed with their late success, bore down all before them, dislodged the enemy from *Keram Al Shoraik*, and possessed themselves of that post. Several other actions happened before the *Greeks* arrived at *Alexandria*; to which place they were pursued by the *Arabs*. According to *Eutychius*, the battle of *Keram Al Shoraik* lasted three days; after which, the *Greeks* retired to *S. Salstam*, and maintained themselves in that post nineteen days; but were at last forced to abandon it to the *Arabs*. They made another stand against *Amru*, if we will believe the same author, at *Karyun*; but, after a sharp dispute, they were likewise driven from thence, and obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of *Alexandria*. We find it intimated by *Al Makin*, or *Elmacinus*, that the *Khalif* himself headed his troops in this expedition; but this from any other *Arab* writer does by no means appear <sup>q</sup>.

Amru besieges  
Alexandria;

THE *Greeks* had not long entered *Alexandria*, before *Amru*, at the head of the *Moslem* forces, presented himself before the town. He first summoned the garison to surrender the place to the *Khalif*, offering the *Christians* the usual alternative, either to profess *Mohammedism*, or to pay tribute. But neither of those proposals pleasing them, he caused the city to be immediately invested; and, as soon as every thing could be got ready for that purpose, laid close siege to it. The garison, however, made a brave defence, frequently sallying out upon the besiegers, and killing them abundance of men. *Amru* observing his troops to be greatly annoyed by the besieged from the castle, resolved, if possible, to make himself master of that place. He, therefore, attacked it with so much courage, that he carried it sword in hand; but, after a very warm dispute, the *Arabs* were fairly beat out of it again by the *Greeks*, who, on this occasion, behaved with extraordinary bravery. The *Arabs* lost a great number of men in this vigorous action, and, amongst the rest, several persons of distinction; which rendered not a little more sensible the loss they had sustained. *Amru Ebn Al As*, the general, *Moslemab Ebn Al Mokballed*, and *Werdan*, *Amru*'s slave, were taken prisoners, and carried into the town. Being brought before the governor, he asked them why they committed such ravages and depredations in the *Christian* territories? To which *Amru* resolutely answered, "We are come hither to oblige you either to profess *Islamism*, or pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*; to one of which conditions you must submit, or all be put to the sword." A *Greek* that stood by, hearing this, said to the governor, "This man is certainly the enemy's general; therefore take off his head." *Werdan* understanding *Greek*, and seeing the danger his master was in, took him by the collar, and gave him a box on the ear; saying, "Hold thy tongue, and suffer thy betters to speak. Sure! this is unparalleled impudence! Shall one of the lowest wretches in the army give himself such airs!" Upon this, *Moslema Ebn Al Mokballed* addressed himself to the governor in the following terms: "Our general has been for some time disposed to raise the siege of *Alexandria*. *Omar Ebn Al Khattab*, the emperor of the faithful, has also wrote to him on that subject. In that letter he has signified his intention of sending to you an honourable embassy, consisting of ten persons of the first distinction, in order to confer with you about what is proper to be done on this occasion, and to settle such preliminaries as may serve for the basis of a future treaty, and prove agreeable to both parties. If, therefore, you will be so good as to dismiss us, we will acquaint our general with the courteous treatment we have received, and employ the utmost of our endeavours to facilitate an accommodation. Nor do we doubt but ten persons of the highest rank will soon be sent to you, to negotiate that affair; after which, the siege will be immediately raised." The credulous governor being imposed upon by this idle fiction, and convinced, from *Werdan*'s behaviour to him, that *Amru* was as mean as his slave had represented him, released them without hesitation. To which he was likewise farther excited by the desire of dispatching ten *Arabs* of distinction; which he believed the dismissal of the three or four supposed vulgar prisoners then in his power, the detention of whom he

<sup>p</sup> EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in descript. Ægypt. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 152. SHAW, ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 310—313. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 24. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. EBN ABD'ALHAKIM, in Ægypt. expugnat. histor.



a imagined would be of no service to the emperor, might enable him to do. Upon their arrival in the *Moslem* camp, they were received with the loudest acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy; which gave the *Greeks* sufficiently to understand, that they had lost an opportunity of embarrassing the *Moslem* affairs, which could not easily be retrieved. This story is supported by the joint authority of *Al Wakedi*, *Al Makin*, and *Eutychius*, tho' told by those authors with some variation of circumstances, however improbable in several particulars it may at first sight appear<sup>r</sup>.

THE *Moslems*, greatly animated by the safe return of their general, resolved to make another assault upon the citadel; and either to carry it, or perish all in the attempt. The<sup>form.</sup> attack was so vigorous, that the *Greeks* could not maintain their posts, but were obliged to

b give way to the fury of the *Moslems*. The castle, therefore, was taken by storm, and all the garison either killed, taken prisoners, or absolutely dispersed. Some of those that made their escape, fled further up into the country; and others, by the assistance of certain vessels that were ready to receive them, went off by sea. Thus was *Alexandria* taken by the *Arabs*. under the command of *Amru Ebn Al As*, on *Friday*, in the beginning of the month of *Al Moharram*, and the 20th year of the *Hejra*, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and lost before it 23,000 men. With regard to all the circumstances attending this event, the *Arab* writers are not perfectly agreed. *Al Makin*, or *Elmacinus*, and *Eutychius*, clearly intimate, that *Alexandria* was carried by storm; whereas it was surrendered upon terms, or taken by capitulation, if we will give any credit to *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>s</sup>.

c In order to secure the repose of the *Copts*, as well as that of the *Moslems*, *Amru* thought it proper to pursue the *Greeks*, who had escaped from the citadel, and fled farther up into the country; rightly concluding, that the public tranquillity might be disturbed, and the possession of his conquests in *Egypt* rendered precarious, as long as any considerable body of them should remain in arms. He, therefore, marched out of *Alexandria*, at the head of his forces, in quest of those fugitives, leaving but a very slender garison in the place, as not being apprehensive of any immediate danger on that side. The *Greeks*, who had before fled on board their ships, being apprized of this, returned on a sudden, surprized the town, and put all the *Arabs* they found therein to the sword. *Amru* receiving advice of what had happened, moved back to *Alexandria*, attacked the enemy, whom he found in possession of the

d castle, as well as of the town, with such bravery, that, after an obstinate dispute, he dislodged them once more from thence, and forced them to fly for shelter a second time on board their ships. Many of the *Greeks* were cut to pieces in this action, and the rest so intimidated, that the *Arabs* had nothing farther to fear from them. Things being in this situation, *Amru* informed the *Khalif*, by an express, of the progress of his arms in *Egypt*; at the same time acquainting him, that his troops were desirous of plundering *Alexandria*, which they had taken by assault. *Omer*, in his answer to *Amru*, expressed a grateful sense of his services, and of the bravery of his troops; but at the same time blamed him for even mentioning the bare inclination of the soldiery to plunder so rich a city, which at that time was one of the most celebrated empories of the East. He commanded him absolutely to restrain the rapacious impetuosity

e of his men, to suffer no violence of any kind to be committed, to preserve every thing valuable that might contribute towards the enabling him to defray the expence of the war, and, finally, to deposite the money brought into his coffers, by the tribute imposed upon the *Copts*, in some safe place within the precincts of *Alexandria*, that the necessities of the *Moslems* might be therewith fully supplied. Besides the tribute of two *dinârs* a head, already mentioned, there was a tax laid upon lands, vineyards, and farms, proportionable to their annual value; which, exclusive of many other articles, produced of itself a prodigious revenue for the *Khalif*. In order to enable our readers to form a more adequate idea of the immense wealth *Omer* acquired by the conquest of *Egypt*, of which that was only one particular city, we shall beg leave to insert a passage of *Amru's* letter to the *Khalif*, handed

f down to us by *Eutychius*, which is couched in the following terms: "I shall not pretend  
" to give a particular description of the city I have taken, nor send you an account of all  
" the curious and valuable things contained in it. At present it will be sufficient to observe,  
" that I have found in it 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 40,000 *Jews* that pay tribute, 400  
" royal *circi*, or places set apart for public diversions, and 12,000 gardeners, who supply  
" the city with all kinds of herbs in great plenty." To which we shall beg leave to add, from *Abu'l feda*, *Ebn Abd'al Hakim*, and others, that *Alexandria*, when taken by *Amru*, consisted of three cities, viz. *Menna*, or the port which included the *Pharos*, and all the neighbouring parts; *Alexandria*, properly so called, where *Scandarea*, or the modern *Alexandria*, at present stands; and *Nekita*, probably the *Necropolis* of *Josephus* and *Strabo*. The *Pharos* was an island extending from E. to W. near to the eastern promontory called *Lockias*, in a

<sup>r</sup> EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL WAKED. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. & EBN ABD'ALHAKIM, ubi sup.

<sup>s</sup> EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 160. ABU'LFED. EBN ABD'ALHAKIM & GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup.



bay, about three leagues wide, and, according to the learned Dr. *Pococke*, made the ports of *Alexandria*. That, at present called the *Old Port*, is undoubtedly the *Eunostus* of *Strabo*, and lay to the W. of the *Pharos*. The vessels only from *Turkey* are at present admitted into this port. Here was also the *Cibotus*, which is said to have had a communication with the lake *Marcotis*, that lay behind it to the S. The port, now known by the name of the *New Port*, was the *Great Port* of *Strabo*, and lay to the eastward of the *Pharos*. To this port the vessels of *Europe* at present resort. The island of *Pharos* was joined to the continent by a causeway, and two bridges, 900 paces long, towards the W. end of it, which must have been about the quay of the *Old Port*. The famous light-house, or *Pharos*, as it was likewise called, was erected on a rock at the E. end of this island, that was on every side encompassed with water, and so in a manner a small separate island; which seems to be the spot on which the castle is built, at the entrance of the *New Port*. As for the city of *Alexandria*, it is said to have been washed on two sides by the water; to the N. by the sea, and to the S. by the lake *Marcotis*; and that the other two sides were each a kind of isthmus, or neck of land, between the water, about seven stadia in length; on which account, each of these sides, especially that to the W. was called *Heptastadium*, from which the causeway to the island of *Pharos* is said to have gone. The old walls of the city seem to have been erected on the height, which extends from cape *Lochias* towards the E. the remains of a grand gate-way being visible in the road to *Rosetto*, at this high ground, and the foundations of the walls may from thence be traced to the canal. The outer walls round the old city are very beautifully built of hewn stone, and seem to be ancient; all the arches being true, and the workmanship very good. They are defended by semicircular towers, 20 feet in diameter, and about 130 feet apart: at each of them are stairs to ascend up to the battlements, there being a walk round on the top of the walls built on arches. The *Necropolis* part of the city was terminated on one side by a grand street, that extended from the gate which went under that name to the gate of *Canopus*, which is said to have been an hundred feet wide, and had, doubtless, in it many magnificent buildings, as sufficiently appears from the granite pillars still remaining in two or three parts. These stood in two rows, and several of them are standing at this very day. Among them was the *Gymnasium*, or public schools, to which there were porticos, above a stadium in extent. It is intimated by some of the oriental writers cited here, that the two principal streets of *Alexandria* crossed one another at right angles; and that they were built in so regular a manner, that no stranger could lose his way in this city, though it was of so very large an extent. The learned Dr. *Pococke*, to whom we are obliged for several particulars inserted here (though, in the main, he seems to be rather too prolix in his description of this city, and to intermix too much of history with his geographical, or rather topographical, observations; which hinders his readers from forming a clear and distinct idea of the place he undertakes to describe) supposes the gate of *Necropolis* to be that to the S. W. which is now built up. To the three parts of *Alexandria*, mentioned by the oriental geographers, we may add a fourth, which has been taken notice of by *Strabo*; and that is the palace, with the suburbs belonging to it, within which was the *Museum*, or *Academy*, and the burial-place of the kings. The ingenious Dr. *Shaw* has judiciously observed, that, considering the terrible devastations committed in other places by the *Arabs*, it is pretty extraordinary, that the greatest part of the antient walls of this city, together with their proper turrets, should have remained so compact and intire quite down to this time. This, he thinks, is chiefly confirmed by the present condition of the antient cisterns, which were built under the houses, supported by two or three stories of arches on columns, in order to receive the *Nile* water by the canal of *Canopus*, as they continue to do at this day. And the learned Dr. *Pococke* likewise looks upon these cisterns as the most extraordinary remains of antiquity that at *Alexandria* are now to be seen. But notwithstanding what has been advanced by both these learned gentlemen, with regard to the antiquity of the walls, we cannot help suspecting, that they must have been erected since the time of *Omar*. For, we are assured by *Ebn Abd'al Hakim*, an *Arab* author of good repute, that *Amru Ebn Al As*, being provoked by the *Greeks*, swore, that he would make *Alexandria* like the house of a common harlot, that was open on every side; and that, in consequence of this menace, he demolished the walls, and absolutely dismantled the city. It is at present governed by an *Agā*, who constantly resides in the place. The *Arabs* call *Alexandria* *Al Escandaraïab*, and the *Turks*, as well as the natives, *Scandarea*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that the *Pharos*, or light-house, of *Alexandria* was 180 cubits high, and destroyed by the *Christians* in the *Khalifat* of *Al Walid Ebn Abd'almalec*. He has also preserved a beautiful description of the canal here, extracted from the *Arab* poet *Thâfar Al Hadâd*. The longitude assigned *Al Escandaraïab*, or *Alexandria*, by this celebrated geographer, is  $51^{\circ} 51'$ , and the latitude  $30^{\circ} 58'$ .

THE

<sup>1</sup> EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 159, 160, 161. ABU'LFED. & EBN ABD'AL-HAKIM, ubi sup. PTOL. lib. iv. c. 5. PLIN. lib. v. c. 10, 31. JOSEPH. contr. Apion. lib. ii. p. 1063. DIOP. Sic.



- a THE *Arabs* having been hitherto sufficiently employed in the conquests they had made, had not yet applied to any branch of literature, but poetry in their own language; and even that, for several years, had been in some degree neglected by them. They were at this time altogether ignorant of the sciences, and of every language but their own. However, *Amru* being a man of parts, and blessed with a good capacity, had no dislike to the conversation of learned men. On the contrary, he now and then, when the more important business of his province would permit, took great delight in hearing philosophical points discussed; and discovered a higher regard for those rational entertainments that please learned men, than the generality of the *Arabs* at that time did. It happened, that one *John*, surnamed *The Grammarian*, a man eminent for his extensive erudition, lived in *Alexandria*, when it was taken by the *Arabs*. This man finding an opportunity of insinuating himself into the good graces of *Amru*, was resolved to cultivate an acquaintance with him. This he did with such success, that he wonderfully conciliated the affections of that general, who was highly entertained with his philosophical discourses, and, for that reason, treated him with singular marks of respect. *John* finding himself a favourite, one day took the liberty to desire *Amru* to bestow upon him the famous *Alexandrian* library, in the following terms: "You have visited all the repositories of *Alexandria*, and sealed up every thing curious and valuable in them. With regard to those things there that will be of real service or advantage to you, I have no intention to ask for any of them; but since there are other things likewise there, which cannot in any respect be useful to you, these, I hope, I may be allowed to consider as of importance to myself." "What are the things," said *Amru*, "that you seem so desirous of?" "The philosophical books," replied *John*, "deposited in the royal library." "Those," returned *Amru*, "it is not in my power at present to give you. However, I will write to the *Khalif* about them; and if *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, the emperor of the faithful, will permit me to dispose of them, they shall be at your service." This he accordingly did, and received for answer from the *Khalif*, "That if the books he mentioned agreed in all points with the book of God, this last would still be perfect without them, and consequently they would be superfluous; but if they contained any thing repugnant to the doctrines and tenets of that book, they ought to be looked upon as pernicious, and of course should be destroyed." As soon as the *Khalif's* letter came to hand, *Amru*, in obedience to his master's command, dispersed the books all over the city amongst those that kept warm baths, amounting to 4000, as has been already observed, to heat the baths with. And notwithstanding the great havock that must have been made of them by this means, their number was so immense, that they were not intirely consumed in less than six months time. This was the fatal end of that noble and stupendous *Alexandrian* library in the *Serapæum*, and suburb *Rhacotis*, called the daughter of that founded by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in the part of the city denominated *Bruchium*; the loss of which can never be sufficiently regretted by the learned world. The latter of these was reduced to ashes, and the books it contained, amounting to 400,000 volumes, intirely consumed, in *Julius Cæsar's* time; and the former, whose number of MSS. when the other perished, was at least five hundred thousand, and afterwards increased to a much larger number, was destroyed in the manner here related by *Amru Ebn Al As*, in pursuance of the order for that purpose he received from *Omar*. Several of the antients, after the destruction of the library of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, mention that in the *Serapæum*, and particularly *Orosius*, who wrote his history about the year of CHRIST 417. This, therefore, happened about 225 years before *Johannes Grammaticus*, the famous *Aristotelian* philosopher, a *Jacobite* by sect, and afterwards excommunicated by the *Egyptian* bishops, assembled at *Mesr*, for refusing to renounce his erroneous opinions, would have begged it of the *Moslem* general. Had this invaluable collection of books been still extant, several curious philosophical discoveries, that have since been lost, might possibly to the present time have been preserved, and farther improvements in various branches of science been made. A fuller and more extensive knowledge of antiquity in particular, by the assistance of some of those valuable manuscripts, at this time destroyed by fanatical madness, would undoubtedly have been obtained; as well as a clearer and more perfect discovery of the origin of letters, the basis and foundation of our historical researches, which has of late so much exercised the pens of the learned.

THE citadel of *Alexandria* having been twice taken by storm, the *Greeks* inhabitants of that city, after the second reduction of the castle, were not considered as upon the same foot with the *Copts*; the governor, or prefect, appointed them by the *Khalif*, being left at

*The Moslems penetrate farther into Africa.*

SIC. pass. STRAB. lib. xvii. CURT. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. ÆL. pass. AL HADAD, apud Abu'lfed. in descrip. Ægypt. POCOCKE's observ. on Egypt, p. 1—11. SHAW's geograph. observat. in Egypt. Arab. Petr. &c. p. 338, 339. ALBERT. SCHULT. ubi sup. <sup>u</sup> Poc. in orat. præfix. & in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 10, 233, &c. JALLALO'UDIN AL SOYUTI, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 159. GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 180, 181. PLUT. in Jul. Cæs. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xxii. c. 16. DIO, lib. xlii. p. 202. LIV. apud Senec. de tranquil. OROS. lib. vi. c. 15. TERTULLIAN. CHRYSOST. EPIPHAN. &c. See also PRID. connect. b. i. p. ii. p. 12, 13, 14. Lond. 1718.



liberty to impose what tribute he thought fit upon them. This we learn from *Eutychius*, a who likewise informs us, that *Amru* detached *Okba Ebn Nafe'*, with a body of troops, to penetrate into the western part of *Africa*; and that this general made himself master of all the country lying between *Barka* and *Zaweilah*. The people of that tract punctually sent the tribute exacted of them, of their own accord, to *Amru*, at the time agreed upon. *Tripoli* in *Africa*, according to *Al Makin*, was about this time likewise taken by the *Moslems*. That city, called by the author last-mentioned *Tripoli* of the *Arabs*, is seated on the *Mediterranean* and denominated by the *Italians* *Tripoli di Barbaria*, as it is by the present *Arabs* *Traubious Ifrikia*. *Eutychius* relates, that this city, to which he gives the appellation of the *Western Tripoli*, was reduced by *Amru Ebn Al As* himself, two years after the taking of *Alexandria*, or the 22d year of the *Hejra*, and the 10th of the *Khalifat* of *Omar*. The same author b likewise affirms, that *Amru* built a temple, or mosque, at *Al Fostat*. Notwithstanding, therefore, what may have been insinuated to the contrary by *Cellarius*, from the passages of *Al Makin* and *Eutychius* now before us, we may infer, that the city at present forming the piratical republic of *Tripoli*, or at least another not far from it, went by that name amongst the *Greeks*, before the time of *Mohammed* <sup>w</sup>.

A grievous  
famine in  
Arabia.

Soon after the *Moslems* had made themselves masters of *Alexandria*, a grievous famine raged in *Arabia*, and particularly at *Medina*, then the residence of the *Khalif*. This induced, or rather obliged, *Omar* to write to *Amru*, to send him a supply of corn, with which *Egypt* at that time abounded. *Amru*, in compliance with that order, sent a large train of camels laden with corn, in a continued line from *Egypt* to *Medina*, the first of which were entering c *Medina* when the last were within the limits of *Egypt*. But this method of transporting corn proving too tedious and expensive, the *Khalif* ordered *Amru* to open a communication between the *Nile* and the sea *Al Kolzom*, by cutting a canal through the interjacent tract. This, if we will believe *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*, that general effected; and gave to this canal the name of *The river of the emperor of the faithful*. But here we must beg leave to dissent from these writers; since it does not sufficiently appear from history, that there was ever any passage for vessels dug between the towns of *Al Fostat*, on the eastern bank of the *Nile*, and *Al Kolzom*, on the sea of that name, as they have been pleased to assert. The river, or rivulet, denominated by them *The river of the emperor of the faithful*, was undoubtedly no other than the *Annis Trajanus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Khalis*, which annually supplies the d city of *Kairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, with water, running from one end of it to the other, as well as the neighbouring country for several miles. It is, therefore, far more probable, that, on the present occasion, the *Khalif* ordered *Amru* to make the *Khalis* more navigable, by clearing it of the gravel or sand with which it was then choaked up; and that, for this reason, it received the name of *The river of the emperor of the faithful*. And that this was really the case, we are certainly informed by *Abulbakim*, in his history of the conquest of *Egypt*; whose opinion in this point is supported by the concurrent testimony of *Al Makrizi* and *Abulfeda*. The former of which authors make the *Khalis* to have been first formed by some of the antient *Egyptian* kings, in the days of *Abraham*, and afterwards cleansed and enlarged by *Hadrian*; and the latter asserts, that *Al Fostat* had its situation close to the *Nile*, e and that the vessels navigated on that river received their lading there, and set sail from thence when they departed to any other port. *Al Kabirah* stood a little to the E. of *Al Fostat*; and therefore the latter was not the same city with that capital, as we find intimated by *Dr. Pococke*. The word *Al Fostat*, or, as *Goli* calls it, *Fustata*, denotes a *tent*, *tabernacle*, *street*, or *city*, in *Arabic*; the town so named having been erected by *Amru Ebn Al As* upon the spot where he pitched his tent, before he undertook his *Alexandrian* expedition. After the foundation of *Al Kabirah* by one of the *Fatimit* *Khalifs*, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* 359, the city of *Al Fostat*, according to *Ebn Said*, was soon abandoned, and in a manner forgotten; tho' at first the *Egyptians* were highly pleased with its agreeable situation. Some of the oriental geographers make the antient city of *Menf*, *Minf*, or f *Minph*, that is, *Memphis*, to have been a short day's journey distant from *Mesr*, *Misr*, or *Misra*; whilst others of them assert all these names to have been applied to the very same city. We must not forget to observe, that, according to *Al Makin*, *Amru* built *Al Fostat*, and that by the command of *Omar Ebn Al Khattab* himself, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, after the reduction of *Alexandria* <sup>x</sup>.

The Greek  
and Arab

It is intimated by one of the *Greek* writers, that the *Arabs* made an irruption into *Egypt* a little before that country was subjugated by *Amru Ebn Al As*; and that they were pre-

<sup>w</sup> EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 283. CHRIST. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 125, 126. Lipsiæ, 1706. <sup>x</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 320, 321. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 24, 25, 30. ABULHAKIM, in hist. expugnat. Ægypt. AL MAKRIZ. in commentar. Ægypt. ISM. ABULFEDA. in descript. Ægypt. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 340. PTOL. in Ægypt. POCKE, ubi sup. p. 26, 27. EBN SAID, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 151—175. SHARIF AL EDRISI sine GEOGR. NUB. clim. iii. c. 3. LEXICOGRAPH. ARAB. apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid.



a vailed upon to retire from thence by *Cyrus*, an *Egyptian* bishop, who gave them a good round sum of money to induce them to comply with his request. To which it is farther added, that the emperor being informed of this, sent for *Cyrus* to *Constantinople*, to give an account of his conduct; and dispatched, in great haste, one *Manuel*, an *Armenian*, to *Egypt*, to command his forces there, who was overthrown by the *Arabs*. The imperial troops were almost all cut to pieces in this action, and *Manuel* himself, with great difficulty, made his escape to *Alexandria*. This threw the emperor into such a consternation, that he immediately dismissed *Cyrus* without inflicting any punishment upon him, and ordered him, if possible, to conclude a treaty, or truce, with the *Moslems*, upon the same terms as formerly; but this he found it impossible to effect, they being grown more haughty and intractable by their late success. *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, also pretends, that the *Arabs* conquered part of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, before they reduced *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and made themselves absolute masters of *Syria*. But as all the particulars here mentioned seem to run counter to what we have already extracted from the *Arab* historians, who ought to have been the best acquainted with the heroic actions of their own countrymen, perhaps they may not altogether merit the attention of our learned and curious readers <sup>v</sup>.

In the 20th, or the 21st, year of the *Hejra*, *Aiyad Ebn Gânem*, by the *Khalif's* order, with a powerful army, invaded *Mesopotamia*. Having assembled all his forces, he advanced to the *Euphrates*, passed that river, and made the necessary dispositions for undertaking the siege of *Edeffa*. But the governor, garison, and inhabitants, of that place, being apprehensive that they could not defend it against the *Arabs*, the imperial commandant offered to surrender the town to *Aiyad*, provided he would secure to them all the possession of their properties and effects, and grant them the free exercise of their religion. To which he thought fit to add, that, if this offer was accepted, they would willingly submit to such a tribute as the *Khalif* should impose upon them. These proposals being agreeable to *Aiyad*, he signed the capitulation; upon which his troops were immediately admitted into the town. *Edeffa*, called by the *Arabs* and natives at this day *Roba*, is about a day's journey distant from *Charræ*, *Carræ*, or *Harrân*, a city famous amongst the antients, and situated on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. It was called by *Pliny*, from a fountain in or near it, *Callirhoe*, from whence the *Arabs* have deduced their *Al Roba* and *Roba*. It was formerly governed by its own princes, who had the name, or rather surname, of *Abgar*, as appears not only from some good authors, but likewise from many *Greek* imperial coins that still are extant. These princes either really were, or supposed to have been, of *Arab* extraction; as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that it had been a very large city, adorned with a noble *Christian* church, and rendered remarkable by 300 monasteries that were in it; tho' in his time, as he says, it lay almost buried in its own ruins. The author of the book *Al Azizi* observes, that many traces and remains of antiquity, in his days, were visible in it. The longitude assigned it by the former author is 62° 50', and the latitude 37° 00' <sup>2</sup>.

FROM *Edeffa* *Aiyad* marched to *Constantia*, or *Constantina*, at the head of the *Moslem* forces. This city was likewise seated on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*, but in a southern direction from *Edeffa*, and is taken by *Cellarius* for the *Nicephorium* of the ancients. The inhabitants of this place, as well as the garison, refusing to surrender it by capitulation, *Aiyad* found himself obliged to lay siege to it. This he for some time carried on, and at last took the town by assault; putting 300 *Greeks* he found there in arms to the sword. From thence he moved to the strong fortress called *Daras*, which he likewise carried by storm, and massacred all the people he met with in the place. This struck the other fortified towns of *Mesopotamia* with such terror, that most of them submitted without making any resistance. *Harrân*, in particular, surrendered to *Amru Ebn Said* upon the same terms as those that had been granted to *Edeffa*. This city is the principal seat of the *Sabians*, whose chief temple was erected upon a pretty high hill, insomuch that the words *Harranite* and *Sabian* have been considered as synonymous by some of the oriental writers. It has produced many learned men, and particularly several that have made a very considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy. Of these we have a fuller account given us by *Ebn Nedim* and *Ebn Kafta*, who take notice of a good number of them, and, amongst the rest, of *Thabet Ebn Korrab*, and *Mohammed Ebn Jabbar Ebn Senân Al Battâni*, generally called by the *Europeans* *Albatani*, from *Battân*, or *Bitân*, a tract in the district of *Harrân*, who made a very considerable figure. The religion of the *Sabians* is one of those, the practice of which, on

<sup>v</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 280, 281. DIONYSIUS TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. in biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721. <sup>2</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 282, 283. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 178. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. in biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 30. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 294, 295. PLIN lib. v. c. 24. TACIT. annal. lib. xii. c. 12. & JAC. GRONOV. not. in loc. ISM. ABU'LFED. in tab. Mesopotam. Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. apud Abu'lfed. ibid. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 244, 249. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.



paying tribute, is tolerated by the *Mohammedans*; and the professors of it are often included a in the expression of the *Korân*, those to whom the Scriptures have been given, or literally, people of the book. They go on pilgrimage to a place near this city, and have also a great respect for the temple of *Mecca* and the pyramids of *Egypt*; fancying these last to have been the sepulchres of *Seth*, and of *Enoch* and *S bi*, his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion. At these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense. Besides the book of *Psalms*, the only true Scripture they read, they have other books, which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the *Chaldee* tongue, which they call the book of *Seth*, that is full of moral discourses. They derive their name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, tho' others deduce it from *שִׁבָּא* *Saba*, or the best of b heaven, which they worship. Travellers commonly call them *Christians* of St. *John the Baptist*, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of *Christianity*. *Harrân* is the principal city of that part of *Mesopotamia* called *Diyâr Modar* by the *Arabs*, a day's journey, or six parasangs, to the S. E. of *Edeffa*, according to the oriental geographers; tho' the interjacent tract terminated by those two cities is said to amount to two days journey by *Golius*. We are told by an eastern writer, that *Harrân* was the first city built after the deluge, and that it is about two days journey distant from *Racca*. It was the place where *Terab*, the father of *Abram*, died, according to Scripture; and is famous in profane history for the memorable defeat of *Cressus*. Its longitude, according to *Abu'lfeda*, is  $68^{\circ} 00'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 50'$ . After the surrender of *Harrân*, *Aiyad* easily made himself master of *Racca*, or *Rakka*, *Nisibis*, or *Nisibîn*, *Mawfel*, or *Mawfil*, *Beled*, *Beleda*, or *Belath*, *Rasain*, or *Rasein*, *Amîd*, or *Amîda*, and many other towns of considerable strength; all which, without the least opposition, at his first appearance before them, surrendered to him. *Al Makîn* relates, that *Amru Ebn Said* took *Ainwerda*, about this time; which may possibly be true: but that he was the *Moslem* general who reduced *Harrân* and *Roba*, as that author likewise asserts, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to admit; as such a notion runs counter to all the other writers who have given any account of this irruption of the *Arabs* into *Mesopotamia*, and is absolutely exploded by *Golius*. *Habib Ebn Meslema* also, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, possessed himself of *Karkisia*, or *Kirkisia*, a city of *Diyâr Modar*, seated upon the river *Chabora*, or *Aboras*, together with the district belonging to it, by capitulation. We must beg leave to remind our readers d here, that, by the inundation of *Al Arem*, so famous in the *Arabian* history, eight of the *Arab* tribes were forced to abandon their habitations; at which time some of those tribes, or colonies, were probably led into *Mesopotamia* by three chiefs, *Becr*, *Modar*, and *Rabîa*, from whom the three provinces of that country are still called by the *Arabs* *Diyâr Becr*, *Diyâr Moda*, and *Diyâr Rabîa*. The tract comprehending these three provinces, and limited on every side but the N. where it is bounded by mount *Taurus*, by the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and consequently forming a sort of peninsula, is, for that reason, not improperly denominated by some of the eastern writers *Jezîra*, or *Al Jezîra*, that is, the island, or peninsula; that word being applied by the *Orientals* to peninsulas as well as islands, as we have already e observed in our history of the ancient *Arabs*. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* informs us, that *Asus*, the *Aiyas*, or *Aiyad*, of *Eutychius*, *Al Makîn*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, the *Moslem* commander in chief, came to a general action with the imperial forces in *Mesopotamia*, and gave them an intire defeat; which, as he seems to intimate, happened before his troops possessed themselves of *Edeffa*, and therefore might probably occasion the surrender of that place. *Theophanes*, according to a very learned modern writer, calls this general *Jasfus*, and *Cedrenus* *Jadus*; which seems to imply, that he was *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân*, who is named *Jasfus* by the former, and *Jadus* by the latter, of those authors. But such a notion must be a mistake, as *Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân* died of the plague in *Syria*, before the commencement of this expedition. In fine, by the reduction of *Amîd*, or *Amîda*, which stood near the foot of mount *Taurus*, at a small distance from the western bank of the *Tigris*, *Aiyad* seems to have completed, in less f than a year, the conquest of *Mesopotamia* <sup>a</sup>.

The Moslems extend their conquests.

NOR did the *Moslems*, about this time, meet with less success in other parts. *Al Mogheirab Ebn Shaaba*, one of the *Khalîf's* commanders, with a body of troops, made himself master of *Shiz*, a place famous for the birth of *Zerdusht*, situated between *Zerjân*, *Shabrozûr*, *Dainawâr*, and *Marâgab*, and over-ran the whole province of *Aderbijân*. He also

<sup>a</sup> STEPH. BYZANT. SUID. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xv. p. 713, 714. LIPSIÆ, 1706. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN, ubi sup. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 25. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 726, & alib. HYDE, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 128, & alib. GREAVES'S pyramidograph. p. 6, 7. POC. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 138, & alib. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 281, 282, 291, 292, &c. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 232, 233, 249—252. Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. & EBN HAWKEL, apud Abu'lfed. in Mesopotam. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. GEN. xi. 32. PLIN. lib. v. c. 24. FLOR. lib. iii. c. 11. LUCAN. lib. i. v. 104. EUTROP. lib. vi. c. 15. STRAB. lib. xvi. PLUT. in Crass. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiii. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 294, 295. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. xxxiv. AL BEIDAWI, DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 362.

took,



- a took, after a short siege, the city of *Adabin* in *Armenia*, and possessed himself of all that part of this country bordering on mount *Taurus*, and consequently in the neighbourhood of *Mesopotamia*. Nay, he obliged, in a manner, the whole region to recognize the authority of the *Khalif*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*. The large town of *Siwás*, the *Sebastia* of *Pliny*, at that time perhaps belonging to *Armenia*, he took by composition, and subjugated all the inhabitants of the neighbouring tract. We are told by *Eutychius*, that *Al Mogbeirah Ebn Shaaba*, who at this time conquered the province of *Aderbijân*, was the first who gave *Omar* the title of *the emperor of the faithful*; which at first disgusted the *Khalif*, tho' he was afterwards reconciled to it. But this runs counter to what we find advanced by *Abu'l Faraj* in that particular, as has been already observed. That general, according to the first of these authors, when this event happened, was governor of *Basra*; the whole district of which place, together with *Obolla*, and other towns, had been reduced by *Uibal Ebn Arkan*, with a body of the *Moslem* forces. *Uibal* afterwards advanced to *Al Madâyen*, overthrew the governor of that place, who commanded a large body of *Persian* troops there, with great slaughter, and cut off his head. After which, he obtained leave of the *Khalif* to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*; but, before his departure from the army, he made himself master of *Al Madâyen*, and left a garison there. *Al Mogbeirah Ebn Shaaba* succeeded him in the post of governor of *Basra*, as well as that of general of the *Moslem* forces in *Persia*. But he not remaining long in that honourable situation, *Abu Musa Al Ajhari* was appointed his successor, and also prefect of the territory of *Misan*, with orders from the *Khalif* to build several towns, or villages, in the neighbourhood of *Basra*, and settle some *Arabian* colonies there. This he did, and finished the buildings of the city of *Basra*, in which he thought proper to erect a *Moslem* temple, or mosque, of a moderate size. The city of *Sbiz*, according to *Golius*, seems, by way of eminence, to be called the *Pyreum*, or *fire-temple*, by *Abu'l-feda*, as having given birth to *Zerdusht*, the great prophet and pontiff of the *Magians* or *fire-worshippers*, if not the author and founder of their religion, and is one of the principal places in the province of *Aderbijân*. That province, which includes part of the ancient *Media* and part of *Armenia*, was, as it were, anciently the center of the *Magians*, having been almost intirely inhabited by them, and received its name from the object of their worship; the word *Azar*, *Adur*, *Adar*, or *Ader*, in old *Persic*, signifying *fire*, or rather the angel presiding over that element. Nay, the word *Zar-adoft*, *Zar-ades*, *Zar adusht*, or *Zerdusht*, the name of the great *Magian* pontiff himself, according to some, denotes, in the ancient *Persic* language, the *friend of fire*. It may not be amiss to remark farther there, that the followers of *Zerdusht* not long since continued to be pretty numerous in the aforesaid province; so that it may not improbably be the principal seat of the *Magians*, or *Persees*, at this very day <sup>b</sup>.

- THE *Moslem* arms likewise made a very considerable progress in *Khûzestân*, the antient *Susiana*, a little before the 21st year of the *Hejra*, as seems sufficiently to appear from *Ebn Shohnah*, as well as from *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian. The general that commanded the *Khalif's* forces on the side of *Persia*, in this expedition, who, from several circumstances in the *Arabian* history, appears to have been *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, some of whose great exploits in that country have already been taken notice of, possessed himself of *Abwâz*, the principal town of that province, with little opposition; which put the best part of it, if not the whole, intirely into his hands. The city of *Abwâz* is the capital of *Khûzestân*, as well as of a particular district, called from it by the *Persians* the province of *Abwâz*. Sometimes that name is also applied to the whole tract going amongst the *Orientals* under the name of *Khûzestân*, as may be inferred from some good authors. That city, of which at present little remains, stood near the confluence of two small rivers, and not far from the *Persian* gulf, or bay of *Basra* <sup>c</sup>.

- THIS last town, however, seems to have fallen again to the *Persians*, after it had been reduced by *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, according to *Al Makîn*; tho', if we will believe that author, it did not remain long in their hands. For, *Abu Musa Al Ajhari*, as he asserts, made himself master of *Abwâz* and *Siwâs* in the 21st year of the *Hejra*. With regard to the latter of which places, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to admit, that it was *Siwâs*, or *Sebastia*, in *Pontus*, or rather at this time, as it should seem, in *Armenia*, above-mentioned, as some appear to have done. For, *Al Makîn*, by mentioning these two cities as taken near the same time, and that by the same general, seems clearly to intimate, that they could not be very far distant from one another; whereas *Siwâs* in *Armenia* stood at an

<sup>b</sup> EUTYCH. AL MAKÎN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 35, 226, 227, 266, 267, & alib. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. PLIN. PTOL. & SHARIF AL EDRIS. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 266. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. AL WAKÊN. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. OCKLEY, ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> EBN SHOHNÂH, KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. AL MAKÎN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 687, 688. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 118. See also Mr. SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary discourse, and his translation of the Korân.



immense distance from *Abwâz* in *Khûzeftân*. We would, therefore, emend the text of *Al Makîn*, by substituting *Sirâf* in the room of *Sirwâs*; which we hope will meet with the approbation of our learned and curious readers. For, *Sirâf* was at this time a flourishing maritime city, seated on the *Persian* gulf, or bay of *Basra*, in the province of *Fars*, or *Persia* properly so called, which was contiguous to *Khûzeftân*, and particularly that district of it called in the strictest sense the province of *Abwâz*. The *Arabic* elements of the word *Sirâf* are likewise extremely similar to those forming the name *Sirwâs*; so that the depravation here supposed might have been very easily made. *Hormezan*, or *Harmazan*, the *Persian* governor of *Khûzeftân*, surrendered the town and territory of *Abwâz* to the *Moslem* troops in the 17th year of the *Hejra*, or at least the following year. *Abu Musa Al Ashari* seems likewise to have almost completed the conquest of *Khûzeftân*, by the second reduction of *Abwâz*; and to have possessed himself of a considerable part of *Fars*, or *Farfistân*, by obliging the city of *Sirâf* to submit to the *Khalîf*. We say, *Abu Musa Al Ashari* seems to have almost completed the conquest of *Khûzeftân*, by the second reduction of *Abwâz*; for that he did not absolutely subjugate that province, appears from hence, that he was not able to force the strong city of *Tustar*, the *Susa*, or *Shushan*, of the antients, to surrender to him. M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a mistake, when he affirms the district of *Abwâz* to have been a part of *Chaldea*, or *Irâk*; since it was one of the principal cities, if not the metropolis, of *Khûzeftân*; the tract nearly answering to the *Susiana* of the antients, as has been already observed <sup>d</sup>.

The Arabs  
conquer part  
of Khorasân.

ABOUT the same time, that is, in the 21st year of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs*, under the command of *Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrân*, subdued likewise *Khorasân*, according to *Al Makîn*; tho' that large and extensive province was reduced to the obedience of the *Khalîf* in the 21st and 22d years of the *Moslem* æra, if we will believe *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian. *Khorasân* is bounded on the south by a vast desert, that separates it from the province of *Fars*, *Farfistân*, or *Persia* properly so called; on the north by *Turkeftân*, *Mawarâ'nabr*, the *Amu*, and sandy deserts on the side of the kingdom of *Khowarazm*; on the east by *Sijistân*, and the territories of the *Mogul*; and on the west by another solitude contiguous to *Jurjân*, *Georgia*, or *Georgiana*, and *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*. From which description of its limits, handed down to us by the *Persian* geographer, it appears to be a region of prodigious extent. M. *D'Herbelot* makes this vast tract to correspond with the *Bactria*, or *Bactriana*, of the antients; as it is terminated by the river *Amu*, supposed by him to answer to the *Oxus*, and the aforesaid deserts, on the side of *Khowarazm*. Nor can it be deemed improbable, that part at least of this province, in some respect, corresponded with the antient *Bactria*; since that country was separated from *Sogdiana*, part of which was occupied by the *Chorasmii*, by the *Oxus*. For, that the *Chorasmii*, or *Khorazmians*, of *Ptolemy*, *Arrian*, *Curtius*, and *Athenæus*, were the progenitors of the people of the kingdom of *Khowarazm*, from the great affinity of their names, as well as their situation, seems clearly enough to appear. Notwithstanding what has been so positively advanced, in relation to the conquest of *Khorasân* by *Omar's* troops, it must be allowed, that the *Moslems* could not effect the reduction of this province before the *Khalîfat* of *Othmân*. They therefore, at this time, probably made themselves masters of only those parts of it terminated by the deserts bordering upon *Farfistân* and the *Persian Irâk*. As there is so little difference between the words *Khorasân* and *Khowarazm*, or *Khowarazm*, and the regions going under those names were separated by the *Oxus*; from thence we may conclude it not improbable, that one of the nations inhabiting those tracts was descended from the other. Be this, however, as it will, we are by no means inclined to believe, that the etymon of the word *Khorasân*, produced by M. *D'Herbelot* will prove satisfactory to our more sagacious and intelligent readers <sup>e</sup>.

The Nohawandian war.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the military exploits of the *Arabs* in the *Khalîfat* of *Omar*, we must beg leave to give our readers a concise relation of the *Nohawandic*, or *Nohawandian*, war, which happened, according to *Al Makîn*, in the 21st year of the *Hejra*. The *Persians* receiving advice of an irruption made by the *Arabs*, under the conduct of *Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrân*, into their territories, assembled all their forces at *Nohawand*, a town of no great note in *Fars*, if we will give credit to *Abu'l-feda*; tho', according to *Yakût*, it was one of the principal cities of that country, in order to drive them from thence into their own dominions. *Al Nooman* being apprized of the enemy's motions, marched directly against them, came up with them at *Nohawand*, and immediately engaged them.

<sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 266, 267. GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 179. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 688, & alib. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 216. SALE's map of Arabia, ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25, 30. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 687, 688. 995. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'L-FED. ULUGH BEIGH, NASSIR ETTUS. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. pass. PTOL. in geogr. ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. 4. lib. viii. c. 1. STRAB. lib. xi. ATHEN. deipnosoph. lib. ii. sub fin. DIONYS. perieg. v. 746. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xxi. p. 833, 839. An account of the present state of Northern Asia, &c. p. 419. Lond. 1729.



- a This action, which was extremely sharp, ended in the defeat of the *Persians*, who could never afterwards make head against the *Arabs*. The latter, however, sustained a very considerable loss by the death of their general, *Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrán*, who was killed in the action. *Al Makín* seems to intimate, that this battle continued several days; by which, as we apprehend, he must mean, that, during the movements of the two armies in the neighbourhood of *Nobawand*, several skirmishes happened, which at last brought on a general action, that put a period to this war. The same author likewise relates, that many of the *Persians* were slain in the battle of *Nobawand*; but of these he has not transmitted down to us the precise number. After the *Persians* had received this overthrow, *Nobawand* surrendered to the victors, and had a tribute imposed upon it. The first sum the people
- b of that town paid the *Arabs* was distributed amongst the citizens of *Basra*, who had supplied *Al Nooman* with a great number of recruits. That general had been intimately acquainted with *Mohammed*, and was therefore stiled by the *Moslems* one of the COMPANIONS. *Nobawand* was situated upon a hill, fourteen parasangs S. of *Hamedan*, and abounded with rivers and gardens, that furnished the inhabitants both with plenty of water and excellent fruits; of the latter of which very considerable quantities were carried into *Assyria*. *Hodaifa Ebn Yaman*, who, after the death of *Nooman Ebn Al Makrán*, took upon him the command of the *Moslem* forces, following his blow, reduced the whole kingdom of *Persia* under the dominion of the *Khalif*, except the two dependent provinces of *Kermán* and *Sijistán*, which held out for some time, though they were obliged at last to submit. In fine, *Yazdegerd*
- c being almost intirely stript of his dominions by the last defeat, fled to *Merú*, a city of *Khorasán*, situated in a remote part of that country, upon the *Oxus*. We are told by a *Christian* writer, that the *Arabs* carried off with them all the rich furniture of *Yazdegerd*'s palace, and took his daughters prisoners in this expedition; as also, that, after the *Khalif* had completed his conquests in *Persia*, he caused to be drawn out a list or roll, containing an exact account of the number of all the men, cattle, and other useful animals, in his extensive dominions. It has been already observed, that the *Arabs*, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Nadil*, immediately before the commencement of the *Nobawandian* war, had made themselves masters of *Ispahán*, or *Asfehán*, the *Aspa* of *Ptolemy*, and at present the metropolis of the kingdom of *Persia*; to which we must beg leave to add, that, about the same
- d time, they likewise reduced the city of *Istacbra*, that stood on the spot which had formerly been occupied by the antient *Persepolis*. This place made a considerable figure in the days of *Omar*, and has, since that time, been pretty populous for a certain period; but at present it has scarce the appearance of a poor obscure village. *Istacbra* is said to have derived its name from that of the son of *Kajomaras*, or rather *Kayomaras*; which, if true, must evince it to have been a town of very high antiquity; tho' it was afterwards called *Persepolis* by the *Greeks*. The remains of the antient capital of *Persia*, visible here in the days of *Abu'lfeda*, appeared so stupendous and wonderful, that the stately structures to which they belonged were supposed by the vulgar to have been the work of demons. A little before the battle of *Nobawand*, *Jarir Al Bajali*, with the *Arab* forces under his conduct,
- e took *Hamadan*, or *Hamedan*, a very large city of *Fars*, according to *Ebn Hawkel*, and at no great distance from *Nobawand*, or *Nihawand*, as 'tis called by *Yakút*. This must have happened soon after the reduction of that part of the province of *Khorasán*, which was conquered by the *Arabs* in the days of *Omar*. *Al Makín* affirms, that *Khâled Ebn Al Walid* died at *Hems* the year in which the battle of *Nobawand* was fought; with whom, as to the time of that event, another *Arab* author of good repute, as has been already observed, perfectly agrees <sup>f</sup>.

- ABOUT two years after the conclusion of the *Nobawandian* war, in which the *Arabs* probably still farther extended their conquests, tho' no account of their military operations during that period has reached us, that is, in the 23d year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu*
- f *Jaasar Al Tabari*, the *Khalif Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* was assassinated by a *Persian* slave; of which horrid fact the *Arab* writers have handed down to us the following particulars: *Abu Lulua*, a *Persian*, of the *Magian* sect, whose *Persian* name was *Firúz*, one of *Al Mogheira Ebn Al Shaaba*'s slaves, was obliged by his master to pay daily two *dirhems*, in conformity to the *Mohammedan* custom, for the free exercise of his religion. *Firúz* resenting this treatment, complained of it to the *Khalif*, and desired that some part, at least, of the tribute exacted of him might be remitted. But this being refused by *Omar*, the *Persian* threaten'd his destruction; which he soon after effected, by stabbing him thrice in the belly with a dagger, whilst he was in the mosque at *Medina* performing his morning devotions. The

<sup>f</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 221, 222. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 296, 297. LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, D'HEREEL. biblioth. Orient. p. 485. GEORG CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 429, 430. PTOL. in Parth. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113, 114, 214, 215, 216, &c. ABU'LFED. in geogr. AUTHOR of the hist. of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362.



*Arabs* then present perceiving that the villain had embrued his hands in the blood of their sovereign, immediately rushed upon him; but he made so desperate a defence, that he wounded thirteen of them, and seven of them mortally. But, at last, one of the *Khalif's* attendants threw his vest over him, and seized him; upon which, he stabbed himself, and soon after expired. According to *Theophanes*, this *Fir'iz* was an apostate, or renegade, and consequently had before embraced the *Mohammedan* religion; but this is by no means probable, because, on his becoming a convert to *Islamism*, he must have been manumitted by his master, and, on his relapsing into *Magism*, he would indubitably have been put to death by the *Khalif's* order; neither of which particulars are consistent with what we find related of him by the *Arab* historians, and even by our *Greek* chronographer himself. As for *Omar*, he languished three days, and then died, in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, and the 23d year of the *Hejra*, which began in the year of our LORD 643. With regard to the duration of his *Khalifat*, authors are not agreed. The *Arab* historians, whom we are inclined to follow, say that he reigned between ten and eleven years. *Theophanes* affirms, that he was murdered in the 12th year of his *Khalifat*, and *Dionysius Telmarenensis* extends the length of his reign to twelve complete years. Only one of the wounds given him by *Fir'iz* was mortal, and that he received under his navel. At his death he was sixty-three years old; which, as we are told by an *Arab* author, was the age of *Mohammed* himself, *Abu Becr*, and *Ayesha*, one of the prophet's wives, when they died. When *Omar* fell in the mosque, during the remainder of the service, *Abd'alrahman Ebn Awf*, one of *Mohammed's* first converts, supplied his place; and the three days preceding his death, *Sabib Ebn Tarfib*, at his command, officiated for him. His body was interred in *Ayesha's* apartment, near that of the prophet *Mohammed*. We are informed by *Eutychius*, that, during his *Khalifat*, he performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca* nine times <sup>e</sup>.

*His character.* THE *Khalif Omar*, as to his person, was very tall, bald, and of a swarthy complexion. One author says, that he was left-handed; and another that he used his left hand as well as his right. His head and his beard he tinged with *Al Henna*, which gave them a beautiful red colour in the same manner as did *Mohammed*, and his predecessor *Abu Becr*. With regard to his disposition, the *Moslem* writers pass the highest encomiums upon him; tho' in this, perhaps, they may not have altogether divested themselves of partiality. His singular justice, abstinence, and piety, say they, procured him more reverence from his subjects than his successors could command by their grandeur. His cane, or walking-stick, according to *Al Wakedi*, struck more terror into those that were present, than another man's sword. His food was chiefly barley-bread, and his sauce salt. Sometimes, however, by way of abstinence and mortification, he would eat the former without the latter. His drink was only water. He was a constant observer of religious duties, and extremely regular in the performance of his devotions. His administration of justice was very impartial, his ears being always open to the complaints of the meanest; nor could the greatness of an offender ever screen him from condign punishment. He punctually adhered to the true and genuine sense of the *Korân*, and the traditions of *Mohammed*, in all his decisions; which rendered him extremely agreeable to his people. He was so far from being of a jealous or suspicious temper, that he did not always take the measures and precautions necessary for his own preservation. This sufficiently appears from the following relation, handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*, of some of the principal circumstances attending his death, as well as of the cause and occasion of that fatal event <sup>h</sup>.

*The cause of Omar's death.* THE reason of *Omar's* assassination was this: *Abu Lulua* complaining to him of the rigorous treatment he met with from his master, who exacted of him every day *two dirhems*, by way of tribute, the *Khalif* said to him, "The money demanded by your master is no such great matter; since, as I am informed, you can construct a wind-mill, if you please." To this *Abu Lulua* replied, "I'll take care to construct a wind-mill for you, that shall not cease grinding till the day of the resurrection." Upon which, *Omar* cried out, "The slave threatens me; if I was disposed to put any person to death, upon bare suspicion, I should immediately take off the varlet's head." Afterwards, when he had been stabbed, whilst at prayers in the mosque, *Omar* sent for a physician, and commanded him to examine the wounds he had received. This being done, the doctor desired the *Khalif* to drink a draught of wine; which he did; but when the liquor came from him, it appeared in such a form, that no one could tell whether it was wine or blood. The *Khalif* then sent for another physician, who, after inspecting his wounds, requested him to take off a draught of milk. This that prince likewise complied with; and when the liquor ran out of one

<sup>e</sup> EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 320—323. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 25, 26. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 79. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 284. DION. TELMARENS. ubi sup. AUTH. of the history of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362. <sup>h</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 26. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 322, 323. AL WAKED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 179, 180. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 179, 180.



a of them, it was of the same colour and consistence as at first, or rather, according to some of the manuscript copies of *Abu'l Faraj*, stinking milk; which being observed by the doctor, he said to the *Khalif*, "O emperor of the faithful, make your will without delay; your departure is at hand." From which relation we may infer not only that the *Khalif Omar* was void of the least propensity to jealousy or suspicion, but likewise that, in his days, some persons at least not altogether unacquainted with physic were to be met with in *Arabia* <sup>1</sup>.

ONE of the names, or rather surnames, of *Omar Ebn Al Kbattâb Ebn Nafail* was *Abu Omar surnam-*  
*Hafs*, according to *Al Kodai*. *Omar* was of the posterity of *Ada Ebn Caab Ebn Lxxxi*, and <sup>Al Faruk</sup>  
had the surname likewise of *Al Faruk*, that is, the *Divider*, or *Distinguisher*, which he  
b received from the prophet himself on the following occasion. A wicked *Moslem* having a  
dispute with a *Jew*, appealed from *Mohammed's* decision, which was against him, to *Omar*; whose love of justice and equity at that time, tho' he could be considered in no other light than that of a private person, was most conspicuous amongst the *Arabs*. *Omar*, greatly incensed at the *Moslem's* obstinate presumption, in daring to prefer his judgment to that of the prophet himself, at one blow with his scymitar cut him in two; saying aloud, "This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of God and his apostle." *Mohammed* being informed of the fact, immediately gave *Omar* the surname, or title, of *Al Faruk*; which alluded both to his *division* of that knave's body, and to his *distinction* between truth and falsehood. The *Moslem* at first insisted upon referring the matter to *Caab Ebn Al*  
c *Ashraf*, one of the principal *Arabs* of the *Jewish* religion; but at last agreed to leave it to the determination of *Mohammed*: for which reason the prophet gives *Caab Ebn Al Ashraf* the name of *Tâghût*, that is, the *devil*, or *seducer*, in the *Korân*. We are told by *Ebn Shebâb*, that *Omar* was first called *Al Faruk* by the *Jews*, and not by *Mohammed*; but *Jallalo'ddin* and *Al Beidarwi*, two of the most authentic commentators on the *Korân*, are of a different opinion <sup>k</sup>.

THIS *Khalif's* conquests were so considerable and extensive, that had no future additions <sup>Some other</sup>  
been made to the *Moslem* empire, it would have been one of the most powerful and for- <sup>particulars</sup>  
midable monarchies in the world. He expelled both the *Christians* and *Jews* out of the <sup>relating to</sup>  
peninsula of the *Arabs*. He subdued *Syria*, *Egypt*, a considerable part of *Barka*, the western <sup>Omar.</sup>  
d *Tripoli*, with its territory, and almost the whole kingdom of *Persia*. Besides which, his troops possessed themselves of the whole province of *Aderbijan*, a large extent of territory in *Khorasân*, the greatest part of *Armenia*, and some other neighbouring tracts. He left behind him a numerous army, composed of the best soldiers in the world, such as the forces of no other potentate at that time durst look in the face. And, notwithstanding all this, he persisted to the last in his abstemious way of life; nor could any person ever infer an increase of his riches and power from any increase of his expences and retinue. The truth of the matter is, if we will believe the oriental historians, he was generous, liberal, and munificent, to a surprising degree; frequently supplying with large sums of money vast numbers of his subjects, and even strangers too, who stood in need of his support. He was extremely  
e punctual in the payment of his creditors, and often paid them more than their due. His equal and impartial distribution of justice is greatly celebrated by the eastern writers, and in some measure appears from several instances already produced in the course of this work; to which many more might be added, would the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit. He surrounded the city of *Cûfa* with a wall, as has been already observed, and repaired, or rather rebuilt, both the temples at *Jerusalem* and *Medina*. The æra called the *Hejra*, or the supputation of time from the flight of *Mohammed* to *Yatreb*, was introduced first amongst the *Arabs* in his reign, and still prevails amongst the *Moslems* in every part of the world. He was the first who kept an exact list of all the persons who either served in the army or received any stipend from the public. A decree was first issued out in his  
f *Khalifat*, by which the *Moslems* were forbidden to sell any woman that had been delivered of a child for a slave; which afterwards passed into a law. As *Abu Becr* divided the money in his treasury every *Friday* night amongst his subjects, in proportion to the different degrees of merit of which they were possessed; so *Omar* made such a division of his money amongst the *Moslems* weekly on the same night, in proportion to their necessities only. For which he assigned this weighty reason, *viz.* "because the good things of the present life were given us by God for the relief of our necessities; whereas the proper reward of virtue, and real intrinsic merit, belonged to another world." We are told by some of the oriental writers, that the tomb of *Sennacherib*, king of *Affyria*, was discovered on mount *Lebanon*,

<sup>1</sup> GRIG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN ABDI RABBIHI, MS. Hentings: in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 554. Vide etiam GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. 21. p. 405—413. A Amsterdam, 1732. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. ubi sup. <sup>k</sup> AL KODAI, AL TABARI, EBN SHEHAB, apud Al Kodaium, JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. de vit. Moham. c. x. p. 22. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iv. See also SALE's translat. and notes on the Kor. p. 51, 69.



in the *Khalifat* of Omar; and that *Al Kbedr*, or *Elias*, or at least one of his disciples, named *Bar Elias*, then appeared. Amongst the remarkable sayings of Omar, the following has been ranked by a *Moslem* author. *The Arab empire will fail, when the prince at the head of it shall be destitute both of the piety of the Moslems and the liberality of the Gentiles.* In fine, Omar, who, in his disposition, so resembled *Abu Becr*, that the *Arabs* called those *Khalifs* *Omarân*, or the two *Omars*, built the city of *Basra*, at the mouth of the *Tigris*, in order to make himself master of the *Persian* gulf, and consequently, by means of this, to facilitate the importation of all those rich and valuable commodities that were the produce of *India* into his own dominions <sup>1</sup>.

Omar refuses  
to name a  
successor.

As soon as it was known that one of the wounds Omar had received from *Abu Lulua* was mortal, and that the milk he had drank issued from thence without meeting in its passage with the least alteration, the *Moslems* about him pressed him to nominate a successor, without delay. To these he answered, that if *Salem* was alive, he should prefer him to any other person. Then they asked him what he thought of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, whose affinity and near relation to the prophet, as well as his own personal merit and bravery, seemed to render him worthy of so elevated a station. "He is not serious enough," replied the *Khalif*, "for the discharge of the duties of so important a post." This not succeeding, they proposed to him *Othmân Ebn Affân*, as a person every way qualified for so weighty a charge; but him he rejected, as one too much inclined to favour his own friends and relations. Then they recommended *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, who had been of great service to *Mohammed*, soon after he entered upon his prophetic function; but his avarice, in Omar's opinion, rendered him unworthy of the *Khalifat*. Nor could he be prevailed upon to name *Saad Ebn Al Wakkâs*, whom he judged of too fierce and intractable a disposition for his successor. *Telha Ebn Obeid'allah*, one of *Abu Becr's* relations, he esteemed too proud and haughty for so sublime a dignity; since, in his opinion, the prophet's successor ought to be a person of the greatest affability and condescension. Nor could he be induced to nominate his son, when he was mentioned to him; saying, "It was enough for the family of *Al Khatâb* to have one to give an account of so arduous a province as the *Khalifat*." Omar, however, appointed six persons to deliberate about the election of a successor, for three days after his decease; excluding his son at the same time from the right of voting, tho' he commanded him to assist at their deliberations. These were *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Tella Ebn Obeid'allah*, and *Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs*; all of which had been intimately acquainted with *Mohammed*, and were therefore stiled, by way of eminence, THE COMPANIONS. *Abu Obeidah* has been inserted in this list, instead of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, by *Abul Faraj*; but as that historian herein runs counter both to *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*, and as more of the oriental authors than one assert *Abu Obeidah* to have died of the plague in *Syria*, in the 18th year of the *Hejra*, we have thought fit with the learned Mr. *Ockley*, to reject his authority in the point before us <sup>m</sup>.

Othmân elect-  
ed Khalif.

THE six commissioners, or rather electors, met after Omar's death, in order to deliberate about the choice of a new *Khalif*. At their first meeting, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf* declared, that he would lay aside all pretensions to the *Khalifat*, provided he might be indulged the liberty of electing out of his five companions an emperor of the faithful. To this they all agreed, except *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who thought himself injured, because he was not the immediate successor of *Mohammed*. He, therefore, imagined, that, as one of the prophet's nearest relations, and the husband of *Fâtema*, he ought to be called to the succession without any farther deliberations, and even without the formality of an election. However, he at last acquiesced in the proposal, after *Abd'alrahmân* had sworn to him, that he would not favour any of the candidates who should offer himself. *Abd'alrahmân* having now carried his point, consulted with the other commissioners, and the leading men amongst the people, in order to discover the person they had principally in view. Finding, therefore, that they were almost unanimously inclined to favour the elevation of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, he declared him *Khalif*; and his five companions, as well as the people in general, then assembled for that purpose, immediately recognized his authority. With regard to the precise day of *Othmân's* inauguration, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, that it happened on the last day of *Dhulhajja*, in the 23d year of the *Hejra*; others the year following, in the month of *Al Moharram*; and others again fix it upon the 20th day of *Al Moharram*, three days after the death of Omar. Be that as it will, the new *Khalif* at that time had the hearts and affections of all his subjects, tho' he afterwards unfortunately lost them. We are told

<sup>1</sup> AL WAKED. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, ABU'L FAR. THEOPHAN. CEDREN. ABU'LFED. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & EBN SHOHNAH, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL biblioth. Orient. p. 687, 688, 689. <sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 182, 183. AL MAKIN, hist. Saracen. p. 25, 26. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 322, 323. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. lxxii. p. 156, 157. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 344, 369, 370.



- a by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Abu Obeidah* came to *Ali*, and demanded of him, "Whether, if he  
 " was chosen, he would govern the *Moslems* according to the contents of the *Korân*, the  
 " traditions of *Mohammed*, and the decisions of the two seniors?" meaning, we suppose,  
 his two predecessors, *Abu Becr* and *Omar*. To which *Ali* made answer, that "he was very  
 " willing to make the two former the basis and standard of his government, but could not  
 " prevail upon himself to put the latter upon the same footing." The same terms being  
 offered to *Othmân*, he readily embraced them, without the least limitation or restriction; and  
 was, in consequence thereof, immediately elected *Khalif*. But here, whatever regard in  
 the main we may pay to his authority, we must beg leave to dissent from this historian;  
 since the death of *Abu Obeidah* preceded that of *Omar*, and consequently he could have no  
 b share in the election of his successor, as has been already observed. Besides, *Abd'alrahmân*  
*Ebn Awf* was a much more considerable person than *Abu Obeidah*, notwithstanding all his  
 conquests, as having been one of the first converts to *Islamism*, and even one of the principal  
 of the first and most intimate companions of the prophet; so that had both he and *Abu*  
*Obeidah* been living at the time of *Omar's* decease, the former, in exclusion of the latter,  
 would probably have been appointed one of the six commissioners, or electors, above-men-  
 tioned. However, that what has been attributed to *Abu Obeidah* by *Abu'l Faraj*, ought to be  
 ascribed to *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, so that the story in the main may be true, very clearly  
 appears from *Al Makin*. We must not forget to remark, that *Othmân Ebn Affân* is called  
*Othmân* the son of *Phan*, or *Fan*, by *Theophanes*; that *Ebn Arrabeb*, in his *Chronicon*, asserts  
 c *Othmân* to have been inaugurated on the first day of *Al Moharram*; and that *Abi'l Walid*  
 places that event on the third day of the same month, in the 24th year of the *Hejra*, which  
 was nearly coincident with the year of our LORD 645<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. c. iv. p. 31. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 182, 183. ABU JAAFAR, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 25. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 320—323. EBN ARRAHEB, in chron. Oriental. ABU'L WALID, apud Dionys. Telmarenf. in chron. five annal. ut & ipse DIONYS. TELMARENS. ibid. Vide etiam JOSEPH. SIM. ASSEMAN. in bibl. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. & THEOPH. chronograph. p. 284.

### S E C T. III.

- d A S soon as *Othmân* was settled in the government, he sent a body of troops, under the *The Arabs*  
 command of *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, to complete the conquest of the territory of *extend their*  
*Hamadan*; which he effected without any great difficulty. He also attacked the castle of *conquests*.  
*Bira* in *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Euphrates*, which had either never been reduced by  
*Omar*, or fallen again to the emperor, after the departure of the *Moslem* troops out of the  
 province to which it belonged; and, with little loss, made himself master of it. With regard  
 to *Hamadan*, or *Hamadsan*, as 'tis pronounced by the *Arabs*, it was, according to *Abu'lfeda*,  
 one of the largest cities of *Al Jebâl*, enjoyed a very salubrious air, and abounded with gar-  
 dens, fruitful plains, and fountains. There is a very high and famous mountain in its neigh-  
 bourhood, named *Al Wend*. The kings, or *Shâbs*, of *Persia* retired formerly to this place,  
 e for the sake of its delightful situation, and the fine breezes that greatly refreshed them, in  
 the summer time; on which account it is denominated by *Hamdalla* the city of kings, or the  
 royal city. *Goliuf* seems inclined to think, that it was the *Ecbatana* of the antients. *Darâb*,  
 the son of *Darâb*, erected a citadel in it, which has for a considerable time been demolished.  
*Hamadan* stands about two days journey from *Derbezân*, another very considerable city,  
 little inferior in any respect to *Hamadan*, except that the inhabitants of the former follow  
 the decisions of the *Sonna*, and consequently pay tribute to the king of *Persia*, for the free  
 exercise of their religion; whereas those of the latter adhere to an observance of the doctrines  
 and tenets of the *Shiites*, looking upon *Ali* as the first lawful *Imâm*, or rightful successor of  
*Mohammed*. We are told by an oriental writer, that *Hamadan* was formerly four parasangs  
 f in length, and as many in breadth, and the largest city in *Al Jebâl*. He likewise says, that  
 it was destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, but rebuilt and refortified by *Dara*, the son of *Dara*,  
 who brought all his riches thither; and that it has produced a great number of excellent  
 men. The intense cold in the winter-season here has been taken notice of by several authors.  
 One writer makes the longitude of this place to be 75° 20', and another 76° 00'; it has  
 had likewise different latitudes assigned it by different authors. The situation given by *Pliny*  
 to *Ecbatana* clearly evinces the spot occupied by *Hamadan* to have been at a considerable  
 distance from that town. The fortress of *Bira*, reduced in the twenty-fourth year of the  
*Hejra* by *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, is said to have been founded upon a rock; so that it  
 was undoubtedly a place of exceeding great strength. It had a valley appertaining to it in  
 g the time of *Ebn Said*, that went by the name of the valley of olives, and abounded with trees  
 and fountains. It was then one of the most advanced garrisons of the *Arabs* against the  
 Mod. Hist. Vol. I. S f f Tartars.



*Tartars*. It was at that time likewise the head of a prefecture, and the place where travellers<sup>a</sup> passed the *Euphrates* into *Syria*. *Abu'lfeda* determines its longitude to be  $62^{\circ} 30'$ , and its latitude  $36^{\circ} 50'$ . A modern *Orientalist*, of very considerable erudition, takes *Bira* on the *Euphrates*, there being some other places of the same name, to have been the *Zeugma* of the antients. A little before the reduction of *Bira*, *Mab Al Basra*, and the remainder of the tract belonging to *Ispahân* and *Ray*, or *Raya*, one of the most antient cities of *Al Jebâl*, were obliged also to submit to the *Khalif*, by a *Moslem* army, that obeyed the orders of *Abu Musa Al Ashari*. There was such a sharp contention between the *Shiites* and *Sonnites* in the city of *Raya*, that it broke out into a civil war, which ended in the extinction of the *Shiites*; after which, the *Shâfeïtes* and *Hanîfites*, the two sects of which the victors were composed, quarrelled amongst themselves, and almost totally ruined the city. What remained of it,<sup>b</sup> according to *Hamdalla*, was soon after destroyed by the *Tartars*. It is about a day's journey distant from *Komes*, and thirty parasangs from *Cazbîn*. *Komes* and *Ra*, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, terminate on the W. of the desert of *Khorasân*. *Raya* is famous for the birth of that celebrated philosopher and physician *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Zakaria*, from the place of his nativity furnamed *Rhazis*, *Rhazes*, or rather *Al Razi*, who died at *Raya*, in the year of the *Hejra* 311. He wrote many books; one of the principal of which seems to be that treating of particular diseases, intituled, *Medicina Mansuriana*, as though it had at first been dedicated, or inscribed, to *Al Mansûr Ebn Ishak Ebn Ahmed*, nephew to *Ali Abu Mohammed Al Moktafi Billa*, the 17th *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*, to whom it is directed, or addressed. The common title is *Rhazes* to *Al Mansûr*. According to *Ebn Hawkel*, *Raya* stands in the<sup>c</sup> region of *Deylam*, though others make it to belong to *Khorasân*. An oriental author says, that the country in which it was situated was formerly much frequented, or rather traversed, by merchants. The longitude of *Raya*, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, is  $76^{\circ} 20'$ , and its latitude  $35^{\circ} 35'$ . This year *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, who was then the *Moslem* prefect of *Syria*, made an irruption into the imperial territories, took many towns, and ravaged the country through which he moved in a dreadful manner. Nor did he sustain any considerable loss, notwithstanding the signal advantages he gained in this expedition<sup>o</sup>.

The Arabs drive Yazdegerd out of his dominions.

In the first year of his reign, *Othmân* likewise sent another body of troops, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, to act on the side of *Persia*, with orders to repossess themselves of *Istrachra*, or *Estakhr*, which had found means to revert to its old master *Yazdegerd*. The<sup>d</sup> motive to this expedition seems to have been the seizure of *Yazdegerd*, who then resided in that place. *Abd'allah* first advanced to *Darabajerd*, from whence he detached *Abd'allah Majase' Ebn Masûd*, with a considerable party, in quest of *Yazdegerd*. That prince being hotly pursued, found himself obliged to traverse a solitude, or desert, in order to reach the province of *Kermân*. But not thinking himself safe there, he fled to *Sijistân*, and intirely abandoned *Persia*. What became of him after this precipitate flight, it would be both superfluous and impertinent to give a prolix account of here, as our readers will find a full and circumstantial relation of this in the history of the antient *Persians*, the last of whose kings was the unfortunate *Yazdegerd*<sup>p</sup>.

Alexandria taken by the Christians, and retaken by the Arabs.

THE next year, the *Khalif* dismissed *Amru Ebn Al As* from his government of *Egypt*,<sup>e</sup> and advanced his foster-brother, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, to that honourable and lucrative post. This conduct perfectly answered the idea *Omar* had entertained of him, when he judged him unworthy of the *Khalifat*, as being too much inclined to favour his friends and relations. His treatment of *Amru* on this occasion was an instance both of great injustice and ingratitude, and, we may add, of imprudence too; for that general had not a little contributed to the extension of the *Moslem* empire, not only by reducing many strong fortresses in *Syria*, but likewise by annexing *Egypt* to the *Khalif's* dominions. He had also wonderfully ingratiated himself with the *Egyptians*, as being not only of a very affable and obliging temper, but likewise perfectly well acquainted with the genius and disposition of that people, and having a thorough knowlege of the customs and constitution of the country over which<sup>f</sup> he had with so much reputation presided. His dismissal, therefore, was considered as a public loss, and even disposed the *Egyptians* to a revolt. *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id* had scarce entered upon his government, when *Constantine*, the *Greek* emperor, received intelligence of the disaffection of the *Egyptians* to *Othmân*; which induced him to meditate the reduction of *Alexandria*. For this purpose, he sent one *Manuel*, an eunuch, his general, with a powerful

<sup>o</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 32. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 183. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. tab. 19, & alib. EBN HAWKEL & HAMDALLA, apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 220, 221. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. Lex. geograph. apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 26. SHARIF AL EDRISI, five Geogr. Nubiens. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 250. ut & ipse GOL. ibid. EBN SAID, apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. MOHAMMED EBN KATHIR AL FARGANI, & GOL. in not. ad eund. p. 210—214. HAMDALLA PARTHUS, ibid. BOHAD. in vit. & reb. gest. Salad. p. 44, 60, & alib. pass. Vide etiam AL ISTAKHR. apud Schult. ubi sup. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. <sup>p</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 183. LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, Univ. Hist. vol. iv. c. xiii. p. 404. Lond. 1744.



- a army to retake that place; which, by the assistance of the *Greeks* in the city, who kept a secret correspondence with the imperial forces whilst at sea, and joined them as soon as they had made a descent, he effected without any great effusion of *Christian* blood. The loss of so important a fortress alarming the *Khalif*, who now plainly discovered the cause of it, he immediately restored *Amru* to his former dignity. This step was extremely agreeable to the *Copts*, who having had experience of the military skill and bravery of this renowned general, and apprehending that they should be called to an account by the *Greeks* for their former perfidious conduct, had petitioned *Othmân* to send him once more into *Egypt*, to re-establish his drooping affairs in that country. Upon *Amru*'s arrival therefore, at *Alexandria*, the *Copts*, with the traitor *Al Mokawkas* at their head, did not only join him, but supplied
- b him likewise with all kinds of provisions, and excited him to attack the *Greeks* without delay. This he did, and, after a most obstinate dispute, which continued for several days, at last drove them into the town. However, for some time they defended themselves, and repelled all the efforts of the besiegers, with unparalleled bravery. This so exasperated *Amru*, that he swore, according to *Ebn Abd'albakim*, *If God enabled him to conquer the Greeks, he would throw down the walls of the city, and make it as easy of access as a bawdy-house, which lies open to every body.* Nor did he fail carrying this menace into execution. For, when he had made himself master of the town, which he did after a good defence, he quite dismantled it, intirely demolishing all the walls and fortifications. However, he spared the lives of most of the citizens; tho' some of them, as the place seems to have been
- c taken by storm, were put to the sword. In one part of the town, particularly, *Amru* found his men butchering the *Alexandrians* with unrelenting barbarity; but, by his seasonable interposition, he put a stop to their fury. In commemoration of this happy event, he ordered a mosque to be erected, on the spot where it happened; which he called, on that account, the *mosque of mercy*. The *Greeks* having thus a third time lost *Alexandria*, which never afterwards recovered its pristine grandeur, but dwindled away gradually to the state in which it still remains, *Manuel*, the imperial general, returned with shame to *Constantinople*. We must not forget to observe, that this *Manuel*, by the assistance of the *Greeks*, recovered *Alexandria* about five years after it had been taken by *Amru Ebn Al As*, and soon after lost it again in the manner related here. According to *Theophanes*, *Amru*'s successor in *Egypt*
- d invaded the dominions of one *Gregory*, an *African* tyrant, defeated the troops he led against him, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged his subjects to submit to the payment of an annual tribute. *Al Makin* gives the governor who succeeded *Amru* in *Egypt*, the name of *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, tho' he is called *Abd'allah Ebn Mas'ud* by *Abu'l Faraj*. Both of those authors, however, seem to agree, that this *Abd'allah*, during his continuance in the aforesaid post, possessed himself of the territories of a neighbouring *African* prince, not improbably the *Gregory* of *Theophanes*, and carried off with him all his treasures into *Egypt*, after he had put him to death. But neither of them has handed down to us either the name of this prince, and the country he governed, tho' *Al Makin* gives us to understand, that he was a king, or any of the remarkable particulars of this expedition<sup>a</sup>.
- e ABOUT the same time, that is, in the 27th year of the *Hejra*, according to the fore-  
going historians, *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân* invaded the island of *Cyprus*. The imperial troops  
being then very weak there, and the people of that island in no condition to oppose the  
*Moslems*, the inhabitants agreed to pay the tribute *Moâwiyah* demanded of them, in order to  
be taken under the *Khalif*'s protection. Which tribute, if we will believe *Al Makin*, they  
paid very punctually for the space of two years. *Theophanes* has handed down to us very few  
particulars relating to this expedition. He only intimates, that *Moâwiyah* reduced *Constan-*  
*tia*, or *Salamis*, and subdued the whole island; in which he is followed by *Cedrenus*. He  
also relates, that *Moâwiyah*, upon receiving advice, that *Cacorizus* was in motion with a  
powerful army to invade *Cyprus*, sailed with his fleet, and a body of land-forces on board,
- f to the island of *Aradus*, which he endeavoured to make himself master of; but without  
effect. *Abu'l Faraj* informs us, that *Cyprus* surrendered to *Moâwiyah* by capitulation. Some  
authors assure us, that the *Moslem* general engaged to secure the people of *Cyprus* in the perpe-  
tual possession of their properties and effects, as well as the free exercise of their religion, upon  
condition that the revenues of the island should be equally divided between the *Khalif* and  
the *Greek* emperor. In consequence of which treaty, *Moâwiyah* received of them annually  
7200 pieces of gold, during the term above-mentioned; at the end of which the *Moslems*  
were ejected by the *Christians*. *Al Makin* places this expedition in the 27th year of the *Hejra*,  
or the year of our LORD 647. But it happened two years later, according to *Dionysius*  
*Telmarenfis*. Be that as it will, we are assured by one of the *Greek* writers, that the fleet on  
board of which *Moâwiyah* put the troops employed in this expedition consisted of 1700 sail<sup>r</sup>.

AFTER.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 32. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 183. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 338, 339, 340, 341. EBN ABD'ALMAKIM, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 159.—161. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 285. <sup>r</sup> AL MAKIN



as likewise  
Aradus and  
Ancyra.

AFTER *Moâwiyah* had reduced *Cyprus*, he sailed to *Aradus*, landed a body of troops in a that island, and invested the city, or fortress erected upon it. This he afterwards besieged in form, and played upon it so furiously with his military engines, that, had not the garison made a very gallant defence, it must have fallen into his hands. But finding, at last, that he could make no impression upon the town, all his efforts having been vigorously repelled by the besieged, he abandoned the island, and made the best of his way to *Damascus*, where he put his troops into winter quarters. However, he attacked *Aradus* a second time, the following spring, with so formidable a power, that the imperial troops in garison there were not able to make a stand against him; so that he drove the natives out of the island, demolished the fortifications, and set fire to the city. This is the account of the reduction of *Aradus* given us by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*; but, according to *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, that b island was taken by the *Arabs* the preceding year. About the same time that *Moâwiyah* settled the terms of their submission with the people of *Cyprus*, *Ancyra* likewise surrendered to the *Arabs* upon composition, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*.

The Arabs  
conquer Kho-  
rasân.

IN order to extend farther still the conquests of the *Arabs*, *Othmân* sent this year another body of troops, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* and *Said Ebn Al As*, to seize some of those parts of *Khorasân* that had not yet submitted to the *Moslems*. That the *Khalîf* might excite a spirit of emulation in those generals, he declared his resolution to make him the governor of *Khorasân*, who first entered that country. Being arrived there, they immediately began the military operations; and, in the course of the year, reduced a great number of towns. Amongst the rest, *Nisabûr*, or *Naisabûr*, the metropolis, *Herâ*, or *Herât*, c *Busbank*, or *Busbakh*, *Tûs*, or *Tûsa*, *Abrim*, *Merû*, *Sirkhas*, *Sarkhas*, or *Saraksha*, and many other places of note surrendered to them. Nor did *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, who seems to have penetrated farther than *Said Ebn Al As*, leave that region before, to use *Al Makin's* expression, he had drank out of the river *Balkh*. By which that historian seems to give us to understand, that the *Arabs*, at this juncture, penetrated to *Balkh*, and probably made themselves masters of that noble city, which was considered as the metropolis of *Khorasân* by *Abu'lfeda*; the river of *Balkh* mentioned by *Al Makin* probably answering to the *Dehâsh* of *Ebn Hawkel*, which ran through the suburbs of *Balkh*. We shall at present forbear saying any thing farther of these towns, and beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned *Golius* for a description of the principal of them; since we shall have occasion to expatiate d more largely upon them hereafter, as well as the country to which they belong, in another part of this work.

The Arabs  
make an incur-  
sion into Isau-  
ria.

THE year after *Moâwiyah* had taken, or rather destroyed, the city of *Aradus*, another of the *Arab* commanders made an incursion into *Isauria*, where he committed dreadful depredations. Several towns and villages in that province he plundered, put a great number of people to the sword, and carried off with him 5000 prisoners into the *Moslem* territories. *Theophanes* relates, that the emperor sent this year a minister to *Moâwiyah*, to assure him of his sincere desire to conclude a peace with the *Khalîf*; but the overtures he made on this occasion that author has not handed down to us. *Cedrenus* intimates, that the fortress in *Aradus* sustained a sharp siege, before the garison could be obliged to surrender it to *Moâ- e wiyah*; whereas *Theophanes* only gives us to understand, that the imperial troops there delivered up the place, which was afterwards laid in ashes by the *Moslems*. Be that as it will, *Othmân* hitherto, in all his attempts, seems to have been as successful as his predecessor.

The death of  
Yazdegerd.

THE 31st year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makin*, was famous for the death of *Yazde- f jerd*. That unfortunate prince, who had for several years past not been in a condition to meet the *Arabs* in the field, prevailed upon *Tarkân*, the *Turk*, to assist him with a body of auxiliary troops. Soon after the junction of the *Turkish* and *Persian* forces, the former were dismissed, upon a frivolous pretext, by *Yazdegerd*; which exasperated *Tarkân* to such a degree, that, at the instigation of *Mahwa*, a person of note, and one of the *Persian* monarch's subjects, he returned in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, to chastise *Yazdegerd* for the affront. This brought on a general action between those two princes, wherein the latter was intirely defeated, and had the shattered remains of his army either cut to pieces by *Mahwa*, who had assembled a body of troops for that purpose, or totally dispersed. But for an account of the manner of *Yazdegerd's* death, and the circumstances attending that tragical event, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the antient history of the *Persians*, to which it more properly belongs.

MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 375, 376. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 285. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 431. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 103. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 340, 341. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 285, 286. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 431. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 183. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 186, 187, 188, &c. EBN HAWKEL, apud Abu'lfed. in geogr. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 340, 341. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 286. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 431. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. LEBTARIKH, MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, Univers. Hist. vol. iv. c. xiii. p. 405. Lond. 1747.



a Soon after the extinction of the ancient line of the *Persian* kings, denominated the *Sásanians*, who had been distinguished by the surname of *Khosrú*, by the death of *Yazdegerd*, the *Khalíf* ordered a body of his forces to advance towards the frontiers of *Nubia*, in order to penetrate into that remote kingdom, and annex it to his *Egyptian* dominions. Those troops were commanded by *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, the *Moslem* prefect of *Egypt*, who seems to have been fixed a second time in that post by *Othmán*, if any credit be due in this point to *Al Makin*. That general, therefore, in pursuance of the *Khalíf's* orders, assembled the *Moslem* forces in the country of *Thebais*, or the *Upper Egypt*, called by the *Arabs* *Al Sa'id Mesr*, and from thence made several successful incursions into *Nubia*, where he met with little opposition. In fine, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, who had distinguished himself in a former *African* expedition, by his repeated courses, so harrassed the king of *Nubia*, who was a *Christian*, that he intreated the *Moslem* commander to grant him a peace almost upon any terms. In order, therefore, to obtain the peace he so earnestly desired, he was obliged by treaty to send the *Arabs* annually, by way of tribute, a vast number of *Nubian*, or *Ethiopian*, slaves into *Egypt*. Such a tribute at this time was more agreeable to the *Khalíf* than any other, as the *Arabs* then made no small account of those slaves \*.

The Arabs penetrate into Nubia.

In this very year, that is, the 31st year of the *Hejra*, nearly answering to the 651st of the *Christian* æra, *Abudar Al Acádi*, a discontented *Arab*, began first to rail at the *Khalíf*, and to decry his administration. Of this *Othmán* at first took no farther notice, than to forbid him his presence; upon which, he retired into *Syria*, where he continued his aspersions with great rancour and virulence. This obliged *Moáwiyah*, then the prefect of *Syria*, to send the *Khalíf* advice of the seditious practices of that incendiary; who thereupon ordered him to return to *Medina*, and put him under arrest. How he bore his confinement, for it seems *Othmán* had no inclination to release him, we are not told by any *Arab* author; but from the sense given a passage of *Al Makin* by Mr. *Ockley*, it must be allowed probable that he died in prison either this or the following year. About the same time, or rather in this very year, according to *Dionysius Telmarenis*, *Habib*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, made an irruption into the imperial territories on the side of *Mesopotamia*; and, in conformity to the *Arab* custom, committed dreadful ravages there. *Theophanes* relates, that *Habib* made this irruption into *Armenia*, and defeated a body of imperial troops that offered to oppose him; pursuing them as far as mount *Caucasus*, with great slaughter, and laying waste all the country through which he moved. This seems likewise to be countenanced by *Eutychius*. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* also inform us, that *Moáwiyah*, just before this invasion, having seized the island of *Rhodes*, caused the famous *Colossus* there to be intirely destroyed, and sold the metal of which it consisted, 1360, or 1365, years after the erection of it, to a *Jew* of *Edeffa*, who loaded with it 900 camels. This (A) celebrated colossal statue of the Sun, which was cast in brass by *Chares*, of the city of *Lindus*, who had learned his art under the famous *Lysippus*, was 70 cubits high, and the stride thereof 50 fathom wide. This chorographer likewise observes, that the year preceding the death of *Othmán*, *Abu'l Abar*, who had been constituted admiral of the *Arab* fleet by *Moáwiyah*, gave the emperor *Constans* a signal defeat by sea, on the coast of *Lycia*; and that such a vast number of *Christians* were killed in this naval engagement, that all the neighbouring sea was died red with the blood of the slain. With which observation we shall beg leave to conclude our account of the military operations of the *Arabs* during the *Khalifat* of *Othmán* †.

Notwithstanding some seditious practices, the Arab arms are still attended with success.

## NEITHER

\* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 695, 696. † AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 379, 380. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asteman. ubi sup. THEOPHAN: chronograph: p. 286, 287. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 431, 432. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. c. 7. SCALIG. animadv. ad Euseb. p. 137. Amstelodami, 1658. EUTYCH. patriarch Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 340, 341.

(A) We are told by *Pliny*, that this famous statue was overthrown by an earthquake about 56 years after it had been erected; but that even in the condition it was in after that event had happened, it might justly be considered as a stupendous monument of antiquity. As, therefore, according to *Eusebius*, that earthquake happened in the 2d year of the 139th *Olympiad*, or, as has been evinced by *Scaliger*, in the year of *Rome* 530, in the consulate of *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philus*, about 218 years before the birth of *CHRIST*; and as *Moáwiyah* made himself master of *Rhodes* about four or five years after he had imposed a tribute upon the island of *Cyprus*, that is about the year of *CHRIST* 651; hence it very clearly appears that the *Colossus* remained whole on the ground, after it had been overthrown by the aforesaid earthquake, about 869 or 870 years. *Scaliger*, therefore, was undoubtedly out in his computation, when he made that period to amount to 977 years; since the

point relating to the identity of the year of the earthquake in *Rhodes*, and that of the consulate of *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philus*, which he has established beyond contradiction, will most evidently overturn that computation. Dr. *Pococke* asserts, that the *Colossus* of *Rhodes* was thrown down by an earthquake IN THE YEAR NINE HUNDRED FIFTY FOUR; which last words must either be, as we apprehend, unintelligible, or false. If by it he means the 954th year of the *Christian* æra, as most of his readers will believe he does, he is altogether mistaken, as sufficiently appears from what has been here advanced; if he has not that æra in view, we take the words here pointed at to be absolutely unintelligible, as no other æra that we can think of will tally with his assertion. Nor is this learned author only mistaken in relation to the period elapsed between the erection and destruction of the *Rhodian Colossus*, but *Theophanes* likewise and *Cedrenus*; the former of which writers

T & t

extends



The Arabs assemble in a tumultuous manner, and threaten Othmân.

NEITHER the detention of *Abudar Al Akâdi* in prison, nor his death there, had appeased the public discontents and commotions. Sedition was industriously propagated, after both those events had happened, through every province of the empire; and the minds of the people were so alienated from the *Khalîf*, in the 35th year of the *Hejra*, that every thing seemed to be tending to a revolt. Those who wished for a revolution, had taken care to inspire with abhorrence of most of the measures pursued by *Othmân* since his advancement to the *Khalîfat*, notwithstanding the success that had every-where attended his arms, all orders and degrees of men; and that, by suggesting to them, amongst others, the following articles of complaint. First, He called to *Medina Hakem Ebn Al As*, who had been banished by the prophet to *Táyef*, and detained there in a state of exile ever since. Secondly, he had removed from his prefecture *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, an officer of distinguished bravery, and conferred his post upon *Okba Ebn Abu Mogheid*, one who drank wine, and was in other respects person a of very scandalous conversation. Thirdly, He had squandered away vast sums of the publick money amongst his favourites; bestowing no less than 504,000 *dinârs* upon *Merwân Ebn Hakem Ebn Al As*, 400,000 upon *Abd'allah Ebn Khâled*, 100,000 upon *Hakem*, and upon *Sa'id Ebn Al As* 40,000 *dirbêms*. Fourthly, He had dismissed *Amru Ebn Al As* from the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, and substituted *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, his foster-brother, who had been proscribed by *Mohammed*, in his room. Fifthly, Upon his elevation to the *Khalîfat*, he had presumed to place himself on the top of the pulpit where the prophet himself used to sit; whereas *Abu Becr* always sat one step lower, and *Omar* two. These, and other grievances, extremely aggravated by the principal malecontents, so incensed the people, that some of them discovered an inclination to depose the *Khalîf*. However, *Othmân* behaved with resolution at this critical juncture. He ascended the pulpit, and, in a speech from thence, told the assembly, that “the money in the treasury was sacred, and appropriated to the service of ALMIGHTY GOD; that he, as the successor of his apostle, had a right to dispose of it as he thought fit; and if any person should presume to take offence at what he had said, he begged that God would overthrow him.” Which words were no sooner uttered, than *Ammâr Ebn Yâser* rose up, and declared that his speech had given him just offence; upon which some of the *Banu Ommiyah*, then present, beat him in so merciless a manner, that they left him for dead. As *Ammâr* had suffered much for the *Mohammedan* faith from the *Koreish*, in the infancy of *Islamism*, and had been one of the prophet’s particular favourites, who is reported to have said of him, that “he was full of faith from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, faith being mixed and incorporated with his very flesh and blood;” this cruel treatment of him made an impression upon the minds of the people greatly to the disadvantage of the *Khalîf*. A considerable body, therefore, of the *Arabs* assembled in a tumultuous manner, and encamped within a parasang of *Medina*; from whence they sent an insolent message to *Othmân*, resembling that of the *Janisaries* on similar occasions to the *Turkish* emperors, demanding of him either to act justly, that is, to do what they would have him, or to abdicate the government. This so terrified the poor *Khalîf*, that he offered to make the largest concessions to his rebellious subjects, to keep them within the bounds of their duty. In order to soften them, he again ascended the pulpit in the mosque at *Medina*, owned the faults of his administration, and said he sincerely repented of his former conduct. He also promised to restore to the treasury the money given to his friends and relations, and to do every thing in his power that should be deemed necessary for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity.<sup>2</sup>

They are appeased by Ali.

BUT the malecontents, or rather rebels, grew more insolent on these concessions. Such a spirit of discontent had diffused itself over the whole empire, that it seemed impossible, by any means that could be thought of, to stem the torrent of sedition. Many of the provinces had sent a considerable number of men to *Medina*, to join in the common outcry against the *Khalîf*’s administration, and even in any attempt that should be made to depose him. *Malec Ebn Al Hâreth* arrived at the head of 200 men from *Cusâ*; 150 more, in support of the rebellious *Arabs*, came from *Basra*; and a body of 600 more, for the same purpose, from *Egypt*. The junction of these forces with the disaffected *Arabs* struck the *Khalîf* with such terror, that, for some time, he was incapable of attending to the means of his own preservation. But, at last, recovering a little out of the panic into which

<sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 33, 34. GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 184. AL BEIDAWI, & AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in Al Kor. Moham. f. xvi.

extends that period to 1360, and the latter to 1365 to the authority of *Pliny* and *Suidas*, in the point before years; at least this must be allowed, if we pay any regard us (1).

(1) *Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 7. Euseb. chronic. ad ann. MDCCXCIV. Polyb. lib. v. Paul. Oros. lib. iv. c. 13. Suid. Jof. Scalig. animadv. in Euseb. chronic. p. 137, 138. Amst. 1658. Al Makin, Abu’l Far. Theophan. Cedren. Eutych. Dionys. Telmaren. D’Herbel. &c. ubi sup. Poc. descript. of the East, vol. ii. par. i. p. 237. Lond. 1745.*



a he had been thrown, he sent *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba* and *Amru Ebn Al As* to treat with the malecontents, and, if possible, to dispose then to an accommodation. This not succeeding, *Ali*, who had a considerable party amongst the mutineers, drew up a paper containing a promise to redress all the grievances of the *Meslems*, which was signed both by himself and the *Khalif*. After which, at the request of the *Egyptians*, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id* was removed from the government of *Egypt*, and *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* appointed to preside over that province in his room. These salutary steps produced the desired effect; insomuch that the body of malecontents, which before appeared so formidable, was immediately dissolved, and all the individuals that composed it retired to their respective habitations. Nor could the public repose have failed of being settled upon a lasting foundation, had it not been under-

b hand disturbed by *Ayesha*, whose desire to raise *Telba* to the dignity of *Khalif* rendered her capable of meditating the destruction of *Othmân* by any means possible, as well as *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, the new prefect of *Egypt*, and *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the *Khalif's* secretary of state, whose villainous project contributed more than all the other concurring causes to his master's ruin. Of which execrable scheme, formed by this traitor, for the assistance of those who were endeavouring to bring about a revolution, we shall here beg leave to insert, from *Al Makin*, the following particular and most authentic relation <sup>a</sup>.

THE *Egyptians*, on their return home, under the conduct of their new lieutenant *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, met at *Ailah*, a maritime city on the sea *Al Kolzom*, with a courier <sup>cried by</sup> from the *Khalif*; amongst whose dispatches, which they took care to examine, they found *Merwân*, his <sup>secretary of</sup> the following letter drawn up by *Merwân*, the secretary of state, without his master's pri-  
 c vity, to *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, the then governing prefect of *Egypt*. “*Othmân* to *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*. As soon as *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and *I. B. Ec*. shall arrive in *Egypt*, cut off their hands and feet, and impale them.” This letter, having *Othmân's* seal affixed to it, in order to do the greater mischief, *Merwân* had contrived to get conveyed into the hands of the *Egyptians*, who were already but too much prejudiced against the *Khalif*; and it produced the tragical effect the wicked writer of it had in view. For, *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and his friends, taking this to be a genuine order of the *Khalif*, were incensed to the last degree against him; and took care to publish immediately over all the neighbouring territories the discovery they had made. Not content with this, they march-  
 d ed back to *Medina*, inspiring all the country through which they moved, with an abhorrence of the *Khalif*, whom they represented as a most bloody and perfidious tyrant. Soon after their arrival at *Medina*, they were joined by the *Bafran* and *Cifan* troops, that returned as soon as they had received advice of what had happened, as well as the disaffected *Arabs*, who amounted to a very considerable number. With this force *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and the other rebel chiefs, besieged the innocent *Khalif* in his palace; he in the mean time professing a sincere penitence for all the false steps he might have taken, and offering all the satisfaction it was in his power to make them for his preceding errors. But all in  
 e vain. Nothing could inspire them with sentiments of moderation, nor introduce into their hearts the least degree of compassion. They loaded him with reproaches, and breathed nothing but vengeance and destruction. In fine, they gave him the most opprobrious language that could be uttered; and resolved to be revenged of him, with all the circumstances of cruelty they could devise, for an injury which in reality he never intended them <sup>b</sup>.

OTHMAN finding himself in this deplorable situation, sent to *Ali* for assistance, at the same time asking him, “Whether he desired to see his cousin murdered, and his own  
 f kingdom rent in pieces?” *Ali* answered, “By no means;” and immediately ordered his two sons, *Hasan* and *Hosein*, to defend the gates of the palace. For some time, they executed their orders with fidelity enough; not permitting the rebels to enter, nor offer any violence to the *Khalif*. But at last finding him reduced to great straits for want of water, they abandoned their posts, and left him to the mercy of his enraged rebellious subjects.  
 g So that after all, tho' *Ali* did not directly join the *Khalif's* enemies, yet he did not assist his relation and sovereign with that vigour and activity which might have been naturally expected of him. The rebels now perceiving all the avenues open, and the palace-wall unguarded, easily made themselves masters of the *Khalif's* person. *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, and two others, one of whom was *Ammâr Ebn Yaser*, entering into his apartment, found him there, with a copy of the *Korân* in his bosom. *Mohammed* took him presently by the beard, than which a greater indignity could not have been offered him, and soon after thrust his sword into his breast. By this time, some other of the rebel commanders were entered the apartment; two of whom, *Nabar Ebn Ayad* and *Sowdân Ebn Hamrân*, likewise pierced him with their swords. Then *Omar Ebn Hamak* sat upon his breast, and gave him nine other wounds; which instantly dispatched him. Some authors say, this tragical event hap-

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 696. EUTYCH. ubi sup p. 340, 341.

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 34, 35. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 1 4



opened eighty days after the rebels had shut him up first in his palace ; others not above fifty days ; and, lastly, others only forty days. Be that as it will, his body remained three days unburied, and was at last thrown into a hole made for it in the bloody cloaths he had on when he was assassinated, without so much as receiving the usual ablution, or the least funeral solemnity. Some, however, pretend, that a prayer was said for the deceased *Khalif* by *Jabir Ebn Motâm* ; tho' this seems not to be admitted by the most approved *Arabic* authors. The body was interred by night, in a place called *Has Kowkab*, or *the garden of the star*. *Othmân* was eighty-two years old at the time of his assassination, which happened on the 18th of *Dbu'lbajja*, and the 35th year of the *Hejra*. Thus fell *Othmân*, after a reign of near twelve years ; whose death was occasioned by the intrigues of *Telha*, *Zobeir*, *Aysba*, and *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, as well as the villainy of *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, not to say the premeditated indolence and inactivity of *Ali*, who was prompted to this by a prospect of the supreme dignity, to which he had long aspired. The tragical exit of so great a conqueror, and the indignity with which his body was treated after his death, ought to be considered as a lively instance of the instability of human affairs, of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and of the lubricious situation of those who seem to have arrived even at the summit of temporal felicity <sup>a</sup>.

*A description of Othmân's person and character, and some reflections on his tragical fate.*

OTHMAN, as to his person, was very tall, of a good countenance, and a swarthy complexion. His beard was large, and tinged with *Al Henna* in the same manner as those of his predecessors. With regard to his disposition, he was constant and exact in the performance of religious duties. He fasted often, spent much time in reading the *Korân*, and meditated with the utmost attention upon what he read. His charity was very extensive, tho' he left immense riches behind him ; 500,000,000 *dirbêms*, and 150,000 *dinârs*, being found in the palace after his death, besides 200,000 *dinârs* set apart for charitable uses. The source of all his misfortunes was his propensity to favour too much his friends and relations ; which was so predominant in him, that he scarce ever paid any regard to merit. The consequence of which was, that few of those he advanced to the most eminent stations were qualified for the discharge of their duty ; whence it came pass, that numbers of errors were committed in the administration, which justly incurred the censure of the public, and occasioned many reflections, that ultimately terminated in the *Khalif* himself. And this will ever be the case in all countries, where princes, however good and virtuous they themselves may be, suffer their subjects to be pillaged and oppressed by rapacious and abandoned ministers ; whose profligate disposition, and total contempt of all religion, have rendered them as hateful to God, and all good men, as their long-continued peculations, their exclusion of persons of merit and integrity from all posts in their disposal, have to the public. For, the bulk of mankind not being able to distinguish between the prince himself, by whose abused authority these wretches are enabled to trample upon the rights, privileges, and properties, of their fellow-subjects, and those who act by the power they derived from him, and to whom he himself, in many respects, is as much a slave as the meanest of those he governs, they will be too apt to ascribe the public calamities, the servitude under which they groan, to the source of power itself. Nor can princes in such a melancholy situation as this, by any other means, do either themselves or their subjects justice, than by a vigorous exertion of the power God has given them ; which will, with the divine blessing, enable them to banish these monsters of iniquity, these pests and nuisances of civil society, from their presence, and expel them from all their councils. This must of course win the hearts of the people over whom they preside, and conciliate to them their affections. Whereas an indolent acquiescence in the wicked and arbitrary measures of those who only make use of them as tools, to enable them to serve their own vile purposes, to plunder their fellow-subjects, and to sacrifice the interest of their country either to their own avarice and ambition, or to a foreign power, will, to avoid all greater warmth and asperity of expression, produce a quite contrary effect. In short, the tragical fate of *Othmân*, and the means by which this was effected, may prove an instructive lesson to princes who shall live in future ages, and would reign in the affections of their subjects. That unhappy *Khalif* was betrayed, sacrificed, and ruined, by the villain *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, his secretary of state, who corresponded with his enemies, imparted to them his councils and designs, and set him at variance with his people. So that had he escaped the violent death that at last overtook him, he would nevertheless have been, in all probability, an unhappy prince ; since the perfidious and iniquitous conduct of some of the persons he employed, who secretly fomented the differences and dissensions set on foot by his avowed enemies themselves, with whom they joined as often as they could do it without being discovered, would have fixed the *Arab* nation in an aversion to him and his government <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 340—343. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. lioth. orient. p. 696. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, & ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. Bib-



- a We have already given a full account of the conquests made by *Othmán*, and of the extensive territories he annexed to the *Moslem* empire. To which we shall now beg leave to add, that, according to some of the oriental writers, his generals subdued all the western coast of *Africa*, from the city of *Tripoli*, and its dependencies, to the streights of *Sebtah*; nay, if we will believe *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian, they also penetrated into *Andalusia*: but this will scarce be admitted by any of our more curious and intelligent readers. By the streights of *Sebtah* the eastern geographers understand that narrow sea between *Gibraltar* and *Ceuta*, called for the most part by the *European* geographical writers, the streights of *Gibraltar*; to which, as has been just observed, some of the *Moslem* authors extend the *Arab* dominions on that side in the *Khalifat* of *Othmán*. We are also told by *Eutychius*, that in the *Khalifat* of *Othmán*, the *Arabs* conquered the remaining part of *Armenia*, that had been left unsubdued in the time of *Omar*. Be that as it will, this *Khalif* was a man of great personal bravery, as well as generosity, liberality, and magnificence. He published a new and correct edition of the *Korán*, as has been already remarked, and was closely attached to all the exercises of religion. The *Persian* poet *Rashíd*, or *Rashídi*, who pretended to deduce his origin from *Othmán*, has collected all the sayings, or apophthegms, of this *Khalif*, and put them into verse. The title he has prefixed to this work is *The harmonious concert*. The difference between *Othmán* and his successor *Ali* proved the source of infinite quarrels and disputes amongst the *Moslems*, which are far from being appeased at this very day. The latter could never rightly forgive the elevation of the former to the *Khalifat*; which dignity *Ali* apprehended to belong to him by right of succession, founding his pretensions to it upon proximity of blood. For, he was the cousin-german of *Mohammed*, had married his eldest and best beloved daughter *Fátima*, and was, in consequence of this marriage and affinity, the head of the house of *Háshem*, which was dignified with the title of *the family of the Prophet*. But notwithstanding this circumstance, which seemed to plead so strongly for him, finding the people so strongly and generally prejudiced in favour of his competitor, he was obliged, with the rest, to acquiesce in the election of *Othmán* <sup>c</sup>.

- With regard to the length of this *Khalif*'s reign, authors are not perfectly agreed; tho' there seems to be no very considerable difference between them. *Theophanes* makes him to have governed the *Moslems*, or discharged the duty of *Emir*, as he terms it, ten years; whereas *Al Makin*, *Abu'l Faraj*, and *Abu'l Walid*, assert him to have presided over the *Arabs* about twelve complete lunar years. The symbol, motto, or inscription, on his seal was, I BELIEVE IN GOD, THE CREATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR. His principal judge was *Caab Ebn Soweid*, and his chamberlain *Hamrán*. *Eutychius* calls his chamberlain *Hamdán*, and the captain of his guards *Abd'allah Ebn Fahd Al Adowi*. He also tells us, that the body of the *Khalif* was deposited in a place named *Jasar Kowkab*, or *the bridge of the star*. According to *Eutychius*, *Kenánab Ebn Basbar* assisted *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* and *Ammár Ebn Yaser*, in the assassination of *Othmán Ebn Affán*; and *Merwán Ebn Al Hakem*, who occasioned his destruction in the manner already related, had a vast ascendant over him. This additional circumstance may serve farther to evince the truth of the preceding observations, naturally suggested to us by that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon. For, in other nations, besides that of the *Arabs*, it has been found by sad experience, that profligate, corrupt, and abandoned, ministers have frequently been able so far to insinuate themselves into the good graces of their sovereigns, as to gain their intire confidence; and even to prevail upon them to forward, by their power and authority, the execution of the most pernicious, destructive, and illegal, schemes; nay, that they have at last delivered the very princes, whose confidence they so notoriously abused, into the hands of their most implacable enemies, with whom they all along kept an illicit correspondence, and whom, from the beginning, they had an intention to serve, by putting their masters upon the execution of such ruinous schemes. The foregoing reflections, for the sake of the bulk of our readers, we thought ourselves here obliged to make; since, to point out the useful and instructive lessons we are supplied with by the facts recorded in the annals of former ages may prove of infinite service to mankind, and will undoubtedly be considered as a task falling within the verge of his province, by every faithful and just historian <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 695. EUTYCH. AL MAKIN, & ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, RASHIDI, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 696. AL JANNAB. p. 35. AHMED BEN YUSEF, in hist. gen. sect. 40. LUDOV. MARRACC. in prodr. par. ii. p. 40. <sup>f</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 287. AL MAKIN, ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU'L WALID & DIONYS. TELMAREN. ubi sup.



## C H A P. III.

*The History of the Arabs, to the taking of Baghdâd by the Tartars.*

## S E C T. IV.

Ali is unani-  
mously elected  
Khalif;

THE Arabs, as well as the foreigners at that time in the city of *Medina*, being informed <sup>a</sup> of *Othmân's* death, were divided in their sentiments about a successor. *Telba* and *Zobeir* having assembled the *Anfârs* and *Mobâjerîn*, declared for *Ali*, tho' in their hearts they hated him; as did also *Ayesha*, the youngest and best-beloved wife of *Mohammed*. But the *Arabs* being, for the most part, inclined to favour him, not only on account of the near relation he bore to the prophet, but likewise of the immediate alliance he had contracted with *Mohammed's* family, by marrying his daughter *Fâtema*, they thought proper to dissemble their aversion to him, and even the very day on which *Othmân* was murdered, to take the oath of allegiance to him. This, however, they resolved to break as soon as a proper opportunity of doing it offered. The *Basrans*, in the mean time, shewed a disposition to favour *Telba*; tho' *Zobeir* had likewise a considerable party amongst them. <sup>b</sup> The *Cûfans* and *Egyptians* had the highest regard for *Ali*, as well as the *Arabs*; so that his interest was too powerful to admit of any competitor. However, *Zobeir's* friends declared themselves so warmly for him, or at least for any other person whose interest he should support, that they threatened him with death, if he did not either take the government upon himself, or see it immediately conferred upon some other person. The troops likewise that had arrived from *Mesopotamia*, *Persia*, and the different parts of *Arabia*, as well as those from *Basra* and *Egypt*, in order to depose *Othmân*, resolved to cut off all the candidates for the *Khalifat*, if one of them was not without delay advanced to that dignity. The eyes, therefore, of all were fixed upon *Ali* at this critical juncture; and the principal men pressed him with unusual vehemence to accept of the honour designed him, as being the best qualified for it, both by his personal accomplishments and the affinity he bore to the prophet. <sup>c</sup> To this he discovered for some time an invincible reluctance, saying, "he had much rather serve another in the capacity of *Wazîr*, or *Vîsir*, than take upon himself the government." The troops being apprized of this, and finding that the family of *Ommiyah* had withdrawn themselves, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and insisted upon the inhabitants of *Medina's* bringing the controversy to a decision; declaring, that they would allow them but one day to consider of it; and that if, in that time, a *Khalif* was not elected, they would put *Telba*, *Zobeir*, *Ali*, and several others, to the sword. This struck the citizens of *Medina* with such terror, that they again pressed *Ali* in the most suppliant manner to suffer himself to be inaugurated; and, upon his again declining this, they adjured him <sup>d</sup> by God to consider the lamentable condition in which they were, the miserable state of their religion, and the distraction of the whole nation. Overcome at last with such pathetic exclamations, he answered, "If I should comply with your request, I will always act according to the best of my knowledge; and if you will excuse me, I shall ever be one of the most submissive and obedient of all the *Moslems* to whomsoever you shall be pleased to set over me." Then addressing himself to *Telba* and *Zobeir*, who intreated him in the most moving terms to accept of the *Khalifat*, he said, "If you intend to recognize my authority, as the successor of *Mohammed*, swear to be faithful to me; otherwise permit me to take the oath of allegiance to one of you." The latter of which proposals they refused, and consequently accepted of the former; upon which, *Ali* was immediately proclaimed *Khalif*. <sup>e</sup> He was the son of *Abu Tâleb*, the son of *Abd'almotalleb*, the son of *Hâshem*; his mother, according to *Al Makîn*, being *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Ased*, the son of *Hâshem*. He was elected, by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems*, emperor of the faithful, to use the *Arab* stile, the same day that *Othmân* was slain. It seems to be intimated by *Al Makîn*, that *Ali*, immediately after his election, constituted *Kais Ebn Sa'id*, governor, or præfect, of *Egypt* <sup>a</sup>.

and inaugu-  
rated in the  
mosque at Me-  
dina.

*ALI* being thus advanced to the *Khalifat* without opposition, though many were secretly disgusted at his election, resolved to be inaugurated publickly in the mosque at *Medina*, that all parties might be satisfied, and have no just cause of complaint. This he judged a necessary precaution, as *Ayesha*, *Telba*, *Zobeir*, and the house of *Ommiyah*, of which *Mou'wiyah*, <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL JANAB. FEN AL ATHIR, in univers. hist. vol. i. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. ISM. ABUTTED. hist. univ. vol. i. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 185. AL MAKÎN. in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. v. p. 36. ECTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342, 343.



THOUGH *Ayesha* was at first well pleased with the news of the murder of *Othmán*, to which she had not a little contributed, as hoping that her favourite *Telba* would succeed him in the *Khalifat*; yet being afterwards informed, that *Ali* had been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems*, she expressed a great concern for that tragical event. Nay, she accused *Ali*, in order to render him odious to the house of *Ommiyah*, to which *Othmán* belonged, of the perpetration of that horrid fact; when there was in reality not the least ground or pretext for such an accusation. Some of the *Moslems*, therefore, who knew how active she had been in that bloody affair, reprehended her for endeavouring to throw the odium of so black a crime upon an innocent person; since she could not but be conscious of her own guilt, as having been one of the first who suggested, and even strongly recommended, the late *Khalif's* assassination to his rebellious subjects. But in answer to what was objected to her conduct on this occasion, she replied, that *Othmán's* infidelity obliged her at first to declare against him; but that, on his repentance and reconversion, she became reconciled to him, and would have saved him, had it been in her power. At the time of *Ali's* inauguration, as well as when the disaffected *Arabs* murdered *Othmán*, she was at *Mecca*, and enjoyed a very considerable share of influence and authority there. Not content with this, she endeavoured to animate all orders and degrees of men against the new *Khalif*; and was continually employed in forming schemes to embarrass the administration. Nor did she want persons of note to forward and promote all her wicked machinations. For, in the beginning of the 36th year of the *Hejra*, *Telba Ebn Obeid'allah* and *Zobeir Ebn Al Awám*, with others of their party, represented to *Ali*, that the assassins, who had embued their hands in the blood of *Othmán*, ought to be brought to condign punishment; offering him,

20



at the same time, their assistance for that purpose. This they did, purely to sow amongst a the people the seeds of sedition, and occasion disturbances that might finally weaken *Ali's* party, and terminate in his destruction. The *Khalif* perceiving their intention, represented to them the impossibility of carrying their design at present into execution, by reason of the civil dissensions which so distracted the *Arab* nation. Upon which, they desisted from all farther solicitations on that head. However, as *Ali* found, by this effort of *Telba* and *Zobeir*, supported by *Ayesha*, to embroil his affairs, that he had very powerful enemies to contend with, he took all possible opportunities of caressing the *Korish*, hoping by this means to conciliate to him the affections of that powerful tribe. Which step was, indeed, very expedient; as the departure of the *Ommiyan* family had irritated a considerable part of his subjects, and occasioned in some provinces of the empire great murmurings and com- b motions. In the mean time, *Telba* and *Zobeir*, notwithstanding the repulse they had lately met with, desired *Ali* to confer upon one of them the government of *Cúfa*, and upon the other that of *Basra*; pretending, that they should thereby be enabled to extinguish with the greater ease any rebellion that might happen in the neighbourhood of either of those cities. But the *Khalif*, by this request, easily penetrated their designs, and excused himself from complying with it, by telling them, that as his government was not yet sufficiently esta- blished, he should stand in need of persons of their great capacity, so much superior to that of any of his other ministers, to consult with on such emergencies as might happen in an unsettled state. This answer nettled them to a great degree; but they were obliged to appear satisfied with it. However, they resolved to attempt undermining that government c they could not assail by open force; and, therefore, knowing that *Ayesha* was gone on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, they begged leave of the *Khalif* to go likewise on the same occasion thither. This they hoped would give them an opportunity of caballing with *Ayesha*, and of executing, in conjunction with her, the pernicious scheme they had formed. *Ali* was sufficiently aware of this, though he permitted them to go to *Mecca*, for the reason they assigned. However, he was determined to have a strict eye upon them, and narrowly to watch all their proceedings in that place <sup>d</sup>.

*A strong party formed against Ali.* THINGS being in this situation, a civil war, or rather an open rebellion, soon seemed abso- lutely inevitable. Every step that was taken on both sides, that is, by the *Motazalites*, or *Separatists*, for so those who adhered to the house of *Ommiyah* were called, and the *Khalif*, d after this, manifestly tended to a rupture. The *Motazalites* in a little time had two considerable armies on foot, ready to enter upon action; one under the command of *Moâwiyah* in *Syria*, and another headed by *Ayesha*, *Telba*, and *Zobeir*, at *Mecca*, that began to be in motion. The *Khalif*, contrary to the salutary advice given him by *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, resolved to remove all the governors of provinces who had their posts assigned them by *Othmân*, and to appoint others in their room, that he could intirely depend upon. In pursuance of which resolution, he dispatched *Sabel Ebn Hanîf*, the *Ansar*, to *Syria*; *Kais Ebn Sa'id* to *Egypt*; *Othmân Ebn Hanîf* to *Basra*; *Ammârah Ebn Sabal* to *Cúfa*; and *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* to *Yaman*. *Sabel* being arrived at *Tabûc*, on the confines of *Syria*, met a party of horse that had been sent thither by *Moâwiyah*, whose commander obliged him to return home. A great e number of the *Egyptians* refused to receive *Kais*, and to submit to *Ali's* government, till the murderers of *Othmân* had been brought to justice. *Othmân Ebn Hanîf* found the people divided at *Basra*; however, with some difficulty, he took possession of his post; but the *Cúfans* being determined not to acknowledge the new *Khalif*, *Ammârah* was obliged to return to *Ali*, with the news of their resolution. *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* was received in *Yaman*; but, before his arrival, *Yali*, who had received his commission from *Othmân*, plundered the treasury, made the best of his way to *Mecca*, and deposited the money in the hands of *Ayesha*, *Telba*, and *Zobeir*. In the mean time, *Ali* made the necessary dispositions for his defence, and was joined by the *Ansars*, who came over to him almost unanimously in a body <sup>e</sup>.

*Moâwiyah declares against him.* MOAWIYAH having driven *Sabel Ebn Hanîf* out of *Syria*, assembled a body of troops on f the frontiers, as well as a numerous army, to take vengeance of the murderers of *Othmân*. He did his utmost to inspire the people under his government with an abhorrence of *Ali*, whom he represented, on all occasions, as the principal person concerned in the assassination of his predecessor. He exposed on the pulpit the bloody shirt in which *Othmân* was murdered, with his wife's fingers, that were cut off when that tragedy was acted, fixed upon it, to public view. This so incensed the *Syrian* forces, that they vowed to revenge the violent death of *Othmân*; and were undoubtedly sincere in their resolution. But as for *Ayesha* and her associates, they were not at all displeased with the murder of *Othmân*, having in reality been deeply concerned in that murder; but only exclaimed against that barbarous action, in order to be furnished with a pretext to take up arms, and to be supported by the house g

<sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. FED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'L-



- a of *Ommiyah* in their attempts against the present *Khalif*. This was very well known to *Ali*, though *Moawiyah* seems to have been a stranger to it. *Sabel* arrived at *Medina* just before the departure of *Telha* and *Zobeir* for *Mecca*; and, by the news he brought from *Syria*, they plainly perceived that a rupture with *Moawiyah* was at hand. However, the *Khalif*, probably with a view of concealing from them his true intentions, declared his resolution to make use of all possible expedients to prevent at least the speedy commencement of hostilities. He, therefore, dispatched an express to *Moawiyah* in *Syria*, and another to *Abu Mûsa* at *Cûfa*, with a letter to each of those commanders, in order to dispose them to an accommodation. With regard to the latter, the overtures made him on this occasion were so advantageous, that he seems to have immediately closed with them. For, in answer to *Ali*'s letter, he assured him, that all the *Cûfans* were intirely at his service; and moreover sent him a list of those who came in first of their own accord, as well as of those who afterwards followed their example. It can, therefore, scarce be doubted but *Ali*, at least, confirmed *Abu Mûsa* in his government of *Cûfa*, if he did not make some farther concessions to that general. As for *Moawiyah*, he did not so much as vouchsafe the *Khalif* an answer, till a considerable time after his letter came to hand. Then he sent one by a courier, dispatched for that purpose to *Medina*, sealed up, with the following direction: *From Moawiyah to Ali*. This the *Khalif* opened, and found it to be a mere blank, not so much as a single word being visible in it. Turning then to *Moawiyah*'s courier, he asked him, "What news was stirring in *Syria*?" To which the messenger replied, "There are no less than 60,000 men in arms under *Othmân*'s shirt, which is erected as a standard upon the pulpit at *Damascus*." *Ali* then asked, "Whether or no they required the blood of *Othmân* at his hands?" At the same time he called God to witness that he was innocent of it, and implored the divine assistance. As he could view *Moawiyah*'s pretended letter in no other light than that of a token of the utmost defiance and contempt, and the troops assembled under *Othmân*'s shirt were destined to act against him, he told *Ziyâd*, who sat by him, that a war in *Syria* was inevitable; which *Ziyâd* soon communicated to the people. The *Khalif* then wrote circular letters to the different provinces of *Arabia*, ordering them to send him a proper number of recruits; and exhorted his subjects to distinguish themselves in the war they were going to enter upon against the disturbers of the public repose.
- d We are told by *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, as well as *Theophanes*, that, about this time, *Moawiyah* was actually proclaimed *Khalif*, and inaugurated, by the western provinces, or, in other words, the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* troops<sup>f</sup>.

- TELHA* and *Zobeir* having made their escape to *Mecca*, under the pretext of performing the pilgrimage thither, gave a lamentable account of the murder of *Othmân*, aggravating extremely every circumstance of that barbarous action, to *Ayesha*; thinking by this means, as in reality they did, to make themselves more agreeable to her. Not long after their arrival, *Yali*, *Othmân*'s governor of *Yaman*, likewise arrived at *Mecca*, and delivered the public money he had brought with him into the hands of *Ayesha*, under whose auspices *Telha* and *Zobeir* were just beginning to act. This communicating life and activity to their councils, they soon assembled a body of troops, with which, in conjunction with the forces of the house of *Ommiyah*, they proposed to march against *Ali*, and his adherents. To this *Ayesha*, who put herself at the head of these troops, was excited by the account of the distracted situation of the *Khalif*'s affairs at *Medina*, she had received from *Telha* and *Zobeir*. They were, however, at a loss for some time what place to chuse for the scene of their military operations. *Ayesha* was for striking at the root, and marching directly to *Medina*, where *Ali*'s affairs were so miserably embarrassed; others were of opinion, that it would be the most proper to join the *Syrian* army under the command of *Moawiyah*; and, lastly, others believed that the good of the common cause required them to move as soon as possible to *Basra*, where *Telha* had a considerable interest. After mature deliberation, the last expedient was pitched upon as the most conducive to the attainment of the salutary end they had in view; and therefore public notice was given to the inhabitants of *Mecca*, that "as the mother of the faithful, with *Telha* and *Zobeir*, was upon the point of setting out for *Basra*, all who were desirous of supporting the true religion, and revenging the death of *Othmân*, might join the forces that attended her in this expedition." This produced a very good effect. For, in a short time, the *Meccans* reinforced the troops she had already on foot with a body of 600 men, and at least an equal number of camels; so that, at her departure out of *Mecca*, she found herself at the head of 1000 *Arabs*, all determined to fight for the faith, which they apprehended to be in danger by the advancement of *Ali* to the *Khalifat*, with the most undaunted bravery. The camel on which *Ayesha* rode, that had been presented to her by *Menbah*, was called *Al Ascar*, that is, *the army*, and cost an

<sup>f</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, in hist. univ. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 288. DIONYS. TELMARENS, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*.



hundred *dinârs*. Mounted on this camel in a litter, she led her forces out of *Mecca*; which, a by the accession of several other parties of *Arabs* on their march, before her arrival at *Basra*, formed a body of about 3000 men. The first place to which she advanced was *Jowâb*, a village of no great note, situated upon a rivulet of the same name <sup>a</sup>.

And arrives  
there.

UPON *Ayesha's* approach to *Jowâb*, all the dogs in the place met her in a body, and barked at her with great fury. As she had a mind to rest, or rather halt, here, she made use of this accident as a pretext to take up her lodging in that village. She declared, that the prophet himself had once intimated to his wives on a journey, in her hearing, that it was adviseable to lodge within the barking of the dogs of *Jowâb*; and had even predicted the present uncommon event. After citing, therefore, a passage of the *Korân*, she struck her camel on the leg to make him kneel, in order to dismount; resolving to remain there b at least the following night. But *Telha* and *Zobeir* knowing of what vast importance a forced march would be to them at this critical juncture, when they apprehended that *Ali* would soon come up with them, prevailed upon fifty persons to swear, that this village went by another name; though this did not enable them to divert *Ayesha* from her former resolution. At last, by order of those commanders, one of the soldiers cried out, "Make haste, c " make haste, *Ali* appears behind us." Upon which, they all resumed their march with the utmost celerity. This the *Moslem* writers own to have been a solemn public lie, and assert it to have been the first that was told between the commencement of *Islamism* and the present defection of *Ayesha*. Be that as it will, the troops under her command being terrified by this rumor, propagated without any manner of foundation, made the best of their way to *Basra*, where they arrived much sooner than was expected. In the mean time, *Moâwiyah* receiving advice of the vigorous resolution taken by *Ayesha*, and her march to *Basra*, was greatly animated by those prosperous events. This induced him to send her a considerable reinforcement, which joined the forces under her conduct before they reached *Basra*. By the accession of which, and other auxiliary troops, her army soon amounted to 30,000 men. It has been already observed, that *Othmân Ebn Hanîf* was *Ali's* governor of that place <sup>d</sup>.

She takes  
Basra.

OTHMAN EBN HANIF having been informed of the enemy's approach, resolved to reconnoitre them with a party of the garison; though he was sensible that the troops he commanded in the town would make but a very feeble resistance. He soon fell in with the d vanguard of *Ayesha's* army, which he very briskly attacked; but was defeated after a sharp skirmish, wherein he had forty of his men killed upon the spot, and was himself taken prisoner. *Ebn Al Athir* relates, that *Othmân* having received two messengers from *Ayesha*, with repeated solicitations to join her, in order to revenge the tragical exit of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, dispatched a courier to the *Khalîf*, to know what part he was to act on this occasion; and received for answer, that as *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, had, by that expedition, declared war against the whole *Arab* nation, notwithstanding the oath of allegiance to him the two latter had taken, he was to oppose them to the utmost of his power, if nothing less than the election of a new *Khalîf* could induce them to lay down their arms. The same author also informs us, that, before the courier was dispatched to *Ali*, several bloody skirmishes e happened between *Ayesha's* troops and *Telha's* party in the town on one side, and *Othmân's* forces, with the *Basrans*, that adhered to *Ali*, on the other; in the principal of which *Othmân* was worsted, and lost a considerable number of men. He likewise farther relates, that, during the absence of the same courier, *Telha* and *Zobeir* found means, by favour of a tempestuous night, to post themselves with a pretty strong party in the mosque at *Basra*; from whence they sallied out upon *Othmân's* men, cut about forty of them in pieces, took the commander himself prisoner, and sent him to *Ayesha*. But, with regard to the fate of that general, the oriental writers are not perfectly agreed. One of them says, that *Ayesha* at first resolved to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by one of the women about her to convert that punishment into forty stripes, and imprisonment; whereas another f affirms, that *Ayesha* commanded his beard and eye-brows to be tore out by the roots, and then, after a short confinement, dismissed him. Be this as it will, *Ayesha's* troops, without much difficulty, and with a very small effusion of blood, made themselves masters of *Basra*, and plundered *Ali's* treasury there. Upon *Othmân Ebn Hanîf's* arrival afterwards at *Ali's* camp, he met with a gracious reception from the *Khalîf*; who assured him, he could not fail of receiving an ample reward from God for what he had suffered on account of his fidelity to the emperor of the faithful <sup>i</sup>.

Ali marches  
against her,

As soon as *Ali* had received the bad news of the loss of *Basra*, he made a formal speech to the people, who had been assembled on this occasion, and desired their assistance. But,

<sup>a</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 37. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 186. <sup>b</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 89. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*.



- a notwithstanding he was extremely well beloved, was acknowledged by all to have been fairly <sup>and incamps</sup> elected, and was the best orator of the age, he could not, with all the eloquence he was <sup>at Arrabdah.</sup> master of, for some time, prevail upon them to give a decisive answer in his favour. *Ziyâd Ebn Hantelah*, perceiving this, stepped to *Ali* of his own accord, and said, "Whosoever retreats, we will advance." Upon which, two *Ansârs*, doctors of the law, stood up, and pronounced the following decision: "The *Imâm Othmân*, master of the two testimonies, did not die by the master of the two testimonies;" that is, in other words, "*Ali* is not guilty of the death of *Othmân*." Where, by the two testimonies, we are to understand the two articles of the *Mohammedan* faith, *There is but one God*; *Mohammed is the apostle of God*. Which sentence, formally pronounced in favour of *Ali*, soon induced the *Ansârs*, b and the body of the people, to espouse his quarrel. The first of the *Ansârs*, who exerted himself at this juncture, was *Abu Kotâdah*, and he was supported by *Omm Salma*, who obliged her cousin-german to attend the *Khalîf*, in the expedition he proposed to undertake for the recovery of *Basra*. *Ali* afterwards made him governor of *Babrein*. Being resolved, if possible, to bring the rebels back to a sense of their duty, he left *Medina* at the head of 900 men, and advanced to *Arrabdah*, where he was joined by his son *Hajân* with another body of troops. That young prince here took the liberty to censure his father's conduct, and told him, that the difficulties in which at present he found himself involved, were owing partly to his not abandoning *Medina*, when *Othmân* was besieged in his palace there; c partly to the design he had formed of reducing *Ayesha*, and her two associates, by force of arms, before he had tried what could be effected by pacific measures. Against all which points of conduct, he said, he had before advised him; and added, that his refusing to comply with such salutary advice might prove of fatal consequence to him. But to this *Ali* replied, that, had he abandoned *Medina*, when his predecessor was surrounded by his rebellious subjects there, he should, in all probability, have met with that prince's unhappy fate himself; that, had he deferred his inauguration till the body of the *Moslems* had acknowledged him, he should have offered an injury to the *Ansârs*, in whom the right of electing a *Khalîf* was lodged; and that, lastly, had he sat still at home, and neglected the means of his own preservation, by refusing to make the necessary preparations for his defence, after d the public declaration of *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, of their intention to depose him, he should have animated them in their rebellion, and must necessarily have fallen a sacrifice to their ambition. He, therefore, enjoined his son silence, and ordered him to acquiesce in the measures that had been taken. In the mean time, *Ali*'s army was reinforced by various parties of *Arabs*, that were continually joining him in his camp <sup>k</sup>.

- WHILST the *Arab* forces under *Ali* lay incamped at *Arrabdah*, the *Khalîf* dispatched *Mohammed Ebn Abû Bacr* and *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, with a letter to his friends at *Cûfa*. He did not press them in this letter to declare openly for him, but only to dispose the *Motazalites* to an accommodation. He extolled their fidelity to him, and assured them, that he reposed a greater confidence in them than in any of his other subjects. He likewise told them, that e he hoped providence, by means of their interposition, would heal the breaches that had been made amongst the *Moslems*, and restore peace and unanimity to their councils. The *Khalîf* also sent to *Medina* for farther assistance, that he might be enabled to prosecute the war with vigour; and received, in a short time, from thence a very copious supply of horses, arms, and other implements of war. In one of his public harangues to the troops, he exhibited to their view, in the strongest light, the inestimable blessing they enjoyed by the propagation of the true religion amongst them; which had effected so happy a union amongst all their tribes, that were before rendered contemptible by their animosities and divisions. At the same time, he did not fail reminding them, that they enjoyed an uninterrupted repose amongst themselves till the death of *Othmân*; from whence the devil took occasion f to sow amongst them the seeds of dissension; which would prove their destruction, unless they could prevail upon God, by imploring his assistance, to avert the impending evil. Then addressing himself to his son, he assured him, that the time would come when the *Moslems* should be divided into seventy-three sects; the worst of which would be that which should set him at nought, and not follow his example. He, therefore, advised him, as being now forewarned, always to consider the *Korân* as his guide and rule of faith, whatever distractions might happen in the state, to adhere to *Islâm* as his religion, and never to deviate from the directions of *Mohammed*. After he had given this salutary advice both to the army under his command, and his son, he made the necessary dispositions for moving towards the enemy; having received advice, that they were incamped in the neighbourhood g of *Basra* <sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 89. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 187. <sup>l</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90.



He is joined by  
a party of the  
tribe of Tay  
at Arrabdah.

BEFORE the army decamped from *Arrabdah*, *Ebn Refaa* demanded of the *Khalif*, “ what a  
“ he would have, and whither he intended to conduct the *Moslem* troops then ready to act  
“ under his command ? ” To which he replied, “ I would have the rebels to accept of  
“ peace ; but if they refuse this, I would leave them to their own temerity and presump-  
“ tion.” “ What is to be the consequence of that ? ” said *Ebn Refaa*. “ We will suffer  
“ them,” answered *Ali*, “ to persist in their wicked opposition, without hurting them, as  
“ they abstain from any acts of violence ; but if they shall think fit to attack us, we will  
“ defend ourselves.” Upon which, one of the *Ansars* then present told the *Khalif*, that,  
“ though he liked his discourse, his conduct by no means pleased him ; ” adding, with an  
oath, that, “ as he had given their body the name of *Ansars*, or *helpers*, he would help  
“ God, by assisting him to the utmost of his power.” Soon after, *Ali* was joined by a b  
party of the tribe of *Tay*, whose leader, *Said Ebn Obeid*, addressed him in the following terms :  
“ O emperor of the faithful ! some mens hearts do not correspond with their tongues ;  
“ but that is not the case with me. I have always had for thy person the greatest respect  
“ and veneration ; and will not fail fighting thine enemies wheresoever I find them. I con-  
“ sider thee as a person endued with the most excellent qualifications of any in the present  
“ age.” Upon this cordial declaration in his favour, *Ali* gave him his benediction, by say-  
ing, “ God have mercy upon thee ; ” and assured him, that he was perfectly satisfied with  
the sincerity of his intentions. The tribe of *Tay* was seated in a mountainous district,  
whose capital was called *Taima*, between *Al Thâlabiya* and *Al Hejr*, at almost an equal  
distance from each of those places. There was a castle here in the days of *Abu'lfeda*, called c  
*Al Ablak* ; which name was given it by *Al Shamâl Ebn Adbia*, according to that celebrated  
writer. Not long after the arrival of *Said Ebn Obeid* at the *Moslem* camp, another body of  
*Arabs*, composed of the tribe of *Afed*, and part of that of *Tay*, offered their service like-  
wise to the *Khalif* ; but he dismissed them in a courteous manner ; telling them, that,  
besides the *Ansars*, he had a sufficient number of the *Mohâjerîn* to attend him in the  
expedition <sup>m</sup>.

Abu Mûsa re-  
fuses to join  
Ali.

IT has been already observed, that *Abu Mûsa*, the governor of *Cûfa*, discovered an incli-  
nation to support *Ali*, if he did not actually declare for him, as *Ebn Al Athir* gives us  
reason to believe he did. But receiving advice, that *Ayesha*, *Telba*, and *Zobeir*, with the  
forces under their command, had made themselves masters of *Basra*, he began to warp in d  
his fidelity to the *Khalif*. When *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* and *Mohammed Ebn Jaasar*, there-  
fore, with *Ali*'s letter, arrived at *Cûfa*, and the people were assembled in the mosque there,  
as usual on such occasions, to hear it read ; after the contents of it had been communicated  
to them, not a single person offered to interpose in favour of the *Khalif*. But, at last, some  
of the *Hadji's*, or *pilgrims*, coming in towards the evening, and asking the governor whe-  
ther he intended to march with any troops to the assistance of *Ali* ? *Abu Mûsa* explained him-  
self on that head in the following terms : “ My sentiments yesterday, and to-day, in rela-  
“ tion to *Ali*, are not a little different. To remain at home in a pacific posture seems  
“ more agreeable to the councils of heaven ; but to enter into the war now commenced may  
“ perhaps appear more consistent with the dictates of worldly wisdom. Therefore act as e  
“ you shall think proper.” To this none of the people answered a single word ; but *Ali*'s  
embassadors gave *Abu Mûsa* very reproachful language, for the manifest partiality he had  
discovered in favour of *Ayesha*. However, this he little regarded ; telling them, that “ he  
“ would not engage in their master's quarrel, unless compelled to it by absolute necessity,  
“ before vengeance had been taken of the murderers of *Othmân* ; and that they were at  
“ liberty to impart this resolution to him.” This answer proved extremely agreeable to  
*Ayesha*, and her associates, who still remained with their forces incamped near *Basra*. Here  
they proposed to wait for *Ali*, and made the proper dispositions for meeting him in the field,  
in case on both sides it should be found necessary to come to a general action <sup>n</sup>.

The Cûfans at  
last send him  
a reinforce-  
ment.

AFTER the departure of the army from *Arrabdah*, *Ali* advanced to *Dhûlkhar* ; where f  
*Othmân Ebn Hanîf*, the late governor of *Basra*, waited upon him. *Othmân* told the *Khalif*,  
that “ he had sent him to *Basra* with a beard ; but must receive him from thence without  
“ one.” “ Thy sufferings,” said *Ali*, “ are meritorious. All the *Moslems* acquiesced in  
“ the election of the three preceding *Khalifs*. At last I was chosen, as a proper person to  
“ succeed *Othmân* ; nor did either *Telba* or *Zobeir* refuse a recognition of my authority.  
“ However, they have since violated the engagements they entered into. But they shall  
“ know, that I am not less capable of doing myself justice than any of my predecessors.”  
As soon as *Ali* had received *Abu Mûsa*'s answer, which amounted to a clear and explicit  
denial of interesting himself in his favour, he sent *Al Ashtar*, a man of great resolution, and  
*Ebn Abbâs*, to *Cûfa*, with a full and unlimited power to act as they should think fit for the g

<sup>m</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in Arab. p. 34. Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. YAKUT, in lexic. Vide etiam  
JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 34. <sup>n</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth.  
orient. p. 90.



a good of his service. But neither could they prevail upon *Abu Mûsa* to enter into a war against *Ayesha*. He advised the people over whom he presided not to entertain any thoughts of coming to a rupture with either of the contending parties; but only to receive the person injured, if it should be agreeable to him to accept of such an offer, into their houses, till the *Moslems* on both sides could be disposed to an accommodation. This not a little chagrined the *Khalîf*. However, he came to a resolution to make one other effort to procure the assistance of the *Cûfans*; and, for this purpose, dispatched his eldest son *Hasan* and *Ammâr* to their city, with instructions, that permitted them to make, on the part of the *Khalîf*, any concessions to *Abu Mûsa* that he could in reason desire. But this attempt likewise, with regard to the governor, proved ineffectual; he exerting himself to the utmost of his power to prevent the *Cûfans* from complying with the *Khalîf*'s proposals. This was also for some time hindered by *Zeid Ebn Sawkhân*, who read the two letters he had received from *Ayesha*; wherein she commanded him either to stay at home, or come with a body of troops to her assistance. However, at last *Hasan*, by a pathetic speech he made, wherein, with great art, he expatiated upon the perfidy and prevarication of *Telba* and *Zobeir*, and the unheard-of injury offered the *Khalîf*, prevailed upon the people to send a reinforcement to the *Moslem* army, commanded by *Ali*, then on its march to *Basra*. Some authors, however, relate, that, whilst the two parties were contending with great acrimony and vehemence in the mosque, *Al Ashtar*, whom *Ali* sent after his son *Hasan*, found means to seize the castle of *Cûfa* by surprize, with a small detachment assigned him for that purpose by the *Khalîf*; and that he treated very roughly some of *Abu Mûsa*'s men, whom he found there. This, continue they, made such an impression on the minds of the *Cûfans* in *Ali*'s favour, and rendered *Abu Mûsa* so contemptible to them, that, had he not instantly closed with the *Khalîf*'s proposals, he would have been plundered, and perhaps assassinated, by the mob. Nor would this, after all, have probably been prevented, had not *Al Ashtar* vigorously interposed in his favour. Be that as it will, the *Cûfans* immediately sent a body of 8,600 men, to reinforce *Ali*'s troops in the camp of *Dulkbâr*. This we learn from *Ebn Al Athir*; tho' the *Cûfan* troops, destined to act against *Ayesha* at this time, did not amount to above 6000 men, according to *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>a</sup>.

THIS reinforcement greatly animated the troops commanded by *Ali*; who, being apprized of its approach, began immediately to put themselves in motion. The *Khalîf* himself <sup>Ali advances</sup> advanced at the head of them to meet the *Cûfans*; to whom, after he had come up with them, he made a speech to the following effect: "You *Cûfans*," said he, "have always distinguished yourselves by your bravery and conduct. You have dispersed the forces of the kings of *Persia*, and made yourselves masters of their dominions. You have not only secured yourselves from the insults of other powers, but likewise afforded assistance to your neighbours. I have desired your interposition, in order to bring about a pacification between me and my brethren at *Basra*. I shall not fail persisting in my design to pursue gentle measures, till they proceed to hostilities against the troops under my command. On my part, nothing shall be omitted that may forward an accommodation, as I shall always prefer the sweets of peace to the miseries and desolations of war." After which, having before decamped from *Dulkbâr*, he marched without opposition to *Basra*; where he found the *Moslem* army under *Ayesha*, *Telba*, and *Zobeir*, ready to receive him. The *Khalîf* had several conferences with the two latter in the sight of both armies, that now faced each other. In one of these *Ali* demanded of *Zobeir*, if he did not remember that *Mohammed* once asked him, whether he loved his dear son *Ali*? and that, upon his answering in the affirmative, the prophet told him, "that, notwithstanding this, he should prove the source of a long series of calamities both to him and all the *Moslems*." *Zobeir* made answer, that "he remember'd this perfectly well; and that, had he recollected it sooner, he would never have taken up arms against him." Some have affirmed, that, after this conference, *Zobeir* discovered a great reluctance to come to an engagement with *Ali*; but was confirmed in his former resolution by *Ayesha*, who bore an implacable hatred to the *Khalîf*. Others have declared, that he was diverted from his intention of remaining neuter by his son, who asked him, "whether he was afraid of *Ali*'s colours?" and, upon his answering in the negative, but asserting, that the oath he had taken would not permit him to act against that prince, assured him, that he might free himself from the obligation he was under by the manumission of a slave. However this may be, such an expiation of an inconsiderate oath, which, by the way, was very different from the oath taken by *Zobeir*, as that here mentioned, provided the slave be a *Moslem*, is allowed by the *Korân* <sup>p</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 186, 187. ISM. ABU'LFED. hist. univ. vol. i. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303. <sup>p</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. v. Vide etiam LUTOVIC. MARRACC. not. in sur. quint. Alcoran. & SALE's trans. and not. on the Kor. p. 94.



Both the  
Khalif and  
Ayesha pre-  
pare for an en-  
gagement.

THE two armies being drawn up in order of battle, faced each other for some time; the commanders on both sides pretending to be extremely averse to a general engagement. But an accident happened the night before the *day of the camel*, that rendered this absolutely inevitable. There were some disorders committed then in one of the armies, the authors of which could never be discovered; upon which, *Telba* and *Zobeir* were told by certain persons, who must have been desirous of leaving the dispute about the *Khalifat* between *Ali* and *Ayesha* to the decision of the sword, that the *Cúfans* had fallen upon their forces in the night. *Ali*, said they, will put an end to this quarrel by a decisive action; and therefore he has suffered the *Cúfans* to begin hostilities. Being informed of this, the *Khalif* considered these rumours as an artifice of his enemies, propagated with a design to force him to a battle; and therefore he declared *Ayesha* and her associates to be the aggressors, and consequently imputed to them the effusion of the *Moslem* blood that was to be spilt in this war. Before the propagation of these rumours, which gave infinite disgust to both parties, *Ayesha* seemed greatly dismayed at the countenance of *Ali's* troops, and was inclined to have settled with him the preliminaries of a future treaty; but after they became current, there was no room left for an accommodation. *Ayesha* was animated by despair, and the *Khalif* incensed more than ever; tho' in one of the former conferences, he had reproached *Telba* and *Zobeir* for their infidelity, and declared, in the presence of the two armies, that the divine vengeance would most certainly overtake them. *Ayesha*, in order to infuse life and vigour into her troops, was mounted on her great camel, in a pavilion (or little tent, surrounded with curtains, wherein women were carried on camels in the east) resembling a sort of cage, and moved with great resolution from one part of her army to another in the heat of the action. Hence it came to pass, that the day on which the battle was fought was called *the day of the camel* by some of the *Arab* historians; tho' the engagement itself seems to have been denominated the battle of *Khoraiba* by *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>a</sup>.

The battle of  
Khoraiba.

THE army *Ali* brought into the field on this occasion did not exceed 20,000 men, according to *Al Makín*; but it amounted to 30,000, if we will believe *Ebn Al Athir*. *Ayesha's* forces are said to have consisted of 30,000 men by the former of those authors, and to have exceeded that number by the latter; so that it is agreed on all hands, that the army commanded by *Ayesha* was more numerous than that of the *Khalif*. But notwithstanding this, the odds were apparently on *Ali's* side. For *Ayesha's* troops were composed of raw and undisciplined men, drawn together in haste; whereas those of the *Khalif* were the flower of the *Moslem* soldiery, consisting chiefly of the *Ansárs* and *Mobájerín*, as well as the *Cúfan* veterans, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in the conquest of *Persia*, and consequently such as might be intirely depended upon. Besides, *Ali* himself was infinitely superior, both in point of valour and capacity, to any of the enemy's generals. The dispute, therefore, was not of any long continuance; the enemy being quickly routed. *Abn Al Athir* relates, that *Merwán* perceiving the victory to incline to *Ali*, in the heat of the action, said to him, "*Telba* lately imbrued his hands in the blood of *Othmán*, and now, infatuated by ambition, he pretends to revenge his death;" and immediately letting fly an arrow at him, wounded him in the leg. Upon which his horse throwing him, he called for help; saying at the same time, "O God, take vengeance of me for the blood of *Othmán*, in the manner THOU shalt think most proper." His man then took him up behind him, and conveyed him to a house in *Basra*, where he in very short time expired. But just before his death, he said to one of the *Khalif's* men, "Give me your hand, that I may put mine into it, and by that action renew the oath of fidelity to *Ali*, which I have already taken to him." Of which the *Khalif* being informed, declared publickly, "that God would not call *Telba* to heaven, till he had atoned for the former violation of his oath by this last protestation of fidelity to him". As for *Zobeir*, having made his escape out of the battle, he retired to a valley crossed by a rivulet called *Sabaa*, on the road to *Mecca*; where he found *Hanaf Ebn Kais* incamped with a body of troops, with which he intended to join the victor, after the end of the action. Soon after his arrival there, *Amru Ebn Jarmúz*, one of *Hanaf's* men, struck off his head whilst he was at prayers, performing the prostration, and carried it to *Ali*. But the *Khalif* receiving it with indignation, and, at the sight of it, bidding him "go carry the good news to *Ebn Safia* in hell;" he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: "You are the evil genius of the *Moslems*. If a person delivers you from any of your enemies, he is presently doomed to hell for such deliverance; and if he kills one of your men, you instantly pronounce him one of the devil's companions." Then, not being able to survive the indignity offered him, he drew his sword, and put a period to his days. With regard to *Ayesha*, the victory was by no means complete, till the *Khalif* had obliged her to make her submission. As long as her camel stood upon his legs, her troops made a tolerable resistance; and *Ali*

<sup>a</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L. FAR. ubi sup. p. 187



- a found it not so easy to disperse them. *Al Tabari* relates, that seventy men, of the *Banu Daba*, who held his bridle, had their hands cut off successively in the dispute; and that the pavilion in which she sat was stuck so full of javelins and arrows, that it resembled a porcupine. At last, the camel was hamstringed, and *Ayesha* forced to lie there till the conclusion of the engagement; when *Ali* treated her with great politeness, dismissed her in a courteous manner, and ordered his sons *Hasan* and *Hosein* to attend her, with a splendid equipage, a day's journey on her return home. However, he thought fit afterwards to confine her to her house at *Medina*, and commanded her from thenceforth never to concern herself with state-affairs; tho he permitted her, in order to ingratiate himself the more with the *Arabs*, who still retained a secret regard and veneration for her, to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. We
- b are told by an *Arab* author of good repute, that, when her camel failed her, *Ali* sent *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* to see whether she was dead or alive; and that, upon his presenting himself before her pavilion, she gave him opprobrious language. Thus ended the battle of *Khoraiba*, or, as 'tis called by *Eutychius*, the battle of the camel; wherein both *Telha* and *Zobeir*, who violated the oath they had taken to *Ali*, lost their lives. The *Arab*, who killed the latter, is named, by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Omar Ebn Jirmus*, but, by *Ebn Al Athir* and *Al Makin*, *Amru Ebn Jarmuz*, as has been already observed. The people of the camel, as *Al Makin* calls *Ayesha's* troops, according to some of the *Arab* writers, had 8000, or, as others say, 17000 men killed in the action; whereas the whole loss sustained by *Ali* did not exceed 1000 men. The spoil taken at the battle the *Khalif* distributed among the heirs of his soldiers who fell in it,
- c as a just reward for the bravery of their fathers and relations. He also constituted *Abd'allah Ebn Abbās* governor of *Basra*; and reprehended, with some asperity, the people of that place, for their disaffection to him. From thence he went to *Cufa*, which he made the seat of his government. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that, on both sides, above 30,000 men were killed in the battle of *Khoraiba*, which was fought on *Thursday*, the 10th of the former *Jomada*, in the 36th year of the *Hejra*, nearly answering to the year of our LORD 656<sup>r</sup>.

- AFTER so complete a victory, *Ali* could have no enemies to contend with either in *Moawiyah* *Arabia*, *Irak*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, or *Khorasan*; so that it must have rendered him extremely formidable. However, there was still a very powerful party formed against him in *Syria*; *Moawiyah* persisting in his resolution to dispute the *Khalifat* with him, and having all the *Syrian* troops at his devotion. Notwithstanding some overtures that had been made to him by *Ali* for an accommodation, he refused to acknowledge him *Khalif*; and even still continued to animate the *Syrians*, in order to advance his own affairs, against him. Whilst matters were in this situation, *Amru Ebn Al As*, and not *Amru Ebn Ali*, as he is called by Mr. *Ockley*, who commanded in *Palestine*, arrived at *Damascus*, then the residence of *Moawiyah*, and took the oath of allegiance to him. This was done in the presence of all the army, and had before been concerted between *Amru* and *Moawiyah*; the latter having engaged to confer upon the former, in order to procure his assistance, the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, if he could be advanced to the *Khalifat*. In consequence of this recognition of *Moawiyah's* authority, *Amru* gave his new master the titles of *lawful KHALIF* and *Prince of the MOSLEMS*. The foregoing action was followed by the acclamations of the people, who likewise unanimously took the oath of fidelity to *Moawiyah*, and inaugurated him by the title of *Emir*. *Al Makin* relates, that the *Khalif* dispatched *Khariz Ebn Abd'allah Al Nahali* to *Damascus*, to dispose *Moawiyah* to an accommodation; but that all his endeavours in this point proved ineffectual<sup>s</sup>.
- d
- e

- As soon as *Ali* received advice of these commotions, he endeavoured, first by gentle *Ali marches* means, to bring the rebels of *Syria* back to a sense of their duty. But finding afterwards, *to Seffein*, that the people of that large province had unanimously declared against him, he feared it would be in vain to set on foot any other negotiation. As, therefore, he perceived it would
- f
- be necessary to invade *Syria*, in order to reduce the rebels to his obedience, he advanced to the frontiers at the head of an army of 70,000 men; but had scarce entered that country, when he was obliged to incamp upon a spot of ground, where he found himself greatly distressed for want of water. In these calamitous circumstances, he met with a *Christian* hermit, who told him, that there was a small cistern in the neighbourhood; but that this would scarce supply him with three hogsheads of water for his troops. However, upon *Ali's* saying, that the antient prophets of the people of *Israel* formerly made their abode, and dug a pit, there, the hermit farther told him, that he had been informed by some old men, that there was really a pit, or well, shut up near the place where he had incamped, which, accord-

<sup>r</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR, apud AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 187, 188. MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL Bibl. orient. in *Ali*. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. p. 342, 343. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>s</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 38. GREG ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 188. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90, 91. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 47.



ing to a tradition prevailing in the country, could only be discovered and opened by a prophet, or one sent by him. Upon this, *Ali* went in quest of it, soon found it, and removed a stone that covered it, of an immense size, with the greatest facility; which so surprized the hermit, that he immediately embraced his knees, and would never after leave him. To which some of the eastern writers add, that this hermit presented the *Khalif* with an old parchment manuscript, said to have been written by *Simon Ebn Sefa*, or *Simon Cephas*, that is, *Simon Peter*, or *St. Peter*, surnamed *Cephas*, one of the apostles of *JESUS CHRIST*, which contained an account of the advent of *Mohammed*, of the arrival of his lawful successor in those parts, and of the miraculous discovery of this well. After *Ali* had returned God thanks for so signal a blessing, and furnished his troops with a sufficient quantity of water, he continued his march to *Seffein*, a place between *Syria* and *Irak*, where *Moawiyah* had posted himself with an army of 80,000 men. Before his arrival there, *Ali* sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Ashtar Al Nakbai*, to attack a body of troops posted by *Moawiyah* on that part of the road leading to the *Euphrates*, in order to render it impracticable, and impede the *Khalif's* march. *Ashtar* executed his orders with so much bravery, that he drove the enemy from their post, cut several of them in pieces, and opened a passage from the army to *Seffein*. According to *Al Makin*, *Ali's* troops amounted to 90,000 men, and *Moawiyah's* to 120,000; so that, if this author is to be credited, all the *Moslem* forces on both sides assembled on this occasion, consisted of 210,000 men<sup>a</sup>.

The battle of  
Seffein.

TOWARDS the close of the 36th year of the *Hejra*, the two armies came in sight of each other, and seemed to be ready to enter upon action. Some skirmishes happened between their advanced guards, wherein neither the *Khalif* nor *Moawiyah* sustained any considerable loss. The first month of the following year was spent in attempts to forward an accommodation but without effect. The next month being *Safar*, they began to fight in parties or plottoons, without hazarding a general engagement. The continuance of these encounters is variously related by the *Arab* historians. Some extend it to forty days, others to an hundred, and others to an hundred and ten. In that space, *Ali* lost 5000, or, as others say, 25,000 men, twenty-six of whom had been intimately acquainted with the prophet, attended him at the battle of *Bedr*, and were dignified with the title of the COMPANIONS. The most famous of these was *Anmar Ebn Jassar*, or rather *Ammar Ebn Yâser*, *Ali's* general of horse, who was about ninety years of age, and had been in three several engagements with *Mohammed* himself. The *Syrian* forces suffered still more than those of the *Khalif*; 45,000 of the them having been killed upon the spot in these rencounters. *Ali* commanded his men never to begin the attack, never to kill any one that fled, never to take any plunder, and always to treat the women that should fall into their hands in a decent manner. He also, before the beginning of these rencounters, which *Al Makin*, or rather *Abu Jaasar*, makes to amount in all to 90, intreated *Moawiyah* to take the oath of fidelity to him, and prevent the farther effusion of *Moslem* blood. But this *Moawiyah* constantly, till the death of *Ammar*, refused; declaring publickly, that he would not lay down his arms till he had taken vengeance of the murderers of *Othman*, deposed *Ali*, and enabled the people to proceed to a new election. But that fatal event made a deep impression both upon *Amru* and *Moawiyah*; the former declaring that he would rather have died twenty years before, than have survived so worthy a person as *Ammar Ebn Yâser*, who had deserved so well of all the *Moslems*. The loss of this general so exasperated *Ali*, that he charged the *Syrians* with a body of 12,000 men, broke them, and challenged *Moawiyah* to fight him in single combat. This challenge *Amru* would have persuaded *Moawiyah* to have accepted; but he absolutely declined it, insisting that it was not a fair one, since *Ali* could not but be conscious of his superior strength; he having killed every person who had to that time entered the lists against him. *Amru* urged, that it would be dishonourable, and argue a want of courage, to refuse so fair an offer. To which *Moawiyah* made no other reply than this; “You aspire to the *Khalifat* yourself, and desire to enjoy it after I am gone.” The last action at *Seffein* continued all night, to the great disadvantage of the *Syrians*. *Al Ashtar* pushed them to their camp; which, being vigorously supported by *Ali*, he was upon the point of making himself master of. *Moawiyah* seeing things in such a desperate situation, resolved, in concert with *Amru*, to make use of an artifice, that might possibly excite the *Khalif's* men to desert; since nothing, at that perilous conjuncture, could, as he apprehended, save both him and his troops, but such a desertion. He, therefore, instantly ordered some of his men to fix several copies of the *Korân* upon their lances points, and to carry them at the head of his troops; at the same time crying out, “This is the book that ought to decide all differences between us; this is the book of God between us and you, which absolutely prohibits the effusion of *Moslem* blood.” Nor did this stratagem, coarse as it was, fail of produce-

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 91. JOH. i. 42. MAT. x. 2. xvi. 16. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 123. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 39.



a ing the desired effect. For, the troops of *Irāk*, that were the flower of the *Khalif's* forces, immediately threw down their arms; threatening to abandon him, and even to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, if he would not found a retreat. This, therefore, he found himself obliged to do; tho' he most bitterly exclaimed against that point of conduct in the strongest manner; assuring the mutineers, that *Amru* and *Moāwiyah* had not the least regard for the *Korān*; and that his view in the present war was only to force them to act according to the tenets and decisions of that book. But he found it impossible to stem the torrent that now threatened to overwhelm him, without an immediate compliance with what they required; especially as the *Khārejites*, an enthusiastic sect, openly declared, that, unless he instantly ordered the troops under *Al Ashtar* to desist from the attack of the Syrian camp, they would serve him in the same manner they had done the son of *Affān*, meaning the last *Khalif Othmān*, whom they had inhumanly murdered. *Al Ashtar*, therefore, by the *Khalif's* command, was obliged, tho' with the greatest reluctance, to retire, and suffer the victory, of which he thought himself so secure, by this stratagem, to be wrested out of his hands. The night in which this battle was fought has been named by the *Arab* historians THE VALIANT NIGHT; because, says *Al Makin*, the *Moslems* behaved so valiantly in it, that they broke all their spears, and spent the remainder of it in a close engagement. About 70,000 fell on both sides that fatal night, according to some of the *Arab* historians, if we will believe the same author; 25,000 on the *Khalif's* and 45,000 on that of the *Syrians*. But others of them, as he also observes, and with a greater appearance of truth, as we apprehend, affirm, that *Ali* lost 25,000 men, and *Moāwiyah* 45,000, in all the actions that happened at *Seffein*. Upon the return of the day, *Ali* was obliged to cool the ardour of his victorious troops, when they had, as it were, rendered the action decisive in his favour, in the manner already related. The stratagem that occasioned this was contrived, and suggested to *Moāwiyah*, by *Amru Ebn Al As*, if any credit be due to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>b</sup>.

MOAWIYAH, after the end of the action, desiring that the dispute betwixt him and *Ali* might be brought to a decision by two persons nominated by the parties concerned, according to the true and genuine sense of the *Korān*; *Asbaath Ebn Kais*, who was supposed to have been corrupted by *Moāwiyah*, asked *Ali* how he approved of that expedient. The *Khalif* answered him coldly, "He that is not at liberty cannot give his advice. You are <sup>The dispute between Ali and Moāwiyah referred to the arbitration of two persons.</sup> to conduct this affair as you shall think proper." This apparently glanced at the late perfidious conduct of the troops of *Irāk*, who considered *Asbaath* as their chief. Not content with offering so gross an affront as they had done to the poor *Khalif*, they insisted upon nominating for him *Abu Mūsa Al Ashari*, a very weak man, and one who had once betrayed him; refusing to admit, as he desired, either *Ebn Abbās*, or *Ashtar*, or indeed any other person that they thought had the least regard for him. *Moāwiyah*, on the other hand, was treated in quite a different manner. He was allowed to trust his interest with whom he pleased; and accordingly he nominated *Amru Ebn Al As*, one of the greatest men of the age, to assert his right to the *Khalifat*, and explain the *Korān* in his favour. The two arbitrators, with whom the determination of this affair was intrusted, were enjoined to decide it the next *Ramadān*, agreeably to the tenor of the *Korān*, and the collection of the prophet's traditions. This point being agreed upon, tho' by no means of to the satisfaction of the *Khalif*, *Moāwiyah* retired to *Damascus*, and *Ali* to *Cūsa*, in order to wait the event of that arbitration. But, before their departure, each of them left the command of his army to one of his generals; and invested with a proper authority, that he might better be enabled to settle every thing relating to religion, in their absence, a particular *Imām*. We find it intimated by *Abu Jaafar*, that the *Syrian* and *Irākian* troops chose the arbitrators; and consequently, that *Ali* and *Moāwiyah* had no hand in that election. The place appointed for the scene of this arduous transaction, upon which the fate of the *Moslem* empire, yet in its infancy, seemed to depend, was *Dawmat Al Jandal*, a town on the borders of *Syria*, about fifteen or sixteen days journey from *Medina*, and five from *Damascus*. The ancient inhabitants of this place, as well as those of *Tabūk*, were the *Calbites*, descended from *Calb*, and consequently a branch of the tribe of *Hamyar* <sup>c</sup>.

ABOUT eight months after the battle of *Seffein*, *Abu Mūsa* and *Amru Ebn Al As* came to *Ali* <sup>deposed by both the arbitrators.</sup> *Dawmat Al Jandal*, attended by several of the companions, and escorted by a detachment of the *Moslem* forces. *Ebn Abbās*, before the opening of the conferences, desired *Abu Mūsa* to remember this, whatever else he forgot, that *Ali* had no blemish to render him incapable of the government, nor *Moāwiyah* any virtue to qualify him for it. But, notwithstanding this salutary admonition, *Amru*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the genius of his colleague, by his artful address, so far insinuated himself into his good graces, that he could

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 188, 189. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 39, 40. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 189. SAAD AL YAMANI, SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABU'LFED. in cap. de Arab. pur. D'HERBEL. ubi sup.



bring him into any measures which he should think proper to suggest to him. He, therefore, easily persuaded *Abu Mûsa*, that, in order to re-establish peace amongst the *Moslems*, it would be absolutely necessary to depose both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*; that a new *Khalîf* might be elected, who should be acceptable to all the people. This important article being settled, a tribunal was erected between the two armies, on which each of the arbitrators was to declare publicly his opinion. This *Abu Mûsa*, at *Amru*'s request, mounted first, and with a loud voice pronounced the following words: "I depose from the *Khalîfat* both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, in the same manner that I now take this ring off my finger;" and having made this declaration, he immediately came down. Then *Amru*, in his turn, ascended the tribunal, and said, "You have heard, gentlemen, how *Abu Mûsa* has deposed *Ali*, whom I likewise depose, and confer the *Khalîfat* upon *Moâwiyah*. I therefore invest that prince with the supreme authority, in the same manner that I put this ring upon my finger. And this I am the more readily disposed to do, as having justice on my side; he having been declared by *Othmân* his successor, and being now the avenger of his blood, as well as the most worthy of all the *Moslems* of that sublime station to which I now advance him." This unexpected declaration greatly shocked all the partizans of *Ali*, who complained bitterly of *Abu Mûsa*; and he, on his part, in very severe terms, reflected upon *Amru*'s conduct, who had so shamefully violated the principal article stipulated in the late convention. In fine, *Abu Mûsa*, after having been so outwitted by *Amru*, not thinking himself safe in *Ali*'s camp, fled to *Mecca* for his farther security. Some of the *Arab* writers relate, that this *Abu Mûsa* had the most musical voice of any person of his time. According to *Abu Jaafar*, the two arbitrators did not only agree to depose both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* but likewise to promote to the *Khalîfat* *Abd'allah*, the son of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*. For a circumstantial detail of *Amru*'s perfidious conduct on this occasion, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Abul Faraj*, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>a</sup>.

*Ali's interest begins to decline.*

THE preceding determination, far from effecting a reconciliation between the contending parties, incensed their adherents to such a degree, that they publicly cursed and excommunicated one another in a very dreadful manner. Nor did the houses of *Ali* and *Ommiyah*, to the last of which belonged both *Othmân* and *Moâwiyah*, for a long time lay aside that reciprocal malediction. Nay, it may be said still to subsist in that rivetted antipathy between the *Turks* and the *Persians*, which is visible at this very day. However, *Amru*, after the public declaration he had made, and the *Syrian* troops he commanded, returned to *Damascus*, and complimented *Moâwiyah* upon his new election. On the other hand, *Ali* being determined to assert his right to the *Khalîfat*, and even in a short time to march against *Moâwiyah*; no less than 60,000 of his subjects took a fresh oath of allegiance to him, and even obliged themselves to support him to the last drop of their blood. But notwithstanding this vigorous resolution taken in his favour, that *Khalîf*'s interest, from the fatal period we are now upon, began greatly to decline <sup>c</sup>.

*Ali drops his title of Khalîf.*

IT may not be improper here to remark, that before the articles of the treaty of peace, which followed the late suspension of arms between *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, could be perfectly reduced to writing, both *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* insisted, that the title of *emperor of the faithful*, which *Ali* had assumed, and prefixed to a copy of those articles, should be intirely effaced. To this *Abnaf Ebn Kais* would have persuaded the *Khalîf* never to give his consent. But *Ali* told him, that, when he was secretary to his father-in-law *Mohammed*, *Sobail Ebn Amru* refused to treat with the prophet, on the part of the people of *Mecca*, unless he would renounce the title of the APOSTLE OF GOD. Which, for the sake of peace, he accordingly did, without hesitation; and ordered me, said *Ali*, to efface that title, after it had been inserted at the head of the instrument containing the articles of the treaty to be signed by both parties, and substitute in its room the following words, *Mohammed the son of Abd'allah*. At the same time, he addressed himself to me, continued the *Khalîf*, in the following remarkable terms: *Remember, there will hereafter come a day when you shall find yourself in a similar case.* *Ali*, therefore, agreed to the omission of that title, of which, by his own arbitrator, *Abu Mûsa*, he had been so solemnly deprived. All these transactions happened in the 37th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 657, as did also the defection of the *Khârejites*, or *rebels*, for that the word really signifies; of which, as it is a very curious article of the *Arabic* history, in the *Khalîfat* of *Ali*, we must beg leave to give our readers here a distinct and particular relation <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 91, 92. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 189, 190.

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 92. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. cap. xlv. p. 87. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 269.



a AFTER *Ali* had submitted the decision of his right to the *Khalifat*, which *Moâwiyah* <sup>The defection of the Khâ-rejites</sup> disputed with him, to arbitration, he retired to *Cûfa*, as has been already observed. But he was no sooner arrived there, than 12,000 *Khârejites*, that is, *rebels*, or *revolters*, who had fought under him at the battle of *Seffein*, and themselves forced him to take that ignominious step, pretending to be offended at this submission, revolted from him. These were also called *Mobakkemites*, or *Judiciarians*; because the reason they gave for their revolt was, that *Ali* had referred a matter concerning the religion of God to the *judgment* of men; whereas the *judgment*, in such case, belonged to God alone. In consequence of this notion, they urged, that, instead of standing to the peace he had made, he ought to pursue his enemies, who were likewise the enemies of God, without mercy. But *Ali* answered, that, as he had given his word, he ought to keep it; and that in so doing, he should follow what the law of God prescribed. The *Khârejites* replied, that God was the only judge between him and *Moâwiyah*; and that consequently he had committed an enormous sin, of which he ought sincerely to repent. This irritating *Ali*, he, with some warmth, remonstrated to them, that, if any sin had been committed on this occasion, the world would justly impute the guilt of it to them; who, contrary to their oath of allegiance to him, had abandoned him in the heat of the late action, and obliged him to pursue those very measures, which, at that time, as they pretended, gave them so much offence <sup>e</sup>.

b THE rebels, not at all satisfied with these reasons, chose, for their general, *Abd'allah Ebn Wabeh*, who appointed *Naharwan*, a town situated between *Wâset* and *Baghdâd*, about <sup>Their rebellion is extinguished by Ali.</sup> four miles to the east of the *Tigris*, the place of their rendezvous. They had not been here long before they were joined by great numbers of *Ali*'s disaffected subjects from *Cûfa*, *Basra*, and various parts of *Arabia*. The *Khalif* at first took little notice of them; his thoughts being chiefly bent upon reducing *Moâwiyah*, whom he considered as much the more formidable enemy. But being informed, that they were increased to the number of 25,000 men, that they condemned as impious all who did not fall in with their sentiments, and that they had already put to death several *Moslems*, for refusing to comply with their iniquitous measures; he resolved, in fine, to exterminate a sect, which tended to the subversion of the very foundations of *Mohammedism*. However, he thought fit, before he proceeded to extremities, to try gentle methods; but these proving ineffectual, he assembled a considerable body of troops, at the head of which he presented himself to their view. Nevertheless, before he attacked them, he had the precaution to plant a standard without the camp, and to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that whosoever would come under it, should have quarter, and whosoever would retire to *Cûfa*, should find a sanctuary there. This stratagem produced the desired effect; insomuch that *Abd'allah Ebn Wabeh* soon found his army reduced to 4000 men. However, being animated by despair, he attacked the *Khalif*'s forces, notwithstanding the inequality of his troops. But he received the just reward of his temerity and presumption; being cut to pieces, with all his men, except nine who escaped. Of these, as we are told by some historians, two fled into *Omân*, two into *Kermân*, two into *Sijistân*, two into *Mesopotamia*, and one into *Tel Mawrûn*, in *Yaman*; in all which places they propagated their heresy, where, as we are told, it remains to this day. Others maintain, tho' not with such an appearance of truth, in our opinion, that, of the 4000 *Khârejites*, commanded by *Abd'allah Ebn Wabeh*, not a man survived the general destruction; *Ali* being resolved to pursue this impious and rebellious sect even to excision. Before the beginning of the action, *Ali* told some of his friends, that “ the rebels, who pretended “ to spend so much of their time in reading the *Korân*, without observing its precepts, “ would desert their profession, at the approach of danger, with as great celerity as arrows “ fly from a bow, when they are discharged from it; which accordingly came to pass. It will be proper to observe here, that the heresy of the *Khârejites* consisted chiefly in two things: 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of *Imâm*, or prince, tho' he was not of the tribe of *Koreish*, nor even a free man, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications; and also held, that if the *Imâm* turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death, or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any *Imâm* at all in the world. 2. In that they charged *Ali* with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by God alone; and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account. The principal sects, or branches, of the *Khârejites*, besides the *Mobakkemites* here mentioned, are six; which, tho' they greatly differ amongst themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz. that they absolutely reject *Othmân* and *Ali*, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms; that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels; and that they hold it necessary to resist the *Imâm* when he transgresses the law. The most celebrated of the *Khârejites* seem to be the

<sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 270. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 92.



*Waidians*, so called from *Al Waid*, which signifies the *threats* denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the *Morgians*, and assert, that he who is guilty of an enormous sin ought to be declared an infidel, or an apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer; which opinion of theirs occasioned the first rise of the *Motazelites*. One *Jaafar Ebn Mobashar*, of the sect of the *Nodbamians*, was yet more severe than the *Waidians*, pronouncing him to be a reprobate, and an apostate, who steals but a grain of corn. The defeat, or rather almost total extirpation; of the *Kharejites*, who persisted in their rebellion, whose name also; according to *Ebn Al Kossa*, signified *tribute*, as they received tribute without the leave of the prince, and even in opposition to him, happened in the 38th year of the *Hejra*, the year following their revolt; at a place; as should seem from *Eutychius*, called *Khorûzi*, or *Khorûzia*, at a small distance from *Nabarwan*. Their leader, *Abd'allah Ebn Wabeh*, lost his life in the action; and the glorious victory gained on this occasion reunited under the government of *Ali* the whole body of the *Moslems* settled in *Arabia* <sup>a</sup>.

The Khalif's  
camp at Cûfa  
abandoned by  
his troops.

THE *Khalif* having thus happily extinguished this rebellion, which struck at the very foundations of *Islamism* itself, as well as the supreme authority with which he was at first so legally invested by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems*, he made the necessary dispositions for marching immediately against *Moâwiyah*, in order to reduce him likewise to his obedience. But he was diverted from this design by some persons about him, who probably were secret well-wishers to *Moâwiyah*, as this would have been the most proper season to have attacked him, when his men were so flushed with their late success, under the pretence, that he had not yet made sufficient preparations for so long a war as this was like to be; and that he ought to allow his troops some refreshment, after the fatigues they had sustained. *Ali*, therefore, following their advice, formed a camp at *Nakilah*, in the neighbourhood of *Cûfa*; and permitted his men to retire to *Cûfa*, to follow their occupations there one day, and return to the posts assigned them the next, during the time of his incampment there. The consequence of which was, that the camp was soon intirely deserted by the troops that formed it, and of course the *Khalif* himself obliged to retire to *Cûfa*, then the receptacle of those troops <sup>c</sup>.

Egypt con-  
quered by Am-  
ru Ebn Al As.

IT has been already observed, that *Ali*, in the beginning of his *Khalifat*, conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Kais Ebn Sa'id*, who acquitted himself of his charge with great d  
prudence. Finding, on his arrival there, that the partizans of *Othmân*, or rather *Moâwiyah*, formed a very considerable faction, he thought it proper to accommodate himself to the times; which he did with so much address, that he kept every thing in good order; inso-much that the whole body of the people were very well pleased with his administration. This conduct of *Kais* furnished *Moâwiyah* with an occasion of publishing every-where, that the governor of *Egypt* was his friend, and acted in concert with him; which he did, in order to render him suspected to *Ali*, who yet had not a more faithful friend amongst his subjects. That he might the more effectually carry his point, *Moâwiyah* forged a letter in *Kais's* name, directed to himself; wherein it was insinuated, that the reason why he had not treated with more severity the adherents of the house of *Ommiyah* was, because he was him- e  
self intirely in their measures. Which artifice of *Moâwiyah* had the desired effect. For *Ali* hereby entertaining a suspicion of *Kais's* fidelity to him, immediately recalled him, and appointed *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* governor of *Egypt* in his room; which occasioned great commotions in that province. For the new governor no sooner set his foot there, than he began to chase out of that country all those who professed any regard for *Othmân*, or preserved any veneration for his memory. Upon which, such civil wars and dissensions ensued, that *Ali* was obliged to send for *Mohammed* home, and to dispatch *Malec Shatur*, sometimes called *Ushur Malec Ebn Hâreth Al Najai*, into *Egypt*, to re-establish his authority there. *Moâwiyah* being apprized of this, prevailed upon a friend of his at *Kolzom*, a town upon the Red Sea, where *Ushur Malec* was to lodge, in his passage to *Egypt*, to poison him; which f  
he accordingly did, by giving him some poisoned honey at an entertainment he had prepared for him. This obliged *Ali* to continue *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* some time longer in the government of *Egypt*; from whence he immediately expelled all the *Banu Hâreth*, probably on account of the relation they bore to *Ushur Malec* his successor, who were some of the blackest and most swarthy kind of *Arabs*; which proved the total ruin of *Ali's* interest in that region. For, they instantly retired to *Damascus*, where they informed *Moâwiyah* of the treatment they had met with from *Mohammed*; at the same time assuring him, that he might easily make himself master of *Egypt*. Upon receiving this intelligence, *Moâwiyah* sent *Amru Ebn Al As* with a body of 6000 men, to take possession, in his name, of the

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 39. Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 270. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 256. AL JANNAB. & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU' L FAR. ubi sup. & p. 169. EBN AL KOSSA, apud Pocock. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342, 343. <sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 92, 93.



- a government of that country. *Amru*, in pursuance of his orders, marched with all possible expedition into *Egypt*, seized the capital city, and was soon joined by *Ebn Sharig*, who had put himself at the head of *Othmân's* party, with a considerable force. After this junction, *Amru* attacked *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, *Ali's* governor, intirely defeated him, and took him prisoner. Not satisfied with this, he put him to death; and, inclosing his body in that of an ass, burnt it to ashes. This barbarity gave great offence to his sister *Ayesha*, who begged a curse upon *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* for it at the end of all her prayers, and took *Mohammed's* dependents and domestics under her protection. *Ali* also himself was greatly concerned at this tragical event; saying, "We shall account for him before God." *Abu Jaasar* relates, that *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, after the defeat of his forces, escaped out of the battle, and
- b hid himself; but was discovered, and brought to *Amru*, by *Moawiyah Ebn Kbedej*, who treated him in the cruel manner above-mentioned. He was cut off in the fortieth year of his age, after he had been five months only governor of *Egypt*. After his death, the post he filled was occupied by *Amru Ebn Al As*; upon whom it was conferred by *Moâwiyah*, who then acted as *Khalîf* in *Syria* <sup>k</sup>.

THE next year, being the 39th of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* sent several detachments to make incursions into *Ali's* territories, where they committed dreadful depredations. The most considerable of these detachments, under the command of *Dabak Ebn Kais*, consisting of 3000 men, plundered several districts of *Irâk*, and then penetrated into *Hejâz*. But *Dabak* was met by a body of the *Khalîf's* troops, consisting of 4000 men, under the conduct of *Hajar Ebn Adi*, after he had retired out of that province, at *Tadmor*. Here *Hajar* attacked the enemy with such bravery, that he put them to flight, killed several of them upon the spot, and recovered the booty they had acquired. This vigorous action was of considerable service to the *Khalîf's* subjects in those parts, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation. For, the *Syrians* had not only pillaged the country through which they moved, but likewise put all the *Arabs* they could meet with to the sword; which had struck the *Moslems* there with such terror, that, for some time, none of them durst even perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* <sup>l</sup>.

- THE same year, as we apprehend, and not the preceding, as has been intimated by *D'Herbelot*, without any manner of foundation, who has been followed herein by Mr. *Ockley*, *Ali* sent for his faithful friend, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, from *Basra*, of which place he was then governor, to *Medina*, that he might with him take such resolutions as were suitable to the present situation of his affairs. *Moâwiyah* receiving advice of this event, immediately ordered *Abd'allah Ebn Hadrâmi* to march to *Basra* with a body of 2000 horse, and possess himself of that city. These orders he easily executed, as *Ziyâd*, *Ebn Abbâs's* lieutenant there, had not a sufficient number of troops to oppose him, and the city itself was not capable of making any defence. *Ali* being informed of this, sent a reinforcement to *Ziyâd*, who had abandoned *Basra* at *Abd'allah's* approach, under the command of *Hâreth*, who joined *Ziyâd* at a small distance from *Basra* without any loss. After this junction, the combined forces attacked *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi* near that city, overthrew him, and killed him upon the spot.
- c Upon which, *Basra* surrendered again to *Ali*; who immediately sent back thither *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, to command there as he had done before. Which transactions we have thought fit to place in the 39th year of the *Hejra*, as the incursions mentioned by Mr. *Ockley* immediately before them seem to correspond exactly with those that *Al Makin* assures us were made by *Moâwiyah's* detachments that year. Our learned and curious readers, therefore, we hope, will not censure us for preferring the authority of *Al Makin* to that of M. *D'Herbelot*, in the point before us <sup>m</sup>.

- BUT notwithstanding several incursions were made, and some few expeditions of little note undertaken by the troops of *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* this year, no action of *eclat* seems to have happened in it. The *Syrians* having already sustained very considerable losses in this
- f war, were not in a condition to make any great impression upon the *Arabs*; and the *Arabs*, on the other side, being still harrassed by dissensions, did with no small difficulty maintain themselves in a state of independency. As the dispute betwixt *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* had disturbed the repose of *Syria* and *Arabia*, so the tranquillity of *Persia* was likewise not a little affected by the present commotions. This induced *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, *Ali's* lieutenant of *Basra*, to send *Ziyâd*, a person of great prudence and moderation, who had lately, in conjunction with *Hâreth*, defeated *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi*, one of *Moâwiyah's* generals, into *Persia*, that he might take upon him the government of that country; in which post he behaved himself so well, that the *Persians* declared they had never been blessed with so happy an administration since the days of *Anushirwân*. After the late defeat, *Dabak*, who

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 36, 40. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 93. ISM. ABU'LFED. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 41. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 190. ABU'LFED.

ubi sup.

<sup>m</sup> AL MAKIN & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 67, 68.



then lost a considerable number of men upon the spot, with great precipitation abandoned <sup>a</sup> the district of *Hems*; and with much difficulty, by favour of the night, made his escape into the interior part of *Syria* <sup>a</sup>.

Moâwiyah's  
troops make  
incursions into  
Ali's terri-  
tories.

In the 40th year of the *Hejra*, or the year of our LORD 660, *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân* sent *Basheer Ebn Artab*, with a body of 3000 horse, to make an irruption into *Hejâz*; with orders to possess himself of *Mecca* and *Medina*, the inhabitants of those places having kept a correspondence with him ever since the death of *Othmân*, and by this means open himself a passage into *Yaman*. *Abu Ayub*, the *Ansâr*, and *Fâtham Ebn Abbâs*, who commanded in those places for *Ali*, abandoned them at *Basheer's* approach; upon which, he obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Moâwiyah*, and threw down the walls of *Medina*. *Abu Ayub*, the commandant of that city, before *Basheer* entered it, with a few attendants, <sup>b</sup> made his escape to *Cûfa* <sup>o</sup>.

Ebn Artah's  
cruelty in  
Arabia.

ABD'ALLAH EBN ABBÂS, surnamed the *Ansâr*, in order to distinguish him from *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, one of *Ali's* most faithful friends, and governor of *Basra*, *Ali's* lieutenant of *Yaman*, fearing a visit from *Ebn Artab*, and being in no condition to oppose him, upon the rumour of what had happened to *Mecca* and *Medina*, fled likewise to *Cûfa*. He attempted to carry off with him his two sons, who were boys; but they had the misfortune to fall into *Ebn Artab's* hands upon the road, who caused them to be barbarously murdered. He also put to the sword a great number of *Arabs* in *Yaman*, and particular at *Sanaa*, who had declared themselves adherents to *Ali*. Then he returned to *Mecca*, and afterwards cut off 30,000 *Arabs* more at *Al Tâyes*, *Yamâma*, and *Medina*. *Ali* being apprized of what had <sup>c</sup> happened, sent a detachment of 4000 horse, under the command of *Jariyah*, to pursue *Ebn Artab*; but he found it impossible to come up with him. We are told, that *Ali* was so extremely touched at hearing the news of the murder committed on the young sons of *Abd'allah*, that he cursed *Ebn Artab*, and begged of God to deprive him of his senses and understanding. Which petition, according to some of the eastern writers, was heard; that commander really becoming an idiot towards the close of his days, and dying in that miserable condition. Notwithstanding the war was carried on with such circumstances of cruelty on the part of *Moâwiyah*, that prince, at this juncture, prayed publicly for *Ali*, *Hasan*, and *Hosein*; as the *Khalif* did for him, *Amru*, and *Dahak*. About this time, *Ali's* brother, *Okail*, went over to *Moâwiyah*, who assigned him a large revenue for his defection. <sup>d</sup> *Okail* alledged no other reason for this infamous conduct, than that his brother had not treated him with such marks of distinction as he thought he might justly have expected of him. We must not forget to inform our readers here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a most egregious blunder, when he confounds *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, governor of *Yaman*, with *Ali's* lieutenant of *Basra*, who had the very same name; and that, in consequence of this mistake, he has committed several others, which he has taken care to insert in his history of *Ali*. The former *Abd'allah* seems to have been distinguished from the latter by the additional term, or cognomen, *Al Ansâri*, the *Ansâr*; as may be inferred from at least one of the oriental historians. Which observation had Mr. *Ockley* sufficiently attended to, as well as to what has been advanced in the point before us by *Al Makin*, he would not only have evinced, <sup>e</sup> but also rectified, M. *D'Herbelot's* mistake, much more to the satisfaction of his curious and intelligent readers <sup>p</sup>.

A Khârejite  
attempts to  
assassinate  
Moâwiyah;

A LITTLE after the battle of *Nabarwan*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, *Khorûzia*, three of the *Khârejites*, that were extremely zealous for the advancement of their sect, happened to meet at *Mecca*; where they made frequent mention of those that were killed in that battle, magnified their own merit, and greatly lamented the loss of their companions. These three men, called *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Amru Ebn Becr*, said one to another, "If the three erroneous *Imâms*, *Ali*, *Moâwiyah*, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, were "dead, the affairs of the *Moslems* would soon be in a more flourishing condition; let us, "therefore, without hesitation, dispatch them." This being immediately agreed upon, <sup>f</sup> they pitched upon *Friday*, the day of the solemn assembly of the *Moslems*, the 17th of *Ramadân*, for the execution of their bloody design; and, having poisoned their swords, took all their respective routes. *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, one of the assassins, being arrived at *Damascus*, struck *Moâwiyah* in the reins; but the wound did not prove mortal. However, the surgeon told him, that it would not be cured, unless he would either submit to be cauterized, or to drink a potion that would render him incapable of generation. He chose the latter of these, and, in consequence of that choice, had no other children besides those that were born to him before he received his wound. The assassin was instantly seized, discovered the conspiracy he had entered into, and had his hands and feet cut off; but was suffered to

<sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 93. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 41. <sup>o</sup> D'HERBEL. & AL MAKIN. ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 70.



a live. However, afterwards marrying, it was thought unreasonable that he should enjoy the pleasures of a conjugal state, as he had rendered the *Syrian Khalif* incapable of these; and therefore one of *Moawiyah's* friends, tho' he had no order for this, killed him with his own hands <sup>1</sup>.

AMRU EBN BECR, the second of the conspirators, went to *Egypt*, and appeared in the mosque, where *Amru* performed his devotions, on the 17th of the month of *Ramadân*. But fortunately for him, *Amru* being then troubled with a violent fit of the cholic, did not officiate that day in the mosque as *Imâm*. Wherefore, *Kharijab*, whom he appointed to perform the office for him, and who then actually supplied his place, being struck by the villain, who mistook him for *Amru*, fell down dead with the blow. As the assassin was led to execution, he said, without the least concern, *I designed Amru; but God designed another*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that, when he was brought before *Amru*, he asked who that person was? Upon which, they told him *Amru*. "Whom then," said he, "have I killed?" They answered, *Kharijab*. Then *Amru* himself cried out to him, according to this historian, *You meant Amru; but God meant Kharijab*. This *Kharijab*, according to *Al Makin*, was the captain of *Amru's* guards. The same writer seems likewise to intimate, that *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, the first assassin, was cut to pieces immediately after he had attempted to murder *Moawiyah*; notwithstanding what may have been advanced to the contrary by some other authors <sup>2</sup>.

THE third of the conspirators, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, who undertook to assassinate *Ali* <sup>as another does Amru Ebn Al As.</sup> met with better success, in the execution of his wicked design, than either of his profligate companions. Being arrived at *Cûfa*, he engaged a woman, whose nearest relations had been killed at the battle of *Nabarwan*, and who, for that reason, bore an implacable hatred to *Ali*, by marrying her, and the assistance of a dower, consisting of 3000 *dirhems*, a slave, a maid, and a promise of *Ali's* head, to enable him to perpetrate the horrid crime he had in view. To facilitate this, she joined to him two associates, called *Werdân* and *Shabib* by *Abu'lfeda*, who attended him into the mosque, where *Ali* officiated as *Imâm*, the 17th of the month of *Ramadân*. Here, whilst these three villains pretended to quarrel amongst themselves, *Werdân* struck at the *Khalif* with his sword, but missed him, and the blow fell upon the gate of the mosque. Then *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem* gave him a blow on the head, just in the same place where he had received a wound before, at the battle of *Ahzâb*, or *Asab*, which was fought in *Mohammed's* time; and that stroke proved mortal. After which, the villain took to his heels, saying as he made off, *By the lord of the Caaba, I have killed him*. Of the assassins *Shabib* only escaped the punishment due to so atrocious a crime. For *Werdân*, having been seen with a sword in his hand lifted up against *Ali*, was pursued home by a *Moslem*, who killed him upon the spot; and *Abd'alrahmân* was seized, lurking in a corner, with his sword in his hand, and soon constrained, by a consciousness of his guilt, to own himself the murderer of *Ali*. The *Khalif* ordered his son *Hasan* to put him under arrest, to supply him with necessaries of every kind, and, if he died, to execute him at one stroke only. *Hasan*, according to the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, probably some of the *Persian* historians, punctually observed what had been enjoined him by his father, who died either on the 19th, 20th, or 21st, of *Ramadân*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 660. With these, however, the *Arab* authors by no means agree. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'lfeda* relate this matter after a quite different manner. According to them, the hands and feet of the assassin were cut off, his eyes put out with a red hot iron, his tongue cut out, and then he was reduced to ashes. Others say, that he was first beheaded, and his body afterwards burnt. Here we must beg leave to observe, that the account given by *Abu Jaafar* and *Abu'lfeda* of this tragical affair seems to have the greatest appearance of truth on its side; since the enormity of the crime and the vindictive disposition of the *Arabs* render it highly probable, that, whatever orders *Ali* might give in his life-time to the contrary, the bloody villain *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, for so execrable a fact as the assassination of the *Khalif*, would be put to a most cruel death. *Abu Jaafar* writes, that *Ali* said to the people about him, "If I recover, spare *Abd'alrahmân*; but if I die, send him after me, that I may have an immediate opportunity of accusing him before the divine tribunal." With regard to the place of his interment, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, he was buried opposite to the mosque in *Cûfa*; others in the royal palace there; and others, that his son *Hasan* deposited his remains by those of his wife *Fâtema* at *Medina*. But according to *Ebn Al Athir* and *Abu'lfeda*, he was buried in that place which is visited by the *Moslems* as his tomb at this day. The sepulchre of *Ali* was kept concealed during the reigns of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Ommiyah*, and discovered whilst one of those of the house of *Abbâs* sat upon the *Moslem*

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. in *Ali*. ABU JAAFAR, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342, 343.

<sup>2</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

throne,



throne. *Adado'ddawla*, the second prince or *Soltân* of the house of *Bâiyab*, who began to a reign at *Baghdâd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 366, or of CHRIST 976, under the *Khalîf* *Al Tay' Ebn Al Moty'*, erected a superb monument on the spot where *Ali* was interred, which is called by the *Persians* *Konbud Faïd Al Anwâr*, that is, *the dome of the distributor of lights and graces* <sup>1</sup>.

The Christian writers say little of the Khalîfat of Ali.

It has been observed by some of the *Moslem* writers, that *Ali*, during the month in which he was killed, had several presages of his death; and that some words, when he was in private with his particular friends, to this effect escaped him. He was heard once to say, after he had suffered a good deal of inquietude, *Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, as no remedy can be found out against death*. In fine, on Friday, the 17th of *Ramadân*, early in the morning, when he set out for the mosque, it was remarked, that a large troop of b domestic birds made an uncommon noise, as he passed through his yard; and that, when one of his slaves threw a stick at them, to make them silent, he said, *Let them alone, for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death*. He was assassinated by *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi*, in the month of *Ramadân*, in the 40th year of the *Hejra*; being then about 63, or, according to some 57, or lastly, as others will have it, 58 years of age. But, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, he was either 63, 56, or 59 years old, when he met with his tragical fate. The wound would not have been attended with any fatal consequences, had not the sword that gave it been poisoned; but the poison, soon diffusing itself over the whole mass of blood, rendered it mortal. He reigned about four years and nine, or, as others say, ten, months. The Christian historians take little notice of what happened during c his *Khalîfat*. One of them, however, observes, that in an engagement between him and *Moâwiyah* near the *Euphrates*, by which he must undoubtedly mean the battle of *Seffein*, the latter had the advantage; which, according to him, was owing to the want of water that *Ali's* troops laboured under, *Moâwiyah* having taken care to cut off all communication between them and the *Euphrates*. This single instance is a demonstrative proof, to omit an infinite number of others that occur, of the little light given by the Greek writers to the Arabic history, during the infancy of *Islamism*; and, of course, clearly shews how much we are obliged to the oriental historians for the assistance they afford us in compiling that history for this particular period. The Christian author here referred to calls *Ali* the prince of Persia, because, as we suppose, he was in some measure supported by the troops of *Irâk*, and d the *Persian* forces; and only in general insinuates, that he came to a violent death. Another Christian writer, of the *Jacobite* persuasion, only intimates, that a battle was fought by the *Arabs* engaged in a civil war, meaning that of *Seffein*, in the year of CHRIST 657, without informing us of the consequences of it, or communicating to us any particulars of that action; and that the *Moslems* were harassed during the space of five years after *Othmân's* death with intestine commotions. That author, by mistake, gives *Ali* the name of *Abbâs*, and says, that this prince was assassinated by his own subjects, whilst he was on his knees at prayers. He also intirely omits the *Khalîfat* of *Hasan*, *Ali's* son; which was, indeed, but of a very short and inconsiderable duration <sup>1</sup>.

Ali's person and character.

As to his person, *Ali* had a very red face, large eyes, a prominent belly, a large beard, e a hairy breast, a bald head, and a very swarthy complexion. He was rather short than middle-sized; of a youthful, florid, and frequently smiling, countenance. Some, however, write, that he had hair on his head, which was not very grey, but formed into curls. With regard to his disposition, this *Khalîf*, if we will believe the *Moslem* writers, had the fear of God constantly before his eyes, was extremely charitable, just, humble, and a strenuous defender of what they call the true religion. He was also very acute, learned, and extremely well versed in all useful arts and sciences. His bravery never failed him; nor was he more eminent and conspicuous for that than for his liberality and munificence, as well as that sweetness of temper which so remarkably distinguished him on all occasions. His secretaries were *Abd'allah Ebn Rafi'* and *Sa'id Ebn Nemrân*, of *Hamadan*; his principal f judge, *Sharib Ebn Al Hâreth*; the captain of his guards, *Ma'kal Ebn Kisi Al Zubaji*; and his chamberlain *Basher*, or, according to *Eutychius*, *Kanbar*, his servant. The inscription of his seal was, *The kingdom belongs to the only the mighty God* <sup>2</sup>.

His family.

*ALI* had in all nine wives; the first of which was *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, during whose life he married no other woman. He had by her three sons, *Hasan*, *Hosein*, and *Mobassan*; the last of which died in his infancy. His second wife was *Omm Al Nebiyin*, who bore him four children, *Abd'allah*, *Abbâs*, *Othmân*, and *Jaasar*, who were all killed at the battle of *Kerbelah*. *Asmah*, his third wife, was the mother of *Yahya* and *Aîn*; as

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU'LFED, & EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. EUTYCH. D'HERBEL. & GREG. ABU'L FAR, ubi sup. <sup>2</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 94. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ABU'LFED. EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 288. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asséman ubi sup. p. 107. <sup>3</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342—345.



- a *Omm Habiba*, was of *Omar*. His sixth wife, *Khaulab*, was the mother of *Mohammed*, surnamed *Ebn Hanifyah*, of whom a farther account will be given hereafter. The names of the other three wives have not been handed down to us by any of the oriental historians; though three more of his sons, *Mohammed the second*, *Mohammed the younger*, and *Amru*, have been mentioned by some of them. Besides which, there was another that has been passed over in silence by all the eastern writers. For, it clearly appears from some authors of good repute, that he had fifteen sons, five of whom only, *Hasan*, *Hosein*, *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*, *Abbās*, and *Amru*, left issue behind them. As for his daughters, who were no fewer than eighteen, we find no material particulars concerning them, preserved by the *Arab* historians. And let this suffice for an account of the family of *Ali*, which we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit here, as it will be of singular service to us hereafter, by enabling us to understand several passages of the *Moslem* historians; which, without it, would be almost, if not altogether, unintelligible<sup>w</sup>.

- A VAST number of the *Moslems*, and particularly all the *Shiites*, pretend, that *Ali* was the first who embraced their religion. Nay, some of them go so far as to assert, that he made profession of it in his mother's womb; and even hindered her, during her pregnancy, from prostrating herself before an idol she commonly worshipped. They also say, that his mother was delivered of him in the very temple of *Mecca* itself; which never happened to any one else. The name his mother gave him first was *Kaid*; but *Mohammed* changed it into *Ali*. The form of benediction added by the *Moslems*, when they name him, is, God glorify the face of him. *Mohammed* himself is reported to have said of him, *Ali is for me, and I for him; he bears the same relation to me that Aaron did to Moses; I am the city in which all knowledge is shut up, and he is the gate of it*. Several of the eastern writers have been very prolix in their accounts of the excellence and prerogatives of the house of *Ali*. One of them in particular, named *Amūd*, has produced a thousand pretended traditions of *Mohammed* concerning the excellence of this *Khalīf*, and in favour of the *Shiites*; who gave him a large sum of money for drawing up that composition<sup>x</sup>.

- THE *Shiites* are the opponents of the *Khārejites*, of whom we have already given our readers some account. Their name properly signifies *seſtaries*, or *adherents*, in general; but is particularly used to denote those of *Ali Ebn Abu Tāleb*; who maintain him to be lawful *Khalīf* and *Imām*, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants. They also teach, that the office of *Imām* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, but a fundamental article of religion, that could not have been left by the prophet to the fancy of the common people. Nay, some of them, thence called *Imāmians*, have not scrupled to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true *Imām*. The principal sects, or branches, of the *Shiites* are five, which are subdivided into an almost infinite number; so that some understand *Mohammed's* prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the *Shiites* only. But *Ali* himself, according to *Ebn Al Athir*, was of a different opinion; since, a little before the day of the camel, he assured his subjects, that the worst of the seventy-three sects into which the *Moslems* were to be divided, would be that which set him at nought, and refused to follow his example. The *Kassabians*, one of the five primary sects of the *Shiites*, entertain very extravagant sentiments in several points. They believe, that *Ali* was more than a man; and that this supreme pontiff and director of *Islamism* is still living. They also reckon the succession of the twelve *Imāms* of the posterity of *Ali* in a manner peculiar to themselves, and different from the computation observed by every other sect. The general opinions of the *Shiites* are, 1. That the peculiar designation of the *Imām*, and the testimonies of the *Korān* and *Mohammed* concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the *Imāms* ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins, as well as those that are more grievous. 3. That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be not the least dissimulation. In this last point, however, the *Zeidians*, a sect of the *Shiites*, so named from *Zeid*, the great grandson of *Ali*, dissented from all the rest of the *Moslems*, whose tenets we are here considering. The great schism between the *Sonnites*, or *Traditionists*, that is, those of the *Moslems* who acknowledge the authority of the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of *Mohammed*, and the *Shiites*, or partizans of *Ali*, still subsists, and is maintained on both sides with implacable hatred and most furious zeal at this very day. This most remarkable difference at first arose upon a political occasion, which commenced in the *Khalīfat* of *Ali*, as sufficiently appears from the preceding history of that reign; and was afterwards so well improved by additional circum-

<sup>w</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JANNAB. AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, &c. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 94, 95. <sup>x</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. viii. p. 19, 20, & alib. AL EOKHARI, MOSLEM, &c. Vide etiam D'HEREEL. ubi sup. p. 95. & GAGN. la vie Mahom. tom. ii. p. 212.



stances, and the spirit of contradiction, that, at present, both parties detest and anathematize one another, as the most abominable of heretics, and even farther from the truth than either the *Christians* or the *Jews*. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. The *Shiites* reject *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmán*, the three first *Khalifs*, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the *Sunnites* acknowledge and respect them as rightful *Imáms*. 2. The *Shiites* prefer *Ali* to *Mohammed*, or, at least, esteem them both equal; but the *Sunnites* admit neither *Ali*, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to *Mohammed*. 3. The *Sunnites* charge the *Shiites* with corrupting the *Korán*, and neglecting its precepts; and the *Shiites* retort the same charge upon the *Sunnites*. 4. The *Sunnites* receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, from whence they derive their name, as of canonical authority; whereas the *Shiites* reject it as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has so long reigned between the *Turks*, who are *Sunnites*, and the *Persians*, who are of the sect of *Ali*. Some authors maintain, that these last are subdivided into no less than seventy different branches, or smaller sects; all of which hold a *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, and the *Al Holúl*, or descent of God upon his creatures, or the transmission of the spirit of sanctity from one person to another. The *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah* likewise, and their successors, the *Shiites* consider in the same light as they do the three first *Khalifs*, *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmán*. The *Sunnites* make use of the word *Shiites*, or *Shii*, and apply it to their adversaries, as a term of reproach, formed from *Shiyah*, denoting properly a scandalous reprobate sect. For, a sect that follows approved opinions is called by the *Arabs Medheb*. The partizans of *Ali*, therefore, stile themselves *Adaliyah*, which signifies the religion of them who follow justice and the right side; and stigmatize the *Sunnites* with the odious appellation of *Shiites*. At this day, the powerful kingdom of *Persia*, one half of the princes of the *Uzbeks*, whose dominions lie beyond the *Jibán*, or the *Amú*, the *Oxus* of the antients, and some *Mohammedan* kings of the *Indies*, are followers of *Ali*, and, amongst the other *Mohammedans*, go under the afore said opprobrious denomination \*.

The extravagant notions the Shiites entertain of Ali.

NOTWITHSTANDING the sepulchre of *Ali* is so well known to be near *Cáísa*, many of his followers believe him to be still alive; and affirm, that he shall come at the end of the world with *Elias* in the clouds, and fill the earth with piety and justice. Nay, several of his votaries have carried their veneration for him and his descendents so far, that they have transgressed all bounds of reason and decency; tho' some of them have been less extravagant than others. The *Gholaïtes*, who had their name from their excessive zeal for their *Imáms*, were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; transgressing in both extremes, by deifying of mortal men, and by making God corporeal: for one while they assimilated one of their *Imáms* to God, which was sinning in excess; and another while they made God to resemble a creature, which may be considered as a sin in defect, and is consequently placed in the opposite extreme. The sects of these are various, and have various appellations assigned them in different countries. *Abd'allah Ebn Saba*, who had been a *Jew*, and had asserted the same thing of *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, was the ring-leader of one of them. This man gave the following salutation to *Ali*, viz. *Thou art Ikou*, i. e. *Thou art God*. And another, named *Alabâ Ebn Darâ Al Hafâdi*, preferred *Ali* to *Mohammed*; pretending that the latter was sent by the former to call all men to him; but that, being an impostor, he called them to himself. Some of the *Shiites* assert, that the angel *Gabriel*, by mistake, took *Mohammed* for *Ali*, being deceived by the resemblance they bore to each other; those two prophets having been as like one another as are two crows; whence it came to pass, that they were called *Gorabites*, or the *Corvine* sect. The *Gholaïtes* above-mentioned were divided into several classes or branches; some maintaining the divinity, or something like it, of *Ali*, and others of some one of his descendents. By the *Al Holúl* hinted at above, according to *Al Shab-restâni*, they mean that God is present in every place, speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person: whence several of them have asserted their *Imáms* to be prophets, and at length gods. The *Nosairians* and the *Ishâkians* taught, that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert, that God hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after *Mohammed*, there hath been no man more excellent than *Ali*, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that God hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands; for which reason, say they, *we attribute divinity to them*. And, in support of these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of *Ali*; as his moving the gates of *Khaibar*, which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity,

\* AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 261, 262, 263, ut & ipse Poc. ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 169. EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HÉREL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schiab*. RYCAUT's state of the Ottoman empire, b. ii. c. 10, 12. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 169, 170, &c. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182. See also OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 30, 33.



- a and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form God appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; wherefore, say they, he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth. In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in Scripture of CHRIST, by applying them to *Ali*. These extravagant fancies of the *Shiites*, however, in making their *Imâms* partake of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those *Imâms* in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other *Mohammedan* sects are tainted with the same madness; there being found many amongst them, and amongst the *Sîffis* especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people. We must not forget to observe here, that, amongst
- b the descendents of *Ali*, there was one *Mohammed*, for whom one branch of the *Shiites*, ever since his death, have expressed a most particular regard and veneration. They are so firmly persuaded of the certainty of his second advent at the end of the world, that this notion is received amongst them as an article of faith, and he is deemed guilty of infidelity, who entertains the least doubt about so indubitable a point. Some of the *Shiites* believe, that there has been an interruption of the series of their *Imâms*, who are known by the name of *Al Wakefians*; though others contend for the uninterrupted succession of those *Imâms*, and maintain, that there shall never be one of them wanting to supply the place of their great prophet *Ali*: nay, several of them affirm, that there may be two lawful *Imâms* in different parts of the world at the same time, and even admit of the validity of all their decisions,
- c how opposite and contradictory soever<sup>z</sup>.

WE have already observed, that *Ali*, on account of his superior bravery, was sometimes *Ali's sur-*denominated by the *Arabs* the *valorous lion of God*; to which we shall now beg leave to *names.*

add, that they frequently gave him the appellation likewise of *Al Haider*, or *Al Haidara*, which also denotes a *lion* in the *Arabic* language. The former of which appellations, the *valorous lion of God*, or the *lion of God*, was applied to persons remarkable for their valour by the *Hebrews* themselves, as may be inferred from Scripture. This ought to be considered as a proof of the great affinity between the proverbial expressions, as well as idioms, of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, to omit an infinite number of similar instances that might be produced and viewed in the same light. But this point is so clear, that it

- d will not be disputed by any one who is at all acquainted with the spirit and genius of those languages (the latter of which is undoubtedly the daughter, or descendent, of the former) as well as the history of the nations to which they belong. The *Arabs* have also conferred upon *Ali* the surnames, or honourable titles, of *Wâsi*, *legatee*, or *heir*, that is, of *Mohammed*, and *Mortada*, or *Mortadi*, which signifies *beloved by*, or *acceptable to*, God. The latter of which surnames corrupted, as has been observed by Mr. Ockley, some *European* travellers have prefixed to his name, and absurdly called him *Mortis Ali*. The *Shii*, who are his followers, or rather adorers, often denominate him *Faid Al Anwâr*, the *distributor of lights and graces*; and in *Persian*, *Shâh Mordman*, the *king of men*, and *Shîr Khoda*, the *lion of God*; which last seems to be a sort of translation of the first *Arabic* title here mentioned, that is
- e undoubtedly of *Hebrew* extraction<sup>a</sup>.

BUT notwithstanding the fulsom, or rather impious, eulogies bestowed on *Ali* and his *Ali and his* family, they were cursed publicly, and excommunicated, in all the mosques of the empire, *family cursed* during the reigns of the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, from the accession of *Moâwiyah* *by the Khalîfs* to the time of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, who suppressed that solemn malediction. Several *of the house of* *Khalîfs* likewise of the family of *Abbâs* expressed a great aversion both to him and his posterity; such were *Al Mo'taded* and *Al Motawakkel*, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their sleep, and threatened them with his indignation. On the contrary, the *Fâtemite* *Khalîfs* of *Egypt* ordered his name to be added to that of *Mohammed* in the publication of the times of prayer, which the *Muedhabins*, or *criers*, made from the *minârets*, or steeples,

- f of their mosques. The oriental writers mention several apparitions of *Ali*, after his death, and particularly those that happened in the days of the *Khalîfs* *Al Mo'tasem*, *Al Mo'taded*, *Al Motawakkel*, and *Al Kader*; in the last of which *Ali* seemed to be of an extraordinary stature, told *Al Kader* he should soon be advanced to the *Khalîfat*, and recommended the care of his posterity to him<sup>b</sup>.

AFTER what has been said, it cannot appear wonderful, that *Ali's* wisdom should be so *The pieces aj-*celebrated amongst all the *Mohammedans*. There is extant of his a *Centiloquium*, or an *hun-*cribed to *Ali*.

<sup>z</sup> AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. in his. gen. cap. de gent. *Moslem*. five *Mohammedan*. LODOVIC. MARRACC. prodr. par. iii. p. 80, &c. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xlv. p. 90. ABU RAFE', apud Abu'lfed. ibid. AL SHAHREST. & POC. ubi sup. p. 266, 267. AL GHAZAL. apud Pocockium, ibid. p. 267—269. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 96, 786, &c.

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 94. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xlv. p. 90. <sup>z</sup> SAM. xxiii. 20. VAL. SCHIND. Lex. Pentaglot. p. 117. Hanov. 1612.

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. pass. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. pass.



*dred sentences*, which have been translated into *Turkish* and *Persian* out of the *Arabic*; as likewise a collection of verses under the title of *Anwair Al Okail men ashar waqf al rejil*, which is to be met with in the *French* king's library. We have in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* a large book of his sentences, or maxims; an *English* translation of which has been annexed to his history of the *Saracens* by the learned Mr. *Ockley*. But the most celebrated piece of all is intitled *Jefr we Fame*. It is written upon parchment in mysterious characters intermixed with figures, wherein are couched all the grand events that are to happen from the beginning of *Islamism* to the end of the world. This parchment is deposited in the hands of those of his family, and even to this time nobody has decyphered it in any manner but *Jaafar Sadek*. For, as to the intire explication of it, that is reserved for the twelfth *Imâm*, who is surnamed, by way of excellence, *Al Mohdi*, or *the grand director* <sup>c</sup>.

Some of his  
sentences and  
maxims

BESIDES the books above-mentioned, several sentences and apophthegms, under the name of *Ali*, occur in the oriental writers. The author of *Rabi Al Akyar* quotes this, which is one of the most striking and instructive: *If a man would be rich without means, powerful without subjects, and subject with a master; let him depart from sin, and serve God, and he will find these three things*. One of his captains having one day asked him, with impudence enough, what was the reason that the reigns of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, his predecessors, were so peaceable, and that of *Othman* and his own so full of troubles? the *Khalif* answered, with great acuteness and sagacity, in the following terms: "The reason is plain. It is because *Othmân* and I served *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, during their reigns; and *Othmân* and I found no body to serve us but you, and such as are like you" <sup>b</sup>.

THERE is in the book *Rabi Al Akyar* likewise another of *Ali*'s maxims, which is extremely remarkable, and diametrically opposite to the conduct of those who so highly value themselves upon account of their being his followers: "Take care," said he, "never to separate yourselves from the society of the other *Moslems*. For, he that separates himself from them belongs to the devil, as the sheep that leave the flock appertain to the wolf. Give no quarter, therefore, to him who marches under the standard of *schism*, though he wears my turbant on his head; since he carries along with him the infallible mark of a man that walketh wrong." It has been remarked by M. *D'Herbelot*, that the sectaries who entertain such elevated sentiments of *Ali* have not only a turbant of a particular form, but likewise that they twist their hair in a different manner from that of the rest of the *Moslems*. The family of *Ali* is divided into several branches; the principal of which is formed by the descendents of *Hosein*, the second son of that *Khalif*; as this branch continues the lineal descent of the twelve *Imâms*. Nevertheless, the family of *Hasan*, his eldest son, who succeeded his father in the *Khalifat*, has produced several persons, who have made a considerable figure, and even occasioned insurrections in different provinces of the empire, under the government of the *Khalifs* both of the house of *Ommiyah* and *Al Abbâs*. From the former of these branches, and not the latter of them, as M. *D'Herbelot* has been pleased to assert, sprung *Mohammed*, who was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina* in the year of the *Hegra* 145, and who assumed the title of *Al Mohdi*, or *Mahadi*, that is, *the supreme, or general, director of the Moslems*. This new *Khalif*, who was the great grandson of *Hosein*, had a brother called *Ibrahim*, who caused *Irâk*, and a great part of *Persia*, to revolt at the same time from the *Khalif* *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. But the movements occasioned in the empire by these two princes were not of any long continuance; they having both been soon defeated by that *Khalif*'s nephew, who sent their heads to his uncle, who was then building the city of *Baghdâd*. *Al Mansûr* having received advice of that victory, which restored peace to his dominions, took occasion from thence to honour his new city with the title, or surname, of *Dar al Salâm*, that is, *the house, or habitation, of peace* <sup>c</sup>.

Another of his  
sayings.

BESIDES the aforesaid maxims, or sentences, attributed to *Ali*, we find the following passage ascribed to him by *Hosein Waez*, in his paraphrase and commentary upon the *Korân*: "God has given men two *Imâms*, that is to say, two pontiffs, or mediators, between him and them. The first is the prophet, who is gone, and is no more amongst them. The second, which remains, and always shall continue with them, is the prayer that they make to obtain pardon of their sins" <sup>d</sup>.

The descendents  
of *Ali* occasion  
some disturb-  
ances in the  
empire.

THERE was another great grandson of *Hosein*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. *D'Herbelot*, besides that above-mentioned, who began to make a noise in the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashîd*, named *Tahya Ebn Ad'allah*; but he was soon rendered incapable of executing any seditious designs. This ill success, however, did not hinder others of *Ali*'s descendents, in successive periods of time, from making themselves masters of several provinces; as of *Mazanderân*, in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mestain* and *Al Motadel*, of *Kermân*, in the times of the princes of the family of *Seljûk*, of part of *Kberasân* and *Taba-* <sup>e</sup>

<sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*, p. 95. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac vol i<sup>e</sup> p. 84—87.

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. & OCKLEY, ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 95, 96. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. pass.

<sup>f</sup> HOSEIN WAEZ, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 95. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.



- a *rifân*, in the days of the *Sultâns* of *Khowerzân*, of *Yaman* and *Cûfa*, and, in fine, of a great part of the provinces conquered by the *Moslems* in *Africa*. The *Khalifat* being afterwards transferred from the house of *Omniyab* to that of *Al Abbâs*, which was nearly related to *Ali*, as being descended from their common ancestor *Hâshem*, the *Khalifs* of the former family were excommunicated in their turn, in the same solemn manner that *Moâwiyab* had excommunicated *Ali* and his family, in all the mosques within his jurisdiction. *Abmed*, the third son of *Al Bâiyab*, surnamed *Meczo'ddawla*, having made himself master of *Baghdâd*, and consequently of the person of the *Khalif Al Mestakfi*, of the house of *Abbâs*, did not content himself with cursing and anathematizing publicly the family of *Omniyab* by word of mouth, but he likewise ordered the malediction to be engraved in large characters upon the gates of all the mosques; together with the principal causes of that fulmination. These were, 1. Because *Moâwiyab* and his family had deprived *Ali's* descendents of the territory of *Fiddk*, which *Mohammed* had given his daughter *Fâtéma* as a dower, when he married her to *Ali*. 2. Because the members of that family would not suffer *Hasan* to be buried near the remains of his grandfather *Mohammed*. 3. Because the house of *Omniyab* had excluded *Abbâs*, from whom the *Khalifs* of his family deduced their origin, from the number of those who were rendered capable of aspiring to the *Khalifat* after the death of *Omar*. The same *Abmed* had so high a regard for the memory of *Ali*, that he once intended to transfer the *Khalifat* of *Baghdâd* from the branch of the house of *Ali*, or rather of *Hejsem*, that then reigned, to his lineal descendents; though this design, however sanguine that prince might be in the formation of it, was never carried into execution<sup>g</sup>.

- Thus have we finished our history of the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, and given our readers a fuller and more perfect account of the memorable transactions of that great prince's reign than is to be met with in any other author. And if we have been a little more prolix than usual in our description of the principal events that happened during the short interval he sat upon the *Moslem* throne, as well as of the principal tenets, and fate of his followers, even to the present time; this, we flatter ourselves, will not only be excused by, but even prove acceptable to, our curious readers; as it contains in it so very considerable a part of the *Arab* history, and renders much more intelligible what is hereafter to follow. Besides, it would have been unpardonable in us, and so deemed by all our judicious and intelligent readers, to have been in any respect deficient in our relation of the glorious exploits of *Ali*, who was certainly by much the most considerable person, after *Mohammed*, that ever was born in the peninsula of the *Arabs*. Nay, with regard to his courage, temper, and understanding, he seems to have been at least equal, if not superior, to the *Moslem* prophet himself; and consequently from those who paid so great a deference to *Mohammed's* decisions, he ought to have met with a better fate<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. & D'HERBEL. in Biblioth. orient. pass. in art. *Ali*. OCKLEY's introduct. to his hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. xxxviii. and his hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 89.

## S E C T. V.

- c THE poison communicated to the mass of blood by *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi's* sword having rendered the wound received by *Ali* from that assassin mortal, his friends desired him to nominate a successor before his death. But he told them, that, with regard to this affair, he would follow the example of the apostle of God, who left the election to the people. However, his son *Hasan*, inheriting his father's piety, though not his courage, and being greatly esteemed on *Ali's* account, was advanced to the *Khalifat*, without any scruple or debate. In the public harangue that, as eldest son, he made to the people, immediately after his father was dead, he expressed his sense of the late *Khalif's* assassination, as well as his superior merit, in the following remarkable terms: "You have killed," said he, "a man on the same night in which the *Korân* came down from heaven, in which *Isa* ascended into heaven, and in which *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors be ever equal to him." At his inauguration, which soon after followed, *Kais* addressed himself to him in this form: "Stretch out your hand, as a token that you will adhere to the book of God, as well as the collection of apostolic traditions, and make war against all their opposers." *Hasan* answered, "Very willingly, as the book of God, and the traditions of his apostle, will always stand their ground." The principal of his other subjects then approaching, he insisted upon their being obedient to him, at peace with his friends, and at war with his enemies. The last of which articles by no means pleased the troops of *Irâk*, who, being greatly fatigued with the *Syrian* war, had flattered themselves with the hopes of enjoying the sweets of a durable peace, after the new *Khalif* had mounted the *Moslem* throne<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> FEN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. IEM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.



*A rupture apprehended between Hasan and Moâwiyah.*

BUT it was soon perceived, that, notwithstanding a sort of treaty had been precipitately struck up between *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, a little before the violent death of the former, such measures were pursued by the latter, as must in a short time infallibly disturb the public repose. That prince kept on foot a powerful army, with which he threatened to make an irruption into *Irâk*. He looked with an evil eye upon *Hasan*, both before and after his father's death; and even refused to recognize his authority after his accession. Nay, he assigned as a reason for this, that *Hasan* had been an accomplice in the murder of *Othmân*; which was a plain indication of his hostile intentions, as a greater affront than that could not have been offered him<sup>k</sup>.

*Hasan offers to resign the Khalifat to Moâwiyah;*

IN the mean time, *Hasan* was pressed by those about him to come to an open rupture with *Moâwiyah*; though he was of a most pacific disposition, looked upon the effusion of *Moslem* blood with the greatest horror, and consequently was by no means qualified for such an undertaking. However, he was at last prevailed upon, contrary to his inclination, to declare war against *Moâwiyah*, and even to begin his march for the invasion of that prince's territories. As *Ali* had left behind him a well-disciplined army, consisting of 60,000 men, who had entered into an engagement to support him, and his pretensions, to the last drop of their blood; *Hasan* was persuaded to carry on the war with vigour, and to exert himself in the prosecution of it. Before the new *Khalif*, therefore, began his march, he sent *Kais Ebn Saad* towards the frontiers with a body of 12,000 men; of which *Moâwiyah* receiving advice, he advanced to *Mosken*, a place in the neighbourhood and district of *Cûfa*, where he took post with all his forces. But, before his arrival there, he sent *Basbar*, or *Basbar*, *Ebn Artab* with a strong detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. *Basbar* happening to meet with the troops commanded by *Kais Ebn Saad*, a brisk dispute ensued between them; but which side had the advantage, we are not informed by any of the *Arab* historians. Soon after the end of the action, *Hasan*, with the army he led against *Moâwiyah*, reached *Al Madâyen*; but had scarce entered that place, when a spirit of mutiny, excited by the sudden murder of one of his men, inflamed the troops, and had like to have proved fatal to him. He was not only, without any regard to his distinction, thrown from his seat, but likewise wounded by some of the soldiery. Nay, upon his retiring into the castle of *Al Madâyen*, in order to avoid a more tragical fate, the governor's nephew solicited his uncle to deliver him up into the hands of *Moâwiyah*. To this the governor turned a deaf ear, and even rejected the proposal made by his nephew with indignation. However, *Hasan*, finding himself deserted by the troops of *Irâk*, perceiving the other part of the army wavering in their fidelity to him, and being sufficiently frightened by the disturbance that had lately happened, wrote a letter to *Moâwiyah*, offering, upon certain terms, to resign the *Khalifat* to him<sup>l</sup>.

*and actually resigns it.*

BEFORE the letter was sent away, his brother *Hosein* did his utmost to divert him from the resolution he seemed too precipitately to have taken; representing to him, that nothing could be a more severe reflection upon his father's memory than such an unseasonable and ill-timed abdication. But *Hasan* being well apprized of *Moâwiyah*'s courage and activity on one side, and of the perfidious disposition of the forces drawn from *Irâk* on the other, was determined to persist in his former resolution. Nay, according to some authors, he had before rendered himself incapable of departing from it, by making a similar proposal to *Moâwiyah* before the last action between *Basbar Ebn Artab* and *Kais Ebn Saad*, or *Kais Ebn Said*, and the disturbance that had happened at *Al Madâyen*. In answer to which, as we find intimated by the same authors, *Moâwiyah* had sent him a *carte blanche*, or a full and unlimited power to prescribe what terms he should think fit; assuring him of an absolute compliance with them. This paper, however, according to what has been suggested by them, seems not to have reached *Hasan* till he had sent his second letter; which induced him to desire an interview with *Moâwiyah*; wherein he insisted upon more advantageous conditions than those he had formerly demanded. But with these *Moâwiyah* refused to comply; alledging, that it would be dishonourable in *Hasan* to deviate from his own terms. However, at last a treaty was signed by them both, which consisted of the following articles. First, *Hasan* shall receive all the money in the treasury at *Cûfa*. Secondly, *Moâwiyah* shall assign him the revenue arising from *Daraljerd*, a district of considerable extent in *Persia*. Thirdly, He shall never reflect upon the late *Khalif* in the presence of *Hasan*. Fourthly, He shall grant a pardon and amnesty to all those who adhered to *Ali*; and, after his death, to *Hasan*, in the former troubles that so distracted the *Moslems*. Fifthly, in consideration of these concessions, *Hasan* shall renounce all pretensions to the *Khalifat*, and consequently henceforth recognize the authority of *Moâwiyah*, as supreme director of the *Moslems*, and emperor of the faithful. The money found in the treasury at *Cûfa* amounted to 5,000,000 g

<sup>k</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>l</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. vi. p. 44. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'LFAR. in hist. dynast. p. 191, 192.



a *dirbêms*; but this never came into *Hasan's* hands, as will hereafter more fully appear. *Abu'l Faraj* relates, that the effusion of blood in the engagement between *Basbar* and *Kais*, which struck him with horror, first disposed *Hasan* to an accommodation; which manifestly implies, that, on both sides, many men must have been killed in that action. It has been observed by *Al Makin*, that *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah* had an interview at *Masken*, in the 41st year of the *Hejra*, a little before the conclusion of the aforesaid treaty <sup>m</sup>.

FROM *Masken*, which seems to have been the scene of the late negotiation, *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah*, after they had settled the terms of the pacification, set out in company for *Cûfa*; <sup>Hasan retires to Medina.</sup> into which they made their public entry together, in a very amicable manner. Upon their arrival there, *Moâwiyah* commanded *Hasan*, by *Amru Ebn Al As's* advice, to notify to the people in a speech his abdication; which he did in such terms as seemed to presage a new revolution. This so exasperated *Moâwiyah*, that he ordered *Hasan* instantly to sit down, and severely reprimanded *Amru* for the advice he had given him. Nay, some authors say, that he was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to that general. Be that as it will, as such a public speech from *Hasan* was altogether superfluous, it seemed to indicate a great want of judgment and discretion in *Moâwiyah* to require this of him, especially as he might have been sensible that it would furnish an unhappy man with an opportunity of lashing him who had been the source of all his misfortunes. Before his departure from *Cûfa*, *Hasan* accused publicly the people of *Irâk* of his father's murder, of several insults offered to his person, and of plundering him of his lawful effects. The last crime he laid to their charge, their conduct after the conclusion of the late treaty proved them to be guilty of; for tho', by one of the articles of that treaty, the public money at *Cûfa* ought to have been deposited in his hands, *Moâwiyah* could not prevail upon the inhabitants of that city, the capital of the *Arab Irâk*, to put him in possession of it, by any motive whatsoever. However, in order to compensate the loss *Hasan* sustained on this occasion, *Moâwiyah*, whose ambition had been so fully gratified, assigned him an annual pension of 150,000 *dinârs*, and made him several presents of very considerable value. Being thus reduced to the condition of a private person, he and his brother *Hosein* retired to *Medina*, where he spent the remainder of his days. Most of his vast revenue he disposed of in acts of charity; and was so little attached to the things of this world, that he twice stripped himself of all he had, and thrice divided half of his substance amongst the poor. Notwithstanding his abdication, the *Persians* affirm, that he was *Khalîf* and *Imâm* to the day of his death. They also, as well as the other followers of *Ali*, maintain, that he and his two sons were the three first lawful *Imâms* <sup>n</sup>.

AL MAKIN observes, that the first day of *Hasan's* *Khalîfat* was *Monday*, and the last *Fri-* <sup>He reigns only day; as also that he reigned six months and five days; but, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, he sat upon the throne five months only. His father's last secretary continued in his post during the short *Khalîfat* of *Hasan*; whose symbol, or motto, on his seal was, *There is no God but God, the true and manifest king.* *Sharîh Ebn Al Hâreth*, who had been *Ali's* principal judge, served his son *Hasan* also in the same capacity. After the conclusion of the late treaty, *Hasan* immediately ceded *Cûfa* to *Moâwiyah*, who, with his former competitor, made his public entry into that city on the 26th day of the former *Rabî*, or, as others will have it, on the same day of the former *Jomâda*, in the 41st year of the *Hejra*. That *Masken*, the place where *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah* had had an interview before that entry, was about a station distant from *Cûfa*, we may infer from *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>o</sup>.</sup>

UPON *Hasan's* arrival at *Medina*, some of his friends there greatly censured his conduct; <sup>He declines the which nevertheless has always been urged by the *Shiites* as a demonstrative proof of the excellence of his disposition, and his tenderness for the people over whom, by their unanimous suffrages, he was appointed to preside. The reasons he himself assigned for his conduct on this occasion were, that he was tired of the world, and that the *Cûfans* were so faith-</sup> <sup>command of a body of troops.</sup> less, perfidious, and mischievous a people, that it would be impossible for him ever to meet with any assistance from them. Which character of them was extremely just, tho' afterwards they seemed to be touched with remorse for their traiterous behaviour to him. For, when he first entertained thoughts of a resignation, and told them, that "he was their commander and chief, of their prophet's family, from which all pollution had been removed, and which God had purified," they all burst out into tears, and wept so loud, that every one of them might have been heard to sob. They also shed many tears at his final departure from *Cûfa*, after he had come to a fixed resolution to make *Medina* the place of his residence. Nor did that restless people fail giving some disturbance to his successor *Moâwiyah*; tho' we do not find, that this was attended with any fatal effects.

<sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 192. ISM. ABU'L-FED. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> Ibidem ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119, 123. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth.

orient in art. *Hassan*. MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. <sup>o</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 434.



For, the *Khárejites*, not long after *Hasan's* arrival at *Medina*, made an insurrection against *Moáwiyah*, who thereupon desired him to lead an army against them. But *Hasan* declined the command of the army offered him, telling the *Khalif*, that, had he had a military genius, he should have exercised it against him, and not have taken leave of public affairs. *Moáwiyah* probably offered him that command, with a view of shortening his days; since it is certain he conceived an aversion to him, on account of the foregoing speech, which, in all likelihood, was never afterwards thoroughly obliterated or effaced<sup>a</sup>.

He is poisoned  
in the year of  
the Hejra 49.

*HASAN* enjoyed the sweets of a private life about eight years after his abdication, and died at *Medina* in the 49th year of the *Hejra*, coincident with the year of our LORD 669. He was poisoned by his wife *Jaadab*, according to *Hafedh Abru*, who had been bribed by *Moáwiyah* with large presents to perpetrate that execrable crime. We are told by a very learned author, extremely well versed in oriental history, that, by an article of the foregoing treaty, *Moáwiyah* engaged himself not to nominate a successor during the life of *Hasan*; but to leave him the power of chusing a certain number of persons, in whose hands the election of a new *Khalif* was to be lodged, as had formerly been done by *Omar*. But *Moáwiyah* having afterwards an inclination to leave the *Khalifat* to his son *Yezid*, and not finding this practicable without the death of *Hasan*; in order to gratify his inclination, he prevailed upon *Jaadab*, by valuable presents, and by promising her his son *Yezid* in marriage, to put a period to her husband's days. This she did, by rubbing him with a poisoned linen cloth, that had been sent her by *Moáwiyah* for that purpose, which was the immediate cause of his death. Of which *Moáwiyah* being apprized, he remitted her a sum of 500,000 *dirhems*, as a reward for her villainy; but took care to keep far enough from her embraces his son *Yezid*. *Hasan* was born in the third year of the *Hejra*, and died when he was about 47 lunar years of age. When he was at the point of death, his physician told his brother *Hosein*, that his bowels were consumed with poison. This greatly affected *Hosein*, who begged *Hasan* to impart to him the name of the murderer, which it seems he knew, that he might take vengeance of him for so barbarous an action. But this *Hasan* refused to do, saying, "O brother! the life of this world is made up of nights that vanish away. Let him alone, till he and I meet before the divine tribunal, where he will certainly have justice done him." Some authors relate, that *Jaadab* was clear of the horrid fact laid here to her charge; and that certain of his servants, at the instigation of *Moáwiyah*, found means to dispatch him. Be that as it will, it is universally agreed, that *Moáwiyah* was the principal agent in this tragical affair, and had the chief hand in effecting his destruction. *Hasan* was born in the middle of the month of *Ramadán*, and died either in the former *Rabí*, or *Safar*. Those who assert his wife to be innocent relate, that he had a poisonous draught given him by one of his servants, at the request, or rather command, of *Moáwiyah*, which almost instantly destroyed him. *Hasan* was of a very mild, humane, beneficent, and pious disposition; and deserved a much better fate. From the year of the *Hejra*, in which this prince was born, it appears pretty plainly, that his father *Ali* must have been at least sixty-three years of age at the time of his death, in agreement with what we find advanced by some good authors; and therefore could not have been then so young as others have made him. *Hasan* performed five-and-twenty journies on foot, according to *Al Makin*, though he had horses attending him in all those peregrinations<sup>a</sup>.

Some remarkable particulars relating to him and his family.

AMONGST other traditions concerning this *Khalif*, current in all places where *Islamism* prevails, there is one that has been handed down to succeeding generations, containing several remarkable particulars of him. According to this, he was extremely like his grandfather *Mohammed*, who, as soon as he was born, spat in his mouth, and named him *Hasan*. That pretended prophet frequently expressed his fondness of this favourite child, says the same tradition, in a very disagreeable manner. When he was officiating in the mosque, little *Hasan* would sometimes clamber up to him; when, in order to please the boy, he would designedly prolong the prayers. Nay, sometimes in the midst of a discourse to the people, if he saw *Hasan* and *Hosein* approaching him, he would come down, embrace them, and take them up with him into the pulpit; and, after making an apology for his conduct on that occasion, proceed in his harangue. This could not but greatly endear *Hasan* to all the *Arabs*, who had any real regard or veneration for the memory of *Mohammed*. Nor is it to be doubted but he would have firmly seated himself upon the *Moslem* throne, had he been a man versed in military affairs; since the *Syrians* only set up *Moáwiyah*, because there was none to oppose them. We are told by an anonymous *Arab* writer, that, according to a tradition of *Sefinah*, the apostle's freed-man, *Mohammed* said, "The *Khalifat* shall continue after me thirty years, and then shall commence a kingdom." From whence he inferred, that, as *Mohammed's* death preceded *Hasan's* abdication just thirty years, their

<sup>a</sup> MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GREG. ARV'L. FAR. ubi sup. p. 193. <sup>a</sup> HAFEDH ABRU, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 434. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. EBN AL ATHIR, OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 97—101.



a apostle was a true prophet, and *Hasan* his rightful successor. *Al Bokbâri* also relates, that *Mohammed*, one day looking earnestly on little *Hasan*, then with him in the pulpit, broke out into the following prophetic exclamation: "O people! by means of this son of mine, the " LORD GOD shall unite two great contending parties of the *Moslems*." No wonder then that *Hasan* should still be reckoned, even by a vast number of the *Sunnites* themselves, so illustrious an *Imâm*. He had in all twenty children; fifteen of whom were sons, and five daughters. The *Persians* maintain, that the succession of *Imâms* passed from *Hasan* to his younger brother *Hosein*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that *Hosein*, one of the descendants of *Hasan*, revolted in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Hadi Ebn Al Mohdi*, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalîf* at *Medina*, in the year of the *Hejra*

b 169. But of this our readers may expect a full and particular account in its proper place<sup>r</sup>.

ANS EBN MALEC reports, that a woman having once made him a present of a bunch of fine herbs, he asked, whether she was a free-woman, or a slave? To which she replied, a slave; but that nevertheless the herbs she had presented him with were rare and curious. Upon which, he gave her her liberty, and said to those about him, "We have been " instructed by God himself to give to those that make us presents something more valuable " than what they bring us." By which he intimated, that this moral instruction was contained in the *Korân*; which the *Moslems* are taught to receive as the word of God. This may be considered as an instance of that generous and munificent disposition for which he has been celebrated by some of the *Arab* historians<sup>s</sup>.

c IT has also been related of this *Khalîf*, that a slave having once thrown a dish of broth boiling hot, as he sat at table, upon him, and, fearing his resentment, immediately fell on his knees, and repeated these words: "Paradise is for those who bridle their anger." *Hasan* answered, "I am not angry." The slave proceeded; "and for those who forgive men." "I forgive you," said *Hasan*. The slave, however, finished the verse; adding, "for God " loveth the beneficent. " Since it is so," said *Hasan*, "I give you your liberty, and four " hundred pieces of silver." A noble instance this of moderation and generosity<sup>t</sup>!

THE following sentence of *Hasan* has been quoted by some of the *Moslems*. "The tears " which are let fall through devotion should not be wiped off, nor the water which remains " upon the body after legal ablution; because this water makes the face of the faithful

d " shine, when they present themselves before God." In fine, the beneficent actions, and moral maxims, of this pious *Imâm* are considered almost in the same light, by a great number of the *Moslems*, as even those of his father *Ali* and the prophet *Mohammed* himself<sup>u</sup>.

SOME of the *Shiites*, in opposition to the body of the *Persian* nation, deduce the line, or descent, of the *Imâms* from *Abd'allah*, one of *Hasan's* sons, or rather from his son *Yahya*, and not from the descendants of *Hosein*. Tho' *Hasan's* wives were all extremely fond of him, yet he frequently divorced them, and married new ones. As *Hasan* and *Hosein* were the sons of *Fâtema*, they were looked upon as the children of *Mohammed* himself, who in all respects ever treated them as such<sup>w</sup>.

e THOUGH *Hasan*, in his will, desired to be buried near his grandfather *Mohammed*, and therein left directions for that purpose; yet, as this was opposed by *Said*, the governor of *Medina*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, and all the grandees of the house of *Ommiyah* then in that place, *Ayesha*, in whose house the body of the prophet lay interred, would not suffer his remains to be deposited there. This gave great disgust to all the members of *Ali's* family; so that the animosities between them and the house of *Ommiyah* rose to a greater height than ever. According to some authors, therefore, he was inhumed in the common burying-place, called *Al Baki*, at *Medina*. Others say, his body was placed in his mother *Fatema's* tomb; and, lastly, others relate, that it was buried at *Yanbo*, a town on the sea *Al Kolzom*, at no very great distance from *Medina*, without handing down to us any account of the circumstances attending that event<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> MSS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 414, 415, 434. KHONDEMIR, AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. &c.

<sup>s</sup> ANS EBN MALEC, apud D'Herbelot. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47.

<sup>t</sup> Aut. RAEI AL AKYAR, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

<sup>u</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 435.

<sup>w</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 435.

<sup>x</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in descript. Arab. p. 45. Oxon. 1712.

## S E C T. VI.

a BY *Hasan's* resignation of the *Khalîfat*, and the cession he made of the territories over which he presided, *Moâwiyah* became sole and supreme emperor of the *Moslems*. *Hosein*, indeed, *Ali's* second son, possessed the hearts of the people; but *Moâwiyah*, who was a man of steady conduct and great abilities, had the army at his devotion. He was the son of *Abu Sofiân*, who was one of the principal persons of the tribe of *Kereish*, and



commanded the forces of that tribe both at the battles of *Bedr* and *Obod*; in the latter of which he was victorious over the *Moslems*. His courage, riches, and great capacity, rendered him the most conspicuous person of his tribe; so that *Mohammed* met with vast opposition from him in the execution of his designs. After the action of *Obod*, as one of the commentators on the *Korân* pretends, the *Meccans* were afflicted, at the prayer of the prophet, with so terrible a famine, that they were obliged to feed upon dogs, carrion, burnt bones, and a sort of miserable food made of blood and camel's hair, called *ilbiz*, which the *Arabs* never used to eat but in times of extreme scarcity. At this sorrowful juncture, *Abu Sofiân* expostulated with *Mohammed* in the following terms: "Tell me, I adjure thee by God and the relation that is between us, dost thou think thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures; since thou hast slain the fathers with the sword, and the children with hunger." This discovered a fixed and settled aversion at that time in this noble *Arab* to *Mohammed* and his followers; notwithstanding which, he found himself obliged to submit to that impostor, and embrace *Islamism*, in order to save himself and his family from immediate destruction, after the reduction of *Mecca*. *Moâwiyah* and his wife declared their assent to the two fundamental articles of the *Moslem* creed, the same day that their father *Abu Sofiân* made profession of the *Mohammedan* faith. *Abu Sofiân*, after his conversion, begged three things of *Mohammed*; that he would appoint him commander in chief of all his forces that were to act against the infidels; that he would make his son *Moâwiyah* his secretary, and marry his second daughter *Gazab*. The two first of which petitions he readily granted, but refused to comply with the third. Our curious readers will not be displeased to find here the substance of the prophet's prayer mentioned above, which was conceived in the following terms: "O God, set thy foot strongly upon *Modâr*," an ancestor of the *Koreish*, "and give them years like the years of *Joseph*." Whereupon, as the commentator here referred to intimates, the aforesaid dreadful famine immediately ensued <sup>a</sup>.

The Khârejites  
rebel.

SOON after *Moâwiyah* had assumed the government, the *Khârejites* took the field against him with a considerable army. The *Khalîf* first made application to *Hasan*, to march against them with a body of *Arabs*; but that prince refusing to undertake such an expedition, he sent the *Syrian* troops to reduce the rebels to his obedience. These soon brought the *Khârejites* to a general action; but they were defeated with considerable loss, and the rebels remained masters of the field of battle. The *Cûfans*, however, who were much better troops than the *Syrians*, being prevailed upon to take up arms, soon extinguished the rebellion, and settled *Moâwiyah* more firmly than ever upon the *Moslem* throne. We find this pernicious sect of the *Khârejites* called *Charurgites* by *Theophanes*, who just touches upon the rebellion mentioned here. He also denominates the *Hâshemites*, or family of *Hâshem*, *Isamites*, and the people of *Irâk*, *Heracites*, or *Herakites*; but has handed down to us very few particulars relating to them. This *Khalîf* had been an officer twenty years under *Omar* and *Othmân*, and had greatly distinguished himself in several expeditions. He was inaugurated in the month of the former *Rabi*, and the forty-first year of the *Hejra*. Soon after *Hasan's* abdication, he constituted *Al Mogheirak Ebn Shaaba* governor of *Cûfa*, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* of *Basra* and *Khorasân*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* of *Medina*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Hazem* of *Damascus*, where, immediately after his departure from *Cûfa*, he fixed his residence. He also appointed again this year, that is, the 41st year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makîn*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, who had adhered to him with so much fidelity, lieutenant, or viceroy, of *Egypt* <sup>b</sup>.

Moâwiyah se-  
cures Ziyâd in  
his interest.

BUT notwithstanding the success *Moâwiyah* had hitherto met with, *Ziyâd*, his brother by the father's side, tho' a bastard, refused a recognition of his authority. *Ziyâd* was made governor of *Persia* in the *Khalîfat* of *Ali*, as has been already observed; and discharged his duty in that post with great reputation to himself, and advantage to the people. He was magnanimous and brave, and of an exceeding good capacity; tho' *Abu Sofiân* durst not own him for fear of *Omar*. He was born in the very year of the *Hejra*, and, by his eloquence and great abilities, so distinguished himself, that, at a meeting of the COMPANIONS in *Omar's* reign, *Amru Ebn Al As* publickly declared, that, had he been of the tribe of *Koreish*, he would have driven all the *Arabs* before him with his walking-stick. In *Omar's* time, he had been made a *Kâdi*, or judge; and *Al Mogheirak*, for incontinency, had been brought before him; but either out of favour, or because the witnesses failed in point of proof, he dismissed the person accused, and ordered the witnesses to be scourged severely. This could not but greatly indear him to *Al Mogheirak*, who, from that moment contracted a most intimate acquaintance and cordial friendship with him. When *Hasan* resigned the *Khalîfat* to *Moâwiyah*, *Ziyâd* was lieutenant of *Persia*, and resided in that quality at *Istakbra*, <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. Hunt. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xxvii. p. 56—51. c. xxxi. p. 64—66. & c. li. p. 102—108. AL BEIDAWI. <sup>b</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 193. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 46. ut & ipse AL MAKÎN, ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 289. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 344, 345.



- a or *Eftakbr*. Here he had erected a very strong citadel, for his farther security, which he made the place of his habitation. *Moâwiyah* fearing lest he should join the house of *Hâshem*, and by that junction give him no small disturbance, owned him publicly for his brother; thinking this might be a means of bringing him over to his interest. In order likewise to facilitate the execution of his scheme, he procured the assistance of *Al Mogbeirah Ebn Shaaba*, his governor of *Cûfa*; who made so good a use of his friendship with *Ziyâd*, that at last he prevailed upon him to take the oath of allegiance to *Moâwiyah*. The *Khalîf*, in return, by the testimony of the *Greek* slave, still living, on whose wife *Abu Sofiân*, being heated with wine, before the publication of the *Korân*, had begotten *Ziyâd*, proved his bastard brother to be the real son of *Abu Sofiân*, and consequently a member of the tribe
- b of *Koreish*. This testimony was so decisive, that it amounted to a full eviction of the point to be proved, and of course demonstrated, that *Ziyâd* was most nearly related to the *Khalîf*. However, this was the first time that the *Korân* was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding. For, by the decision of that book, the child belonged to the *Greek*, as its legal father, who had married its mother; since, according to this decision, which had been left by *Mohammed* as a direction in all such cases, *the child was adjudged to the blankets, and the whore to the stone*; that is, the child was to be brought up, and the whore to be stoned. This conduct, therefore, of the *Khalîf* gave great disgust to his family, as a bastard had been thereby introduced into it, and his father's memory severely reflected upon. But this gave no manner of uneasiness to *Moâwiyah*; as, by bringing his scheme to bear, he had
- c secured intirely in his interest the greatest man of the age. This important affair was thus happily terminated in the 42d year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makîn*, and not the 44th, as we find asserted by Mr. *Ockley*; who does not only oppose the aforesaid author, but is likewise inconsistent with himself in what he has advanced on this occasion <sup>a</sup>.

THE 43d year of the *Hejra* was remarkable for the death of the famous *Amru Ebn Al As*, Amru Ebn Al As and Abd'allah Ebn Salâm dis. of whom *Mohammed* is reported to have said, *There is no truer a Moslem, nor any one more stedfast in the faith, than Amru*. He was justly esteemed one of the greatest men amongst the *Arabs* of the age in which he lived, as standing distinguished from almost all his countrymen by his quick apprehension, his solid judgment, his undaunted courage, his singular resolution, as well as his most profound sagacity and penetration. He was always excellent in

d his advice, sure and fixed in his resolves, and speedy in their execution. He was made lieutenant of *Egypt*, which he conquered in the *Khalîfat* of *Omar*, and was continued by *Othmân* four years in that post. Being afterwards dismissed by the last *Khalîf* from that high office, he retired into *Palestine*, where he lived a private life. After *Othmân's* death, at *Moâwiyah's* invitation, he entered into his service, and was, indeed, his principal support. That *Khalîf* sent him once more into *Egypt*, in the quality of lieutenant of that rich and fertile country; the whole revenue of which he allowed him, upon condition that he kept on foot a body of troops sufficient for its defence. We are told by an oriental author, that, before he embraced *Islamism*, he wrote some satirical pieces upon *Mohammed*; and that some of his proverbs and poetry are still extant. The dying speech he made to his children is said to be masculine and pathetic. In it he laments that he ever exercised his wit in exposing the prophet. This year likewise died *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm*, a *Jew*, very intimate with *Mohammed*, and an early convert to his religion. One of the *Koreish* lent him once 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually paid at the time appointed; and to this honest action a passage of the *Korân* is supposed to allude. He was believed by some to have assisted *Mohammed* in the compiling his pretended revelations; which if we admit, it is no wonder he should be so commended for his knowledge and faith in the *Korân*. After the death of *Amru*, *Moâwiyah* made his brother *Atba Ebn Abu Sofiân*, governor of *Egypt*, who died the following year. *Okba Ebn Amer* succeeded him, and was removed from his post in the year of the *Hejra* 45. After him came *Moseilama Ebn Mokballed* of *Medina*, who

f exercised the function of lieutenant of *Egypt* till the death of *Moâwiyah*. *Amru* died on the festival of *Al Fatar*, and his son *Abd'allah* prayed over him at the place of his interment. About this time, *Moâwiyah* proscribed and exercised great cruelties upon the followers of *Ali*, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>b</sup>.

MOAWIYAH being informed, that the territory of *Basra* was infested with robbers to such a degree, that the people there could not follow their lawful occupations; and that this was chiefly occasioned by *Abd'allah's* ill-judged lenity, who would bring none of them to condign punishment; he sent *Al Hâreth* to preside over the *Basrans* in *Abd'allah's* room,

*The Khalîf makes Ziyâd governor of Basra, Cûfa, Sijistân, India, Bahrein, and Ammân.*

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. univers. hist. vol. i. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113. OCKLEY's hist. of the Saracen. vol. ii. p. 112—116.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RICHARDI confutat. legis Saracenicæ, c. 13. JOH. ANDREAS, de confus. secta Mohammedanæ, c. 2. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 33, 34. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. iii, iv. xvi. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 110—112.

and



and commanded him positively to put an end to all those disorders. But this *Hareth* not a being able to effect, *Ziyâd* was dispatched to *Basra*, to extirpate the gang of banditti that so harassed the inhabitants of that place and the neighbouring district. When *Ziyâd* first came thither, he found such violences, and even murders, committed in the night-time there, that it was not safe to walk in the streets after sun-set. Having, therefore, convened the principal citizens, he expressed his abhorrence of those disorders that so disturbed the public repose in very severe terms; declaring, at the same time, his firm resolution to put an end to them. As he was the best orator of the age, except *Ali*, and the more he spoke the more he excelled, his speech made a deep impression upon the minds of all that heard it; and, to enforce what he there advanced with the greater spirit, he published an order, forbidding any person of what quality soever to appear in the streets, or in any public b place, after the hour of evening-prayer, upon pain of death. To have this order punctually executed, he appointed parties of soldiers to patrol, and commanded them to put to the sword all that they should meet with out of their houses after that hour. This regulation produced an exceeding good effect. For, tho' the first night 200 persons were killed, the second night only five were slain, and the third none at all. In fine, by the prudent, as well as vigorous, measures taken on this occasion, the public tranquillity was restored; which so pleased *Moâwiyah*, that he annexed the lieutenancy of *Khorasân*, *Sijistân*, *India*, *Babrein*, and *Ammân*, to *Ziyâd*'s government. The very name of *Ziyâd* made all the villains within his jurisdiction tremble; tho' he was by no means of a cruel or barbarous disposition. However, as he ruled with the strictest justice, and obliged all men to pay a proper c regard to his authority, the profligate part of the *Khalîf*'s subjects in those parts stood in great awe of him. He was sent to *Basra*, according to *Al Makin*, in the 43d year of the *Hejra*; which renders it probable that he was constituted governor of *Khorasân*, *Sejestân*, *Sejistan*, or *Sijistân*, *India*, *Babrein*, and *Ammân*, the following year. Nor can it well be doubted but that peace and harmony reigned in all those countries at least the remaining part of that year e.

Hakem Ebn  
Amer and  
Zeid Ebn  
Thabet die.

In the 45th year of the *Hejra*, *Ziyâd* sent *Hakem Ebn Amer* with a body of troops to possess himself of a fortress situated on mount *Asbal*. *Hakem* executed his orders with such success, that he killed a great number of the enemy, seized the place, and brought off with him all the riches he found in it. *Ziyâd* receiving advice of this, dispatched a courier to d him, to demand the *white* and the *yellow*, that is, the *silver* and the *gold*, which had fallen into his hands, by virtue of a letter he had received from the *Khalîf*; commanding him to send this, in order to have it deposited in the treasury for public use. But *Hakem* refused to comply with this demand; intimating to *Ziyâd*, at the same time, that an injunction of the *Korân*, which had settled the distribution of the spoil in such a manner as rendered his compliance unlawful, was superior in point of authority to any of the *Khalîf*'s letters. He, therefore, took out the fifth part of the spoil, declared by the *Korân* to belong to God, to the apostle, his kindred, the orphans, the poor, and the traveller, and divided the rest amongst the captors. After which, as he expected to fall a sacrifice to the *Khalîf*'s resentment, for adhering so closely to the text of the *Korân*, he said, "O God! if I be in thy favour, take e  
"me." Which request, says a *Moslem* writer, was granted, and he soon after died. This year was likewise fatal to *Zeid Ebn Thabet*, one of *Mohammed*'s secretaries, when he dictated the *Korân*, who departed this life in it. He wrote the copy which was used by the *Khalîfs*, or *Imâms*, at the command of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, that remained many years after, and was written in an exceeding fair hand. *Zeid* was a man of surprising parts. He learned *Hebrew* so well in fifteen days, as to be able to read the books of the *Jews* with great facility. *Persic* he also learned of one of *Khosrû*'s ambassadors, in eighteen days; as likewise *Ethiopic*, *Greek*, and *Coptic*, of one of *Mohammed*'s slaves, in a very short time. He was extremely pleasant and facetious at home, but very reserved abroad. We are told by an Arab author, that, at the battle of the ditch, he was fifteen years old. One of his remarkable f sentences was, *He that pays not a proper regard to men will not reverence God*. In the year we are now upon, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the governor of *Medina*, performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to Mr. *Ockley*'s writers, *Ziyâd* was appointed lieutenant of *Basra* by *Moâwiyah*, in the 45th year of the *Hejra*; nor that this is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* a.

Remarkable  
events that  
happened in  
the 46th year  
of the Hejra.

THE following year, *Moâwiyah* bribed a *Christian* slave to poison *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of the famous *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who was become extremely popular amongst the soldiers, both on his father's account and his own, being himself a person of distinguished merit; which not a little excited the jealousy of the *Khalîf*. *Abd'alrahmân* had just before made an

a ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. in art. *Ziyâd*. KHONDAMIR, MS. Hunt. ubi sup. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Aliragan. p. 110, 111, & alib. d MS. Hunt. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii. SALE's prelim. dis. p. 144, 145. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 116. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



- a incursion into the imperial territories, where, notwithstanding the *Greek* garisons left to defend them, he committed dreadful depredations; laying waste almost whole provinces, without opposition. The slave was prevailed upon to perpetrate this villainy, by a promise *Moâwiyah* made him, not only to remit his tribute, but likewise to confer upon him the government of *Hems*. However, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, having been soon cut off by *Abd'alrahmân's* son, *Khâled*; who was imprisoned for this by the *Khalîf*, but afterwards released on paying the money for expiation demanded in all such cases. This year was also remarkable for the execution of *Hejer*, a person of singular piety and austerity of life, but a great friend to *Ali*, and consequently an avowed enemy to the house of *Ommiyah*. He was not afraid several times to affront *Ziyâd*, nor even to curse him
- b to his face; which induced that governor, who resided six months of the year at *Cûfa*, where *Hejer* had his habitation, and the other six at *Basra*, to press the *Khalîf* to put him to death, lest, during the time of his absence, he should raise at *Cûfa* some commotions. *Moâwiyah*, therefore, especially as he had not scrupled likewise to speak reproachfully of him, sent an order for his execution; which was performed at *Gadrah*, or *Gadarah*, a village near *Damascus*, where *Hejer* behaved with surprizing intrepidity and resolution. After his head was struck off, his body was washed, and buried in the chains that had been fastened upon it before his death, in pursuance of the directions he had given. Several of his accomplices also suffered with him. These executions not a little displeased *Ayesha*, who had interceded for *Hejer* and his companions in vain, and who did not fail to upbraid *Moâwiyah* with the
- c cruelty he discovered on this occasion, the next time she saw him at *Medina*. In the mean time, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, one *Sapor*, who had seized *Armenia*, sent an embassador to *Moâwiyah*, named *Serji*, or *Sergius*, to desire his assistance against the *Greeks*. Another embassador likewise came at the same time from the *Greek* emperor, called *Andrew*, who was a eunuch, and one of that prince's particular favourites, in order to hinder *Moâwiyah* from sending any succours to the rebel *Sapor*. *Moâwiyah* did not seem strongly disposed to listen to either of them; but only in general told them, that, as both their masters were enemies to him, he would grant his protection to that prince who would pay him the most for it. Upon which, *Andrew* retired, and had the next day another audience of the *Khalîf*, whom he found in conference with *Sergius*, his antagonist. As the latter did not rise from his seat,
- d when *Andrew* made his appearance, the *Greek* embassador took great offence at his conduct, and gave him some very opprobrious language for it; which the other returned, by reproaching him with the loss of his virility. This so incensed *Andrew*, that he threatened him with the infliction of a certain punishment that should occasion a similar defect in him. After which, begging the *Khalîf* again not to assist *Sapor*, that prince answered him in the following terms: "Give us the whole revenue of your dominions, and we will permit you
- e "to be called the lords of them; which if you refuse, we will drive you out of them."
- "Then," replied *Andrew*, "you look upon the *Arabs* as the substance, and the *Greeks* as
- "the shadow only; we must, therefore, implore the assistance of the Lord of heaven and
- "earth." Then, after having obtained an audience of leave, he returned home, by the
- e way of *Malatia*, the *Melitene* of *Ptolemy*, which some place in *Cappadocia*, and others in *Armenia*; acquainting the imperial governors, or prefects, posted on the frontiers, with the affront he had received from *Sergius*, whom he begged them to intercept in his passage through the emperor's territories. This they did, carried him to *Malatia*, castrated him there, and then dismissed him with his testicles hung about his neck. *Moâwiyah Ebn Amer* and *Bashar Ebn Artab* greatly extended the *Moslem* conquests in *Africa* this present year, penetrating to the very heart of *Africa Propria*, or the territory of *Carthage*, and the spot on which the city of *Kairwân* stood. The forces commanded by those generals in this expedition, consisting of about 10,000 men, reduced *Karan*, or *Karana*, *Cafsa*, and several other towns. When they came to the spot above-mentioned, they found that a town had
- f been erected there by *Moâwiyah Ebn Khodhaj*, which, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Al Makîn*, by no means pleased them. We are told by a very learned author, that the city of *Kairwân* was either built, repaired, or enlarged, by *Okba Ebn Nafe'*, who formed a settlement upon this spot immediately after *Amru Ebn Al As* had conquered *Barka*. The same author also relates, that the *Khalîf Moâwiyah* ordered a proper garison to be left at *Kairwân*, which stood about 33 parasangs of *Carthage*, and 12 of the sea, in order to secure the country from the insults of the *Roman* and *Sicilian* fleets, to keep the perfidious *Africans* in awe, and to have a place of safety in which he might deposite the prodigious treasures he had amassed. Some of the writers followed by *Golius* affirm, that the *Moslems* carried their arms as far as the borders of *Nigritia* this campaign; which may not be very remote
- g from truth: but that the conquests here mentioned were made in the 40th year of the *Hejra*, as *Golius* seems to believe, or rather positively asserts, we must not admit; since certain *Arab*



historians of good repute, who place this expedition in the 46th year of that æra, will not a permit us to give our assent to such an opinion <sup>c</sup>.

Nothing very remarkable happens in the year of the Hejra 47.

THE next year, being the 47th year of the *Hejra*, we meet with scarce any thing remarkable performed by the *Khalif Moâwiyah*; except we will allow, that he first harangued the people this year from the pulpit in a sitting posture, to which he was obliged by the prominence of his belly, and the great quantity of fat he carried about with him; and that he began this year to preach before he said prayers, fearing that the people would otherwise retire out of the mosque before he had delivered all that he had to say to them. As the introduction of these two customs may be considered as a variation from the practice of all his predecessors, it has been looked upon as a remarkable event, and seems to have been placed in the 47th year of the *Hejra* by *Abu'l Faraj*. About this time also *Basbar*, one of *Moâwiyah's* commanders, as we learn from *Theophanes*, made several dreadful incursions into the *Christian* territories, plundering and laying waste all the country through which he moved <sup>f</sup>.

The Arabs besiege Constantinople in vain.

ABOUT the latter end of the following year, *Moâwiyah* sent his son *Yezid* with a powerful army to besiege *Constantinople*. The *Arab* authors have transmitted down to us no account of the particulars of that siege; but only mention three or four of the most eminent of the COMPANIONS, whose zeal, notwithstanding their great age, prompted them to attend the army on this occasion, and to sustain incredible fatigues. The *Moslem* forces suffered extremely in their march; but they were animated to surmount all difficulties by a famous tradition; according to which, the prophet, in his life-time, declared, that <sup>c</sup> “the sins of the first army which should take the city of *Cæsar* were forgiven.” According to *Theophanes*, this army, when on its march, was joined by a body of *Arab* troops, under the command of one *Fadal*, or *Fadl*, an *Arab* general, sent by *Moâwiyah* to the assistance of *Sapor*, who came to an untimely death. After which event, *Fadl* had been reduced to great straits, out of which he was happily delivered by the forces under the conduct of *Yezid*. After this junction, *Yezid* marched to *Chalcedon*, where for some time he remained, and consequently kept *Constantinople* in a manner blocked up; tho' it does not appear from *Theophanes*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the *Moslem* historians, that he ever formed the siege of that city. After a short stay in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, the *Moslem* army decamped, and took its rout through *Phrygia*, on its return home, <sup>d</sup> with a considerable number of prisoners. In their passage, the *Arabs* possessed themselves of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, in which they left a garison of 5000 men. In this expedition, the famous *Abu Ayub*, who had been with *Mohammed* at the battles of *Bedr* and *Obod*, lost his life. His tomb is held in such veneration amongst the *Moslems*, that the *Soltâns* of the *Othmân* family gird their swords on at it, upon their accession to the throne. A detachment of the imperial forces retook *Amorium* the following winter, when all the neighbouring tract was covered with snow, by surprize, and put all the *Arab* garison they found therein to the sword <sup>e</sup>.

The death of Hasan.

THE 49th year of the *Hejra* produced no remarkable event, an account of which has been handed down to us by the *Moslem* historians, except the death of *Hasan*, the last *Khalif*, who was poisoned in the manner already related. *Moâwiyah* is said to have insulted his ashes in an indecent manner; which occasioned some verses to be written upon him by one, who seems not to have been a friend of the house of *Ommiyah*. These verses, or rather some few of them, have been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>h</sup>.

Yezid declared Moâwiyah's successor.

THE next year *Al Mogheirah* died of the plague, which made great havock there, at *Cûsa*. He was the governor of that city at the time of his death, a very active man, of quick parts, and had lost one of his eyes at the battle of *Termouk*; tho' some pretend, that this loss was occasioned by viewing an eclipse. According to *Abu'lfeda*, the new city of *Kairwân* was pretty near finished this year, though the last hand was not put to it till the 55th year of the *Hejra*. Some authors affirm, that the *Arabs* considered it as the capital of *Africa Propria*, or the territory of *Carthage*; and that it stood upon the spot which had been formerly occupied by the antient *Cyrene*. We have a confused and indistinct account of this city given us by Mr. *Ockley*, that does not sufficiently correspond with what has been related of it by the authors to whom he refers his readers. *Kairwân* afterwards became very eminent not only for its stately buildings and immense wealth, but likewise for the study of the sciences and polite literature, which flourished there. This year also *Moâwiyah* <sup>f</sup>

<sup>c</sup> MS. HUNT. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 193, 194. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164, 264—269, et alib. D'HEREBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 289. <sup>f</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 194. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 289, 290. <sup>h</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, MS. HUNT. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 291, 292. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 436. <sup>h</sup> ABU JAAFAR, AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 47, 48. ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid.



a prevailed upon many of the *Moslems* to take the oath of allegiance to his son *Yezid*, as his partner, or colleague, in the *Khalifat*; but neither *Abd'alrahmán Ebn Abu Becr*, *Hosein Ebn Ali*, *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattáb*, nor *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair Ebn Al Awám*, would concur with the other principal *Arabs* in this particular. About this time died *Rabiya*, one of the earliest converts to *Islamism*, who, according to *Mohammed*, resembled more than any of his countrymen the angel *Gabriel*<sup>1</sup>.

THE following year, being the 51st year of the *Hejra*, *Saad Ebn Zend*, the last of those who had a positive promise of paradise from *Mohammed*, departed this life. About the same time, *Moâwiyah*, who then resided at *Damascus*, not thinking it proper, that the pulpit and walking-stick of the prophet should remain in the hands of the murderers of *Othmán*, gave orders to have them both carried from *Medina*. But the moment some of the *Arabs*, in obedience to the *Khalif's* commands, were upon the point of removing them, to their great astonishment and surprize, there happened such an eclipse of the sun, that the stars themselves very clearly appeared. This threw them into the utmost consternation, as it seemed to them a manifest indication of the divine displeasure, for their presuming to lay hands upon the apostle's pulpit, in order to remove it from the place where he himself had ordered it to be fixed. Being, therefore, extremely frighten'd at so unusual, and, as they apprehended, so supernatural, an event, they immediately desisted from carrying the *Khalif's* design into execution. Nay, it made so deep an impression upon their minds, that it was not forgotten some years afterwards, when the *Khalif Abd'almalec* had the same design in view. One of the citizens of *Medina*, in order to divert him from it, then represented to him, that a prodigy had happened on a similar occasion in the reign of *Moâwiyah*; and that a tradition, derived from *Mohammed* himself, pronounced such an attempt highly criminal: upon which, that prince laid aside all thoughts of executing any part of the scheme he had formed. After him, *Al Walid*, in his pilgrimage, meditated the removal of the prophet's pulpit from *Medina*; but the people of that city discovering a great reluctance to put it into the hands of the messenger he sent for it; telling him, that "his master, " by removing it, would expose himself to the divine displeasure;" he permitted it to remain in its former situation. *Amru Ebn Abd'alaziz* afterwards proposed the attempt *Moâwiyah*, *Abd'almálec*, and *Al Walid*, intended to have made, to *Solimán Ebn Abd'almálec*, when he came in pilgrimage that way; but neither would he give his consent that the pulpit should be taken from the spot on which it had been first erected. *Moâwiyah's* intention in the point above-mentioned, or rather his discovery of that intention, has been placed by *Ebn Al Athir* some where near the 51st, or the 52d year of the *Hejra*; but as a remarkable solar eclipse is said to have happened in the 54th year of this æra, it may perhaps, with greater propriety, be ranked amongst the principal events of that year<sup>2</sup>.

THO' the authors followed by Mr. *Ockley* place *Yezid's* expedition to *Constantinople*, or rather *Chalcedon*, in the 48th year of the *Hejra*, as has been already observed; yet it was not in reality undertaken till four years after, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. According to that historian, *Abu Ayub*, who either was killed, or died a natural death, whilst the *Moslem* army remained in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, was buried at the foot of the wall of that city. He had distinguished himself in *Mohammed's* life-time against those who endeavoured to obstruct the progress of *Islamism*, and was one of the most celebrated of the

*When the expedition to Constantinople was undertaken.*

COMPANIONS<sup>3</sup>.  
IN the 53d year of the *Hejra*, the famous *Ziyád*, who makes so considerable a figure in the *Arab* history, departed this life; being at his death about fifty-three years of age. He died of the plague on the third day of the month of *Ramadán*. A little before he was seized by the fatal distemper that put a period to his days, he informed the *Khalif*, that he had intirely reduced *Irák* to a state of subjection to him, and begged that he might have the lieutenancy of *Arabia Petrea* conferred upon him; which was immediately granted. The *Arabs* of that country, being apprized of this, were struck with great terror and consternation, as knowing with what rigour and severity he had governed the people of *Irák*. Upon the first news of it, *Ebn Amer*, attended by a vast number of the people, went to the temple of *Mecca*, and with great fervency and devotion, begged, that God would never permit him to come amongst them. In the mean time, *Ziyád* being seized with the plague, felt such an intolerable pain in one of his hands, that he consulted a *Kâdi*, as a spiritual director, whether he might not cut it off, without being guilty of any crime; but received for answer from him, that such an action was absolutely unlawful. However, notwithstanding this decision, the pain increasing to such a degree as rendered it insupportable, he came to a resolution to submit to amputation; tho', at the sight of the fire and the cauterizing irons, that

*Ziyád dies.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. HUNT. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162, 163, 164. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48. <sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 130—132. <sup>3</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48.



were to be made use of in the operation, his heart immediately failed him. We are told <sup>a</sup> by a *Moslem* author of good repute, that, at this time, *Ziyâd* had an hundred and fifty physicians about him; three of whom had formerly belonged to *Khoṣrû*, the son of *Hormuz*, king of *Persia*; but as the time of his death was coming on, or, to make use of our author's words, *the decree was sealed, and the thing determined*, they found it impossible to save him. He was buried near *Cûsa*, by which place he passed in his journey to *Arabia*, whither he was going, in order to take possession of his new government there. When *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "Go thy way, thou son of *Somyah*; this world did not stay with thee, neither hast thou attained to the other." In order to understand which sentence more perfectly, it will be proper to observe, that *Somyah* was the name of the *Greek* slave's wife, on whose body *Abu Sofiân* was supposed to <sup>b</sup> have begotten *Ziyâd*; and that *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* was the person *Ziyâd* succeeded in the government of *Basra* <sup>m</sup>.

Some account  
of him.

UPON *Ziyâd*'s first arrival at *Cûsa*, the lieutenancy of which place was annexed in his favour to that of *Basra*, as has been already observed, he told the *Cûsans*, that at first he proposed to have brought with him a body of 2000 men, as his guards; but that afterwards considering that they were honest men, he had taken care only to be attended by his own family. This did not hinder them from throwing dust, or rather gravel, at him. Upon which, he ordered his domestics to secure the doors of the mosque where the people of the city were assembled, and commanded every man there to seize his neighbour. Then he had the persons seized brought before him, and as many of them as would purge themselves by oath of the late insult that had been offered him, he immediately dismissed; but ordered the hands of all the others, who amounted to about eighty, to be cut off upon the spot. Soon after which, he issued an order, injoining all the citizens of *Cûsa* to leave their doors open all night; engaging himself to indemnify every particular person for any loss he should sustain by complying with it. No theft, or robbery, was committed after the introduction of this custom; but some cattle one night finding their way into a shop, did considerable damage there. Of which when *Ziyâd* was informed, he permitted every one of the inhabitants to leave a hurdle, or rake, at his door; which practice prevailed ever after at *Basra*, and many other towns of *Irâk*. As no one durst appear out of his house after the hour of evening-prayer, 'tis no wonder the *Cûsans* should have been so secure in the possession of their <sup>c</sup> properties and effects; nor can it be any matter of surprize, that the order injoining this should have been so punctually observed, when it is known, that the least contravention of that order was punished with immediate death. Of this the following instance may serve as an evident proof: A shepherd coming one night through the town with his flock, was seized by one of *Ziyâd*'s patrols, and instantly brought before him. The poor man, in defence of himself, when he was accused of having contemned the governor's late edict, said, that he was intirely ignorant of it. *Ziyâd* replied, "I am willing to believe, that what thou tellest me is true; but as the safety of all the *Cûsans* depends upon thy death, it is necessary that thou shouldst die." The sentence was no sooner pronounced than his head was struck off, to the inexpressible terror of all those who were present at the execution. <sup>d</sup> But tho' *Ziyâd*'s wholesome severities fell heavy upon certain individuals, and in some other countries might seem to have favoured of cruelty, yet they kept the inhabitants of *Irâk*, a very faithless and treacherous people, in awe of him; insomuch that, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the citizens of *Basra*, as well as those of *Cûsa*, never feared any one more than *Ziyâd*, tho' they enjoyed an uninterrupted repose under his just and impartial administration <sup>e</sup>.

BUT whatever may have been advanced to the contrary by the last-mentioned author, the following remarkable story of him is an evident proof that he had something cruel and savage in his disposition. One *Abu'l Mogbeirah* having been once brought before him, by his command, as the most religious man in *Cûsa*, he offered to give him as much money as <sup>f</sup> he should desire, if he would confine himself to his apartment, and not go to the mosque to perform his devotions. *Abu'l Mogbeirah* replied, that he would not omit saying his prayers publicly on the *congregation-day*, or *Friday*, for the empire of the world. "Then," said *Ziyâd*, "go to the congregation, but do not talk in the mosque when you are there." "I must," answered the religious, "encourage that which is good, and reprove that which is bad." For which answer, tho' it be a precept pretty frequently mentioned in the *Korân*, *Ziyâd* commanded him to be immediately beheaded. Nay, as a farther instance of something that at least resembled cruelty in him, it may be observed, that he assembled the people a little before his death, in order to impose upon them a sort of abjuration, or renunciation by oath of every kind of connexion with the friends of the house of *Hûshem*, <sup>g</sup>

<sup>m</sup> MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL T. BAR. ET AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 46. <sup>a</sup> Ibidem ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ziad*, p. 933. KHONDEMIR, &c.



- a threatening with death all who would not submit to such a renunciation. But at the appointed time, when this affair should have been brought to a conclusion, the people being assembled for that purpose, he was seized with the plague, and never afterwards made his appearance amongst them; which they all, and especially those who retained any veneration for the memory of *Ali*, considered as a very providential deliverance. To what has been said of this famous *Moslem*, we may add, from *Kondemir*, the *Persian* historian, that the last letter he wrote to *Moâwiyah* was couched in the following terms: "My left-hand is here employed in governing the people of *Irâk*; but my right-hand is idle; put *Arabia* into it, to be governed, and it will give you a good account of it." Which request being granted, and the inhabitants of *Medina* thereby greatly alarmed, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*,
- b one of them, in his public prayers, offered up to God this petition: "O God! satisfy this right hand, which is idle and superfluous to *Ziyâd*." Which words, as has been justly remarked by Mr. *Ockley*, contain a very beautiful allusion to the name of *Ziyâd*; signifying, in *Arabic*, *abundant*, or *superfluous*; and are perfectly consonant to the spirit and genius of that expressive and harmonious language. Soon after this prayer, according to an *Arab* author, a pestilential ulcer seized one of the fingers of his right-hand, of which he lay ill a few days, and then expired in exquisite torture. Some of his descendents formed a dynasty in *Yaman*, where they reigned under the name of the *Banu Ziyâd*. The *Khâ-rejites*, as well as the partisans of *Ali*, made some attempts to disturb his administration; but, by his severe and rigorous conduct, he proved superior to them, and in a short time extinguished all their commotions. In fine, by the sword which he drew, to make use of
- c *Abu Jaafar's* expression, he smoothed the *Khalîf's* government in *Irâk*, and so effectually silenced all murmurings and complaints there, that not one of the *Irâkians*, how powerful soever he might be, durst open his mouth against him °.

- But *Ziyâd's* administration, rigorous and severe as it was, must have been deemed gentle *Samrah's* and mild in respect of that of *Samrah*, his lieutenant at *Basra*, who was abhorred by all *cruelty*. men for his cruelty. During *Ziyâd's* six months absence from *Basra*, he residing one half of the year at *Cûfa*, *Samrah* had put to death no less than 8000 persons there; which greatly shocked *Ziyâd*; who asked him, whether he was not afraid, lest, in such a number, he might have murdered one innocent *Moslem*? *Samrah* replied, that, if he had destroyed double that number of *Basrans*, it would not have given him the least uneasiness or concern.
- d According to *Abu Sawâr*, he killed forty-seven *Moslems* one morning; every one of which had got the *Korân* by heart. A party of his horse marching out of the city on a certain occasion, and meeting a peasant at a little distance from it, one of them struck him through with his lance. *Samrah*, soon after coming up, found the poor wretch wallowing in his own blood; and, upon inquiry, was told, that one of his men had accidentally killed him. To which he made no other reply than, "When you hear we are mounted, beware of our lances." This year, being the fifty-third of the *Hejra*, *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, the last king of *Ghassân*, a large account of whom our readers will find in a preceding part of the history we are now upon, departed this life; but what country, city, or town, was the scene of this event, we are not certainly informed. If *Yezid* did not penetrate through
- e *Armenia* and *Natolia*, and advance as far as the suburbs of *Constantinople* with his army, before the 52d year of the *Hejra*, as we find asserted by M. *D'Herbelot*, he could not well have finished his expedition, and arrived at *Damascus*, before the commencement of the following year; especially if we will admit, with the last-mentioned author, that he sowed and reaped whilst his forces remained in the neighbourhood of that capital. Be that as it will, the *Turks*, even at this day, visit the tomb of *Abu Ayub* above-mentioned with great devotion, and call the spot where his body lies interred *Eyub*. Some of the writers followed by *D'Herbelot* seem to intimate, that, soon after the foregoing expedition, *Moâwiyah* sent his son *Yezid* with an army to reduce the rebels of *Abwâz*, who refused a recognition of his authority.
- f *Yezid*, in pursuance of his orders, according to these writers, marched with great celerity to the plain of *Dowlâb*, on the confines of *Syria* and *Arabia*, where the rebels had assembled a considerable body of troops. These he attacked with so much bravery, that, after a sharp engagement, he intirely defeated them, and thereby restored peace to that part of the *Khalîf's* dominions. The authors who mention this action, call the people out of whom the rebel army was formed, and who exerted themselves the most on this occasion, in favour of the house of *Hâshem*, *Azrakbeens* °.

In the 54th year of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* dismissed *Saad* from the government of *Medina*, *The Arabs* and restored *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* to that honourable post. After this, he dispatched an order to *Merwân*, to demolish *Saad's* house, and seize all his effects in *Hejâz*. Upon *Mer-* *make an incur-* *son into Buk-* *haria.*

° *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.* et *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 47. *EBN AL ATHIR*, MS. Hunt. num. 495. *D'HERBEL.* ubi sup. *KHONDEMIR.* *OCKLEY*, ubi sup. p. 139, 140. ° *EBN AL ATHIR*, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. *ABU SAWAR*, *D'HERBEL.* Bibl. orient. in art. *Moâwiyah*, p. 587.



*ṭwān's* appearance at *Medina*, with a mule to carry off every thing valuable that belonged to *Saad*, the latter was extremely surprized, and begged *Merwān* not to strip him in so unmerciful a manner. But the new governor told him, that the *Khalif* must be obeyed; and that if he had received an order, during his government, to have pulled down his, *Merwān's*, house, he would not have failed executing it. Upon this, *Saad* produced a letter, formerly sent him by *Moāwiyah*, commanding him to demolish *Merwān's* house; which, out of friendship, he had ventured to disobey, and thereby incurred the *Khalif's* displeasure. This generous action of *Saad* so struck *Merwān*, that he never ceased interceding with *Moāwiyah* for his friend, till he had prevailed upon him to revoke the late unjust command. Both the governors now clearly perceived, that the *Khalif's* view in issuing the foregoing orders, was to set them at variance; but the discovery of this wicked design served only the more effectually to strengthen the ties of friendship between them. About the same time *Moāwiyah* deposed *Samrah*, *Ziyād's* deputy at *Basra*, whose enormous cruelty had rendered him justly odious to all the inhabitants of that city. As soon as *Samrah* heard this news, he is reported to have said, "God curse *Moāwiyah*. If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would not have damned me to all eternity." A saying this, which sufficiently discovered the internal deformity of his soul, and the desperation to which he had been driven by a consciousness of his crimes. Within the course of this year, the *Khalif* likewise appointed *Obeid'allah*, the son of *Ziyād*, who gave him a very satisfactory account of the conduct of all his father's deputies, in their respective provinces, lieutenant of *Khorasān*. Soon after he had taken possession of his new government, *Obeid'allah*, tho' not then above twenty-five years of age, advanced at the head of a body of troops as far as the mountains of *Bukhāria*, and defeated a *Turkish* army that pretended to oppose him. The *Turks* lost a considerable number of men in the action, and the queen, who commanded them, with great difficulty made her escape. She had only time to put on one of her buskins; so that she was obliged to leave the other behind her. This, therefore, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*, who valued it at no less than 2000 *dinārs* <sup>a</sup>.

It has been remarked by Mr. Ockley, that there was a pretty extraordinary eclipse, and such a one as happened at *Medina*, when *Moāwiyah* ordered *Mohammed's* pulpit to be removed from that place, in the 54th year of the *Hejra*; from whence he seems to infer, that the command relative to this affair was given in that year, tho' he actually places it two or three years earlier. But perhaps this inference is not altogether to be depended upon, as he has produced no authority in support of the observations from whence it is drawn, and as *Eutychius* asserts that a solar eclipse, equally remarkable, happened in the 50th year of that æra. For, from thence we may with at least equal justice infer, that the aforesaid attempt was made in the 50th year of the *Hejra* <sup>b</sup>.

*ABD'ALLAH*, the son of *Amru*, having commanded a *Moslem's* hand to be cut off, for throwing dust, or gravel, at him whilst he was preaching to the people of *Basra*, of which place he then was governor; some of the principal men of the city complained of his conduct to *Moāwiyah*, who removed him from his post, and substituted *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyād* in his room. The lieutenancy, therefore, of *Khorasān* becoming vacant by his removal, the *Khalif* conferred it upon one *Aflam*, who had not the least merit to recommend him to his master's favour; so that nothing worthy the attention of an historian happened in that province during the short term he presided over the people there. Nor did the year we are now upon, that is, the 55th year of the *Hejra*, produce any other remarkable occurrences, at least such as have been taken notice of by the *Moslem* historians <sup>c</sup>.

BUT notwithstanding the taciturnity of the *Moslem* historians, the *Christians* writers have mentioned several remarkable events, as happening about the present time, that are not to be passed over altogether in silence. *Basbar*, or as he is called by *Theophanes*, *Busur*, continued his incursions into the *Christian* territories, which he ravaged without opposition, and conducted from thence a vast number of captives into the *Khalif's* dominions. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah* and *Kais*, two *Moslem* commanders, appeared at the head of a considerable squadron of ships on the coast of *Cilicia*, with a body of land-forces on board; the first of whom took up his winter-quarters at *Smyrna*, and the other in *Lycia* and *Cilicia*. The *Khalif* also fitted out another fleet, the command of which he gave to one *Kbāled*, called by *Theophanes* *Chale*, with orders to sustain that sent to cruise on the coast of *Cilicia*, in case of need. The following spring the combined *Moslem* fleet presented itself to the view of the *Christians* on the coast of *Thrace*, stretching along from the western promontory, known by the name of *Magnauro*, to the eastern one, called *Cyclobium*. Frequent conflicts happened between it and that of the *Christians*; the particulars of which have not been handed down to us. However, it should seem as if the *Arabs* were superior in those engagements; since we have

<sup>a</sup> EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. <sup>b</sup> OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 130. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 360, 361. <sup>c</sup> MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.



- a been told by some writers, that they besieged *Constantinople* the whole summer and spring for several years after the 53d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 672; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, that they thought it adviseable to withdraw always in the month of *September* to *Cyzicus*. In this long siege, or rather repeated sieges, the *Arabs* lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water; being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. The *Arabs* at length, despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the same time, three of the emperor's lieutenants, *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, gained a signal victory in *Syria* over *Sofian Ebn Araf*, who commanded there a numerous body of *Arabs*; but lost in the engagement 30,000 of his men. These misfortunes encouraged the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites*, to seize on mount *Libanus*, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of *Christian* captives, slaves, and others, flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount *Taurus*, written corruptly *Maurus* in the present copies of *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, and *Jerusalem*, made frequent incursions into *Syria*, and so harrassed and terrified the *Arabs*, who thought that God himself at this juncture interposed, in favour of the *Christians*, that *Moâwiyah* not imagining himself able to contend with them and the *Romans* at the same time, sent ambassadors to *Constantine*, who met with a gracious reception at the imperial court. *Constantine* offered him an accommodation, which *Moâwiyah* seemed so ardently to accept, that with the *Arab* ambassadors, on their return home, *John Pitzigaudes*, a person of great age and experience, to *Syria*; where, after several conferences, a peace was concluded on the following terms. 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years. 2. That the *Arabs* should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors 3000 pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. It may not be improper to observe here, that, according to the *Christian* historians referred to, in the 53d year of the *Hejra*, there was a dreadful mortality in *Egypt*; in the 54th, *Sofian Ebn Araf* was defeated by *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, in *Syria*; in the 55th, the year we are now upon, *Abd'allah Ebn Kais* and *Fadl*, two *Arab* generals, made a descent on *Crete*, with a body of *Moslem* troops, and passed the ensuing winter there; and, in the 58th, a treaty was signed between *Constantine* and *Moâwiyah*. The articles of the treaty here mentioned not having been extremely honourable to the *Arabs*, 'tis not so much to be wondered at, that both they, and the military operations that preceded them, should have been denied a place in the writings of the *Moslem* historians<sup>1</sup>.

- THE next year, *Moâwiyah* conferred upon *Saad*, *Othmân's* grandson, the government of *Saad takes Khorasân*; having removed his predecessor, *Aflam*, as utterly unqualified for that post. *Saad*, *Samarkand, and defeats the Uzbeks.* soon after his promotion to that dignity, passed the *Jikûn*, or *Amu*, the *Oxus* of the antients, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, and advanced to *Samarkand*, which open'd its gates to him at his approach. Having soon after overthrown an army of the idolatrous *Uzbeks*, he marched directly to *Tarmud*, or *Tirmid*, which immediately surrendered to him. Nor is it said that he lost any considerable number of men in this successful expedition<sup>2</sup>.

- IT has been already observed, from *Abu Jaesar Al Tabari*, that, in the 50th year of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* prevailed upon many of the *Moslems* to take the oath of fidelity to his son *Yezid*, as his partner, or colleague, in the *Khalifat*; but that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, *Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair Ebn Al Awâm*, would not comply with the *Khalif's* request in that particular. This memorable event, however, has not been set in a full light by that author; so that we shall find ourselves obliged to have recourse to another *Arab* writer, who places it in the 56th year of the *Moslem* æra, in order to give our readers a more perfect and satisfactory account of it. *Moâwiyah* intending to secure the succession in his family, formed a design to render the government, that had been hitherto elective, hereditary; and, for this purpose, used all means imaginable to oblige the people to declare *Yezid* his heir and successor. In order to carry which design effectually into execution, he imagined nothing farther would be requisite than to engage them to take an oath of fidelity to *Yezid*, as his colleague, and partner in the empire. This had been first suggested to *Moâwiyah* by *Al Mogbeirah*, the late governor of *Cîsa*; but was disapproved of by *Ziyâd*, whom the *Khalif* had consulted upon the affair, because he knew *Yezid* to be a profligate young fellow, addicted to gaming and drinking, and by no means qualified to govern the *Arabs*. He, therefore, persuaded both *Yezid* and *Moâwiyah*, at least for the present, to lay all thoughts of it aside. But, after *Ziyâd's* death, *Moâwiyah*, who was always fond of the project, in the 56th year of the *Hejra*, revived it,

<sup>1</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 293—296. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 437. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182, et alib.

<sup>2</sup> ISM.



and wrote circular letters to the principal men in all the provinces about it. The *Syrians*, and a people of *Irâk*, came readily into the scheme; as did also *Malec*, the commandant of *Medina*, who advised the *Khalif* to cause *Yezid* to be proclaimed his heir apparent, or rather as we should imagine, such a notion being countenanced by *Abu Jaafar*, *Al Makin*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, his partner and colleague, in that city. But *Hosein Ebn Ali*, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, the brother of *Ayesha*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, refusing to give their consent to it, the people could by no means be induced to concur with such a measure; tho' *Moâwiyah* did his utmost to prevail upon those chiefs to oblige him in this particular. He came in person to *Medina*, at the head of 1000 horse. He had a conference there with *Ayesha* about the affair; the result of which was, that the *Arabs* in general of the province of *Hejâz* took the oath of allegiance to *Yezid*. He even threatened those that b opposed him in this favourite point with his resentment. But all his efforts, with regard to the above-mentioned chiefs, proved ineffectual. They were too powerful to be brought into any of his measures by compulsion. However, as *Hosein* was a man of merit, a near relation, and had the people of *Irâk* at his devotion, he advised *Yezid* never to offer him any violence, if he ever came into his power. *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, being wholly given up to devotion, would, as he told him, declare in his favour, when nobody else opposed him; and therefore would be a proper object of his mercy, if he should ever prove superior to all his enemies. With regard to *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, his attention being solely fixed on women and play, and he being altogether influenced by the example of others, continued c *Moâwiyah* to his son *Yezid*, if ever he comes in, he is to be treated with lenity and moderation. But as for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, he has the subtilty of the fox, as well as the strength of the lion, said the *Khalif*; and therefore, if ever he can be seized, he must be cut to pieces. These *Arab* leaders persisting in their refusal to acknowledge *Yezid* either his father's colleague or heir apparent, *Moâwiyah* found himself obliged to acquiesce in the measures that had already been taken, and durst not proceed to any acts of violence against them. However, he so far carried his point, that the *Syrians*, the people of *Irâk*, and the bulk of the *Arab* nation, took the oath of fidelity to *Yezid*; to which they were bribed by large sums of money, according to *Al Tabari*; tho', if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, this oath was extorted by force from the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Be this as it will, it was certainly a great action, at this juncture, to change an elective monarchy into an hereditary one, when d the family of *Hâshem* had so powerful a party amongst the *Arabs* and the people of *Irâk*, that would infallibly in all points oppose *Moâwiyah*, whom they considered as their mortal enemy; when there were still living several of the COMPANIONS, who themselves aspired to the *Khalifat*, and who consequently with great impatience expected *Moâwiyah*'s dissolution; and when, lastly, *Yezid* was so abandon'd a youth, that his uncle *Ziyâd*, a man of great experience and capacity, thought that nothing could be more disagreeable than the preceding scheme to all the provinces. To which we may add, that the attempt itself was an innovation, and might therefore have been attended with fatal consequences in an empire that had not long been formed, and that had been lately very much weakened by civil dissensions. This affair, which had been for some time in agitation, being thus brought to a happy conclusion, e *Yezid* gave audience to several ambassadors, who came to congratulate him on the occasion, as well as to several of the *Arabs*, who had undertaken a journey to *Damascus*, then the seat of the *Moslem* emperor, to offer him their allegiance. Amongst the latter, *Al Abnâf*, *Yezid*'s uncle, made his appearance; and at his father's request, took an opportunity of conversing with him: after which, being asked by *Moâwiyah* what he thought of his nephew's capacity, he scrupled not to answer him in the following terms: "The fear of " God will not permit us to lie, and that of you not to speak truth. You know best " both his night and his day; his outside and his inside; his going out and his coming " in. You also know best what you design to do. It is our business to hear and obey; " yours to give counsel to the people." The *Damascenes* seem to have been some of *Yezid*'s f most zealous adherents, and to have distinguished themselves in a particular manner on this occasion w.

*Moâwiyah*  
extremely fond  
of his son.

As *Yezid* was now destined to be his father's successor, the old *Khalif* grew extremely fond of him; imagining him to have something grand and majestic in his deportment, and that he was every way qualified to sit at the helm of a puissant empire. Nay, *Moâwiyah*, tho' in other respects a person of great discernment and penetration, could not forbear frequently expressing in conversation the high opinion he entertained of his son's superior abilities. It is said, that, in one of his harangues to the people, he offered up to God the following remarkable prayer: "O God! if thou knowest that I have settled the government upon " *Yezid*, because, according to the best of my judgment, I think him qualified for it, con- g

<sup>w</sup> *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR*, et *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 48. *GREG. ABU'L FAR.* hist. dynast. p. 195. MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. *D'HERBEL.* Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid*.

" firm



- a “firm it to him; but if I have done it out of affection, confirm it not.” It seems to be insinuated by an *Arab* author, that the road from *Medina* to *Mecca* was about this time infested by robbers, and that great disorders were committed upon it; since, according to him, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the commandant of *Medina*, was obliged himself to conduct the *Hadjî's*, or pilgrims, to *Mecca*, the preceding year <sup>2</sup>.

THE 57th year of the *Hejra* scarce produced a single event that has merited the attention of any historian. *Theophanes* only observes, that vast swarms of locusts appeared in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, and consequently did incredible damage there, this year. There were likewise at this juncture in *Arabia* great murmurings and discontents, occasioned by the transaction of the preceding year, of which we have just given our readers a full and ample relation.

Great murmurings and discontents in Arabia.

- b However, such care was taken by the *Khalif*, and the officers he employed, that no open attempt was made against the government <sup>3</sup>.

THE following year, *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu Becr*, and *Mohammed's* best-beloved wife, departed this life at *Medina*. Her father derived from her his name of *Abu Becr*, or the father of the girl; she being very young when the prophet married her. She was ever treated by all the *Khalifs* with the utmost respect, except when she exposed herself in the expedition undertaken at her impulse against *Ali*. The *Moslems* sometimes called her the prophetess; and, when they addressed themselves to her, generally gave her the title of the mother of the faithful. She made her exit on the seventh day of the month of *Ramadân*. Her brother *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, of whom we have spoken above, died a little before her.

Ayesha and Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr die;

- c Soon after the conclusion of the late treaty of peace between the *Christians* and the *Arabs*, the ratifications were exchanged, and *John Pitzigaudes*, the imperial minister, who had been amply rewarded by *Moâwiyah*, for the part he acted in that important affair, returned home to *Constantinople* this same year <sup>4</sup>.

The next year, being the 59th of the *Hejra*, died *Abu Horeira*, or the father of the cat, as also *Abu* so called by *Mohammed*, because of his fondness of a cat, which he always carried about with him. He so constantly went under this appellation, that neither his true name, nor his pedigree, is certainly known. He was one of the prophet's intimate companions, and had so many traditions father'd upon him, that the very number of them renders them suspected to some people; tho' others receive them all as of undoubted authority, without the least

as also Abu Horeira.

- d hesitation. He is looked upon by many of the *Moslems* as one of the six authors of the authentic traditions. His true name, according to the common opinion, was *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Sakbar*; and his conversion to *Islamism* is said to have been effected in the seventh year of the *Hejra*. This year there was a great earthquake in *Mesopotamia*, which did considerable damage to the church of the *Christians* at *Edeffa*; but it has not been observed either by the *Christian* or *Moslem* historians, that the edifices in other parts of that country suffered in the least by any of its concussions <sup>5</sup>.

THE 60th year of the *Hejra* was rendered remarkable by the death of *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, who died at *Damascus* about the beginning, or, as others will have it, the middle of the month of *Rajeb*. His last public speech, which he made when he found himself in a declining condition, was to the following effect. “I am like corn that is to be reaped, and

Moâwiyah dies.

- e “have governed you till we are weary of one another. I am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were superior to me. God desires to approach all who are desirous of approaching him. O God! I love to meet thee, do thou love to meet me!” When he perceived himself at the point of death, he ordered a captain of the guards, and another faithful servant, to impart from him the following advice to *Yezid*. “Consider the *Arabs* as the root and foundation of your empire; and therefore always treat their ambassadors with kindness and respect. The *Syrians* are your natural friends, and will defend you from the insults of your enemies; and therefore shew yourself a father to them: but never keep them long out of their own country; for they degenerate abroad. Oblige the people of *Irâk* to the utmost of your power, even tho' they should demand of you a new deputy every day: you had better abandon the dearest friend you have in the world, than have 100,000 swords drawn upon you. There are only three of the *Koreish* that will attempt to disturb your government; *Hossein*, *Ebn Amer*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. If the last of these appears in arms against you, oppose him; if he offers you peace, accept of it; and spare the blood of your people as much as possible.” In his *Khalifat*, *Moslemah Ebn Mokballed Al Ansâri* added a new tower to the temple, or mosque, erected by *Amru Ebn Al As* at *Al Fostât*, which afterwards went by his name. We must not forget to observe here, that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, as well as *Eutyckius*, asserts, that, in the

\* MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.

num. 495. ubi sup.

ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 296.

GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 45. THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

† THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 295. MS. Hunt.

num. 495. ubi sup. ‡ ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48. ISM. ABU'LFED.

ubi sup. § ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. et de vit. Moham. p. 153.



50th year of the *Hejra*, there happened so remarkable a solar eclipse, that the stars in the day-time very clearly appeared; which will farther evince the truth of the inference we have already drawn from that assertion <sup>b</sup>.

How long he  
reigned, and  
how old he was  
at his death.

MOAWIYAH reigned, if we compute from *Hasan's* resignation, nineteen years, three months, and five days, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. He presided over *Syria*, either as governor or *Khalif*, about forty years, viz. four, as lieutenant, in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; twelve in that of *Othmán*, who continued him in his former post through the whole course of his reign; five in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, during which term he supported himself by force; and nineteen after *Hasan's* renunciation, when he governed the *Moslem* empire without a competitor. *Abu'lfeđa* differs a little from *Al Tabari* in the length he assigns *Moawiyah's* reign. With regard to his age, authors are not perfectly agreed; some making him 70, others 73, others 75, others 78, others 80, and, lastly, others 85 years old, at the time of his death. Be that as it will, as soon as he was dead, *Dehák Ebn Kâis* went into the mosque, and ascended the pulpit with *Moawiyah's* winding-sheet in his hand; where, having made an encomium on the deceased, and satisfied the people of his death, he said the funeral service, or the prayers usual on such occasions, over him. *Yezid* was then at a town called *Hawarin*, in the territory of *Hems*, and did not arrive at *Damascus* till after his father had been interred; but, upon his arrival there, he went and prayed at his tomb. For what has been observed here, we are obliged to *Abu'lfeđa*; tho' *Yezid* himself said the funeral prayers over *Moawiyah*, at his interment, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>c</sup>.

Description of  
his person and  
character.

WITH regard to his person, *Moawiyah* was tall, according to *Al Tabari*, though this is contradicted by *Eutychius*, extremely fat, and of a fair complexion. His eyes projected out of his head; he had a loud voice, a large breast, and a long beard, which he tinged with *Al Henna* and *Al Catam*, after the example of his predecessors. As for his disposition, he was merciful, of an exceeding quick apprehension, courageous, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. His good-nature got the ascendant over his resentment, and the sweetness exceeded the ferocity of his temper. He was affable, easy of access, and of a winning behaviour; tho', by his disputing the *Khalifat* with *Ali* and *Hasan*, he had justly incurred the displeasure of the house of *Hâshem*. *Hasan* of *Basra*, a man of great authority with the *Sunnites*, objected four things to his conduct; every one of which, he said, merited destruction. 1. He took upon himself the *Khalifat* by force, without either consulting the people, the persons of distinction, or the surviving COMPANIONS. 2. He rendered the *Khalifat* hereditary in his family, and appointed *Yezid* his successor, tho' he was a person of a very bad character, a drunkard, a lover of music, and one that wore silk. 3. He owned *Ziyâd* for his brother, tho' in opposition to one of the express decisions of *Mohammed* and the *Korân*. 4. He treated with the utmost cruelty *Hejer*, a man of uncommon piety, and his companions. According to *Al Shâfe'i*, he put *Abu Rabiya* in chains, because he objected to the testimony of four of the COMPANIONS, viz. *Moawiyah*, *Amru*, *Al Mogheirah*, and *Ziyâd*. It has been remarked by *Al Tabari*, that, when he laughed, his upper lip was inverted; and that *Saturday* was the first, and *Friday* the last, day of his reign <sup>d</sup>.

Some farther  
account of him.

As the *Arabs* in general, and the *Khalif* in particular, at this time, were much delighted with poetical performances, a young man once repeated to *Moawiyah* a copy of verses, wherein he gave a full and explicit account of his present miserable situation. He had, it seems, married a fair *Arabian* girl purely for love; and, out of mere fondness, had spent all his substance upon her. The governor of *Cûfa* casting his eyes upon her, and perceiving her to be a charming creature, had ravished her from her husband's bosom. The poor man, to whom the loss of his substance was nothing in respect to that of his wife, being pierced to the very heart, and ready to die with sorrow for this misfortune, addressed the *Khalif* in verse, in these calamitous circumstances. *Moawiyah*, being very well pleased with the verses, resolved to do him justice; and therefore sent an express to the governor, with orders instantly to resign the woman. He being a person of not the most unrefined taste, told the express, that, if the *Khalif* would permit him to enjoy her one year, he would be contented to have his head struck off at the end of it. But the *Khalif* having absolutely insisted upon her dismissal, she was brought before him. He was extremely surprized at her beauty, but much more at the politeness and elegance of her expression. Tho' he had received many embassies, and frequently conversed with the greatest men of his country, he had never before heard such a torrent of eloquence as that which flowed from the mouth of this charming *Arabian*. The *Khalif* asked her jocosely, whether she would chuse him, the governor, or her husband, for a constant companion? She, with a modesty peculiar to

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 50. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. num. 495. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 195. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360, 361. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 296.

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. EUTYCH. & THEOPHAN. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. EUTYCH. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL SHAFEI, &c.



- a her sex; answered in verse, that tho' a person in his exalted station could do infinitely more for her than either she expected or deserved, yet that this would by no means be a balance against eternal damnation. She begged of him; therefore, if he intended her any favour, to restore her to her dear husband. Which he not only did, but presented her likewise with a splendid equipage, as well as plenty of gold, in order to restore the shattered circumstances of her husband, who had spent a good fortune upon her. This story perfectly agrees with what we find related of this *Khalif* by other authors, and with the character given of him even by *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian. For we are told by an oriental author, already cited in this work, that an *Arab* robber having been condemned to have one of his hands cut off, in conformity to what is enjoined by the *Korân* in cases of this nature, the
- b criminal immediately composed and repeated four elegant and ingenious *Arab* verses upon the spot; which so mollified the *Khalif*, that he instantly pardoned him. However, it has been remarked, that this was the first sentence pronounced amongst the *Moslems* that was not put in execution; none of his predecessors having taken the liberty of shewing favour to those whom the ordinary judges had condemned. And with regard to *Khondemir*, we are informed by that historian, that *Moâwiyah* used to say, "The *Hâshemites* are famous for their valour, and the descendents of *Zobeir* for their generosity; but I only desire to pass amongst the *Moslems* for a prince of clemency and humanity." But how laudable soever this might seem, if we will believe *Ali*, it was not spoken by *Moâwiyah* absolutely without artifice and design <sup>c</sup>.
- c His munificence was equal to his clemency; if we will believe the *Moslem* authors. He <sup>His munificence.</sup> made a present to *Ayesha* of a bracelet worth 100,000 *dinârs*. He presented *Hasan* at one time with 300,000 *dinârs*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* with 100,000. He frequently bad those who came to pay their duty to him to take away any thing in his palace that pleased them. He gave 100,000 *dinârs* at once to *Hosein*, 100,000 to *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, 100,000 to *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, and 4,000,000 at another time to *Hasan*. However, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that ambition, and an insatiable thirst after empire, almost wholly occupied his mind; as very clearly appeared from the tenor of his conduct, during the *Khalifat* both of *Ali* and *Hasan*, and even his own <sup>d</sup>.
- d THE following remarkable instance of his patience and clemency has been transmitted <sup>His patience and clemency.</sup> down to us by *Abu'lfeda*. *Arwab*, the daughter of *Hâreth*, the son of *Abd'almotalleb*, the son of *Hâshem*, a very old woman, and his aunt, of *Ali's* branch of the family, made him once a visit. As soon as *Moâwiyah* had saluted her, she began to reproach him in the following terms: "O nephew," said she, "you have been very injurious and ungrateful to your cousin, who was one of the COMPANIONS. You also called yourself by a name that was none of your own; and took possession of what you had no right to. Our family exceeded all men in sufferings for this religion, till God thought proper to take his prophet, in order to reward his labours, and advance him to a more exalted station. Then you insulted us, and we were amongst you like the children of *Israel* in the family of *Pharaoh*; tho' *Ali* bore the same relation to the prophet that *Aaron* did to *Moses*." *Amru* being
- e then present, said, "Hold your tongue, old woman, and don't talk like one out of his wits." What," replied she, "do you prate; you son of a whore! Your mother was known to be the cheapest and most notorious strumpet in all *Mecca*; who, when she was examined about her commerce with five of the *Koreish*, confessed that she had lain with them all, and declared, that he must be deemed your father whom you resembled most. As, therefore, you were most like old *Al As*, he was obliged to acknowledge himself your father." This unparalleled scurrility, however, did not ruffle nor discompose *Moâwiyah*, who only said to her, "God forgive what is past; what would you have?" She answered, "Two thousand *dinârs*, to purchase an estate for the poor of our family; two thousand more, to marry our poor relations; and two thousand more for myself, to sup-
- f port me in time of extremity." All which, by the *Khalif's* command, was paid down to her immediately. Several other instances of this kind might be produced, had we room here to insert what has been related of *Moâwiyah* by the oriental authors, especially those of the *Sonnite*, or *Traditionist*, persuasion <sup>e</sup>.

To what has been said of this *Khalif*, we must beg leave to add, that he was the first who <sup>Some customs that he introduced.</sup> introduced the *Mekfowrah* into the mosque. The *Mekfowrah* was a sort of elevated place, separated from all the rest, where the *Khalif*, who was the supreme pontiff in religious as well as the sovereign in civil affairs, read, or chanted, the prayers that form the liturgy or public office of the *Moslems*. From the same place he also made the *Cotbah*, which is a sort of homily or predication, to the people. This, before his time, followed the prayers;

<sup>e</sup> MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. Aut. RABÍ AL AKYAR, apud D'Herbel. Bibl. orient in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. v. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 140. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 85, 86.

<sup>f</sup> MS. Hunt. num. 495. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



but he began with it, for the reason already assigned. He also introduced the practice of a laying post-horses upon the roads, and was the first of the *Khalifs*, who spoke to the people in a sitting posture. According to *Theophanes*, *Moâwiyah* reigned four-and-twenty years; from whence we may infer, that he makes his *Khalifat* to have commenced at the death of *Othmân*. It has been already observed, that *Dionysius Telmarenfis* calls *Ali Abbâs*, and relates, that *Moâwiyah* reigned alone, or after the death of *Abbâs*, or *Ali*, only sixteen years; tho' *Ebn Erraheb* and *Abu'l Walid*, in agreement with the other eastern writers, affirm, that he sat on the *Moslem* throne, without any colleague, except his son, or competitor, nineteen years and three months, and died in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 679. As *Dionysius* wrote in *Syria*, and the *Syrians* adhered to *Moâwiyah*, 'tis no wonder that he, in common with his countrymen, should have had the memory of *Ali* and his sons in such b abhorrence, as to leave their names out of the list or series of *Khalifs*. It may be farther observed, that he called *Ali Abbâs*, because the latter was the name applied to that *Khalif's* whole family by the *Syrians*; as also because *Ali* had a son, destroyed by *Yezid*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'l Walid*, who went under that appellation <sup>a</sup>.

*Where buried.* MOAWIYAH was interred at *Damascus*, which he made the residence of the *Khalifs*; and this prerogative that city enjoyed, as long as his descendents, or the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, kept possession of the *Moslem* throne. But those of the family of *Abbâs* transferred the imperial seat to *Anbâr*, *Hafsemiyah*, and *Baghdâd*, as will be seen in the sequel of this history. The inscription upon *Moâwiyah's* seal was, *Every work hath its reward*; or, as others say, *There is no strength but in God*. His secretary was *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*; his c principal *Kâdi*, or judge, *Fadala Ebn Abd'allah*, of *Medina*; his chamberlain *Yezid* his servant, and afterwards his servant *Safwân*; the captain of his guards *Yezid Ebn Al Horra Al Abasi*, *Kas Ebn Hamzah*, and *Dahak Ebn Kais Al Fahri*. *Eutychius* makes *Riyah*, one of his servants, to have been his chamberlain. For the story of *Obeid Ebn Scriba*, the *Nestor* of the *Arabs*, who is said by the *Moslems* to have arrived at the age of 300 years, and lived in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Al Makin*, or rather *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. in art. *Moawiah*. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 194. DIONYS. TELMARENS. EBN ARRAHEB, & ABU'L WALID, apud Joseph. Simon. Assen. in Biblioth. orient. tom. ii. p. 103, 104. ut & ipse JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, &C. <sup>i</sup> ABU JAFAAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48, 49. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360, 361. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. pass.

## S E C T. VII.

Yezid proclaimed Khalif.

YEZID, according to *Abu Jaafar*, was proclaimed *Khalif*, in consequence of his nomination to the succession, the same day his father died. His inauguration was performed on the new moon of the month of *Rajeb*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, coincident with the 7th day of *April* in the year of our LORD 680. He was born in the 26th year of the former æra, and consequently thirty-four lunar years old, when he ascended the *Moslem* throne. Immediately after his inauguration, he wrote to *Al Walid Ebn Otba Ebn Abu Sofiân*, his governor of *Medina*, to seize *Hosein Ebn Ali*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, if they refused to acknowledge his right to the *Khalifat*. The letter was conceived in the following terms: "In the name of the most merciful God. From *Yezid*, emperor of the faithful, to *Al Walid Ebn Otba*. *Moâwiyah* was one of the servants of God, who honoured him, made him *Khalif*, extended his dominions, and established him. He lived his appointed time, e and God took him to his mercy. He lived beloved, and died pure and innocent. Farewell. Take care not to suffer *Hosein*, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, to deviate in the least from the inauguration." Upon the arrival of this letter, *Al Walid* consulted *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* about the contents of it, which he immediately communicated to him. *Merwân* advised him to tender the persons therein mentioned the oath of fidelity to *Yezid*, before they were apprized of the *Khalif's* death; and, upon their refusal to take it, to order their heads to be cut off. *Al Walid*, therefore, according to *Abu'lfeda*, sent for *Hosein* to his house, informed him of *Moâwiyah's* death, and invited him to recognize the authority of the new *Khalif*. *Hosein* answered, that men of his distinction did not usually do things of that nature in private; that he did not expect to have had such a thing f proposed to him; and that he thought such a declaration as was required of him ought to be made in the most public manner. *Merwân*, who was present, plainly saw that the answer was evasive; nor was the governor ignorant of this; and therefore gave it as his opinion, that *Al Walid* either ought to oblige *Hosein* to be explicit on this occasion, or to strike his head off upon the spot. This *Al Walid* refusing to do, *Hosein*, after he had reproached *Merwân* for his advice, by the assistance of some friends and domestics he had posted at the governor's door, escaped to his own house. *Merwân* then censuring *Al Walid* for



- a for permitting *Hosein* to retire, the governor told him, that he was very easy in his present situation; and that he thought it would be a very criminal action to spill the blood of *Hosein*. After this, *Al Walid* sent for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, in order to make the same proposal to him that he had before done to *Hosein*. But *Abd'allah* deferred, under various pretences, waiting upon him for the space of twenty-four hours; at the end of which, with his family, and his brother *Jaafar*, he made his escape to *Mecca*. *Al Walid* sent a party of horse in pursuit of him, but without effect. In the mean time, *Hosein*, by the advice of his brother *Mohammed Hanifyah*, made secret preparations to follow him, with his family; which he at last found means to do. However, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Persia*, and, in fine, all the *Moslem* dominions, except the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Irâk*, declared in
- b favour of *Yezid*. Notwithstanding which, the people of *Cûfa*, receiving advice of *Hosein* and *Abd'allah*'s escape to *Mecca*, invited the former to *Cûfa*, and promised to support him in any war he should undertake against *Yezid*. He, therefore, dispatched to them his cousin *Moslem Ebn Okail*, to whom, as *Hosein*'s representative, they took the oath of allegiance. *Yezid*'s mother, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was *Kaisun Bint Bahdal*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, *Misua Bint Yabdak*, of the tribe of *Calb* <sup>k</sup>.

- THE new *Khalif* being informed by *Merwân* of *Al Walid*'s indolent, not to say treacherous, conduct, dismissed him from the government of *Medina*, and substituted *Amru Ebn Saad*, then commandant of *Mecca*, in his room. *Amru*, who was a very proud man, soon after he had taken possession of his post, detached *Amer Ebn Zobeir* with a body of troops
- c against his brother *Abd'allah*, whom he mortally hated. *Abd'allah* engaged *Amer* in the field, routed him, and put him in prison, where he kept him confined till his death. This victory procured *Abd'allah* no small respect from the people of *Medina*, who seemed now greatly prejudiced in his favour. However, *Hosein*'s superior interest amongst them rendered him incapable of aspiring, by their assistance, to the *Khalifat* himself. Besides, *Hosein* was supported by the forces of *Irâk*, who still retained a vast veneration for the memory of his father *Ali*, and considered the government of *Moâwiyah* as a downright usurpation. The citizens of *Cûfa* had actually declared for him, as has been already observed; and were at this very juncture pressing him to honour them with his presence. *Moslem* had, with great difficulty, traversed part of the deserts of *Irâk*, in order to come at them; but,
- d upon his arrival at their city, the reception they gave him made him ample amends for the hardships he had sustained. They not only came to a resolution to spend all their blood and treasure in support of *Hosein*'s just pretensions, but determined likewise to enter immediately upon action with an army of 18,000 men. And what crowned all was, that the affairs concerted between them and *Moslem* were carried on with so much secrecy, that *Al Nooman*, *Yezid*'s lieutenant, himself was a stranger to their deliberations. In the mean time, *Hosein* receiving advice of the happy situation of his affairs at *Cûfa*, made the proper dispositions for his departure from *Mecca*, in order to set out upon his journey for the former city <sup>l</sup>.

- AL NOOMAN being informed at last of the steps that had been taken in favour of *Hosein*, and roused out of his lethargy, made a speech to the people; wherein he exhorted them to avoid all occasion of strife and contention. He told them, that he would take up no man upon suspicion, however strong circumstances might appear against him, nor be the aggressor in any shape whatsoever, unless he should be forced to act contrary to his inclination by some gross insult offered to his person. But he swore by that God besides whom there is no other, that, if they revolted from their *Imâm*, he would fight as long as he could hold his sword in his hand. Upon which, one of those that stood by told him, that the present conjuncture did not so much require words as action; and that he talked like one of the weak ones. To which he replied, that "he would rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to God, than one of the strong ones in rebelling against him." This inactive
- f conduct not pleasing *Yezid*, he removed *Al Nooman* from his post, and annexed the government of *Cûfa* to that of *Basra*, in favour of *Obeid'allah*, the son of *Ziyâd*, to whom *Yezid* had been reconciled by the interposition of *Sarkhun Ebn Moâwiyah*; he having before conceived a dislike to him, on account of his father *Ziyâd*, who had refused to concur with those who had nominated him to the succession in his father's life-time. *Al Nooman*, or *Al Nooman*, as he is called by *Abu Jaafar*, was the son of *Basbar*, a citizen of *Medina*, and a man of too indolent a temper to sustain the weighty office of commandant of *Cûfa* at this juncture, when most of the citizens in reality were disaffected to *Yezid*; and therefore this was a sufficient reason for removing him from that post. But as he belonged to a city that bore an implacable hatred to the house of *Ommiyah*, it is not improbable that the *Khalif*

<sup>k</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 50. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360—363. GREG. ABU'LFAR. in hist. dynast. p. 195. <sup>l</sup> MS. Hunt. ABU'LFED. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup.



might have had some cause to suspect his integrity; which if we admit, this must have been an additional reason for his dismissal. Be that as it will, the new *Khalif*, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, upon his first accession to the throne, kept all his father's officers and lieutenants in the places that had been assigned them; and had nothing more at heart than an attempt to win over those who had always opposed his interest by gentle means. In consequence of which disposition, he resolved, if the conduct of the house of *Hâshem* did not oblige him to deviate from the plan he had laid down, to have recourse only, for the reuniting the divided members of the *Arab* nation, to methods of lenity and persuasion<sup>m</sup>.

Moslem and  
Hani exe-  
cuted.

OBEID'ALLAH was received by the people of *Cûfa*, at his first appearance amongst them, with all possible demonstrations of joy; which was owing to a black turban he had upon his head, resembling that which *Hosein* usually wore. As he, therefore, entered the town in the evening, they mistook him for *Hosein*, of whose arrival they were in hourly expectation. But they were extremely mortified, when they discovered this stranger to be the *Emir Obeid'allah*; who went immediately to the apartments fitted up for him in the castle, attended only by an escorte of seventeen horse. The first object of his deliberations was the extinction of the present sedition, but too visible to him, that had been excited in the city by *Moslem*. In order to which, he commanded a trusty servant to disguise himself, and to personate a stranger come out of *Syria* to see the inauguration of *Hosein*; that he might gain admission into *Moslem's* house, by his address insinuate himself into that officer's confidence, and by this means penetrate all his councils. Which having done, he made a faithful report of what he had learned to his master. In the mean time, *Moslem* lodged at one *Sbarik's* house, to which he had removed from *Hani's*, where he had taken up his quarters at his first coming to town. *Obeid'allah* having been let into all the secrets of the adverse party by his servant, sent a messenger to *Sbarik*, who was one of the grand *Omera's*, to inform him, that he intended him a visit on a certain day, which he named. *Sbarik*, being apprized of this, though he was then sick, immediately came to a resolution to receive him, and to place *Moslem* in a corner of the room, that he might destroy him, upon a signal given. The visit was accordingly made, and *Moslem* had a proper place assigned him, for the purpose above-mentioned; but his heart failing him, *Obeid'allah* escaped, and *Sbarik* died three days after. As for *Hani*, in whose house *Moslem* at first had lodged, and who attended the new governor in the aforesaid visit, upon searching the registers, he was found to be an old offender, and one that had before opposed *Obeid'allah*; wherefore he was conducted by some of the *Omera's*, at the governor's command, to the castle. Upon his arrival there, *Obeid'allah* asked him where *Moslem* was, and how he came formerly to admit him into his house? *Hani*, after he had in vain endeavoured to deny the fact laid to his charge, answered, that *Moslem* forced himself into his house, and did not come thither by his invitation. *Obeid'allah* then commanded this prevaricator to produce him; who instantly replied, that if he was under his feet, he would not take them off from him. This so exasperated *Obeid'allah*, that he gave him a blow on the face with his mace, which broke his nose; upon which, *Hani* attempted to snatch a sword from one of the guards, but was prevented, and the governor ordered him to be closely confined in a room of the castle that had been prepared for his reception. The news of this event soon reached the ears of *Moslem*, who thereupon mounted his horse, assembled a body of 4000 men, and immediately invested the castle. This at first surprized *Obeid'allah*, though he soon recovered himself, and made a speech to the people; wherein he used a great variety of arguments to dissuade them from withdrawing their allegiance from the *Khalif*. This produced the desired effect; insomuch that all *Moslem's* followers, except about thirty, gradually deserted him. He, therefore, found himself obliged to leave the city; which, by the favour of the night, he did, and made his escape to a little cottage, belonging to an old woman, in a field at a little distance from *Cûfa*. However, her son, in hopes of meeting with the reward promised by the governor to the person who should give any intelligence of him, discovered to *Obeid'allah* the place of his retreat; who thereupon sent a detachment of eighty horse to seize him. *Moslem* for some time made a gallant defence, and thrice cleared the house of them; but being at last overpowered by numbers, and grievously wounded in several places, both his lips particularly being almost cut to pieces, he was seized, disarmed, and carried bound upon his own mule to *Cûfa*. One of the governor's men perceiving him to shed tears, told him, that it did not become a man embarked in so great an undertaking to weep. *Moslem* replied, that he wept not for himself, but for *Hosein* and his family, who were then, as he apprehended, on the road to *Cûfa*. After which, turning to *Mohammed Ebn Al Asbat*, he desired him to acquaint *Hosein* with his bad success, and intreat him, if upon his journey, to return to *Mecca*. This *Mohammed* not only promised to do, but likewise actually sent an express to *Hosein*, to hinder him from advancing to *Cûfa*; though

<sup>m</sup> MS. Hunt. & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 50, 51.



- a the person employed on this occasion never came near him. When *Moslem* arrived at the castle, he asked for a draught of water; but one of the men there told him, he should have nothing to quench his thirst, till he drank the *Hamim*, or boiling liquor that the *Mohammedans* pretend the damned shall drink in hell. When *Obeid'allah* appeared, *Moslem* refused to salute him; saying, he should serve *Yezid* himself in the same manner, if he were present, unless he would promise him a pardon. The governor then upbraided him with coming to *Cûfa*, in order to sow the seeds of dissension amongst a people who were perfectly well satisfied with the present administration. *Moslem* resolutely answered, "That is absolutely false. The people of this province know very well, that your father *Ziyâd* inhumanly butchered their principal men, and exercised a tyranny over them more intolerable than
- b "that of the worst of the *Khosrû's*, or the *Cæsars*: whereas our intention is to govern them with justice and moderation, and appeal to the determination of the book." *Obeid'allah* then called him rogue, and reproached him with drinking of wine at *Medina*; which he denied in the strongest terms. Perceiving that he was to fall a sacrifice to the governor's resentment, he left one of his friends 700 *dinârs*, to take care of his body, and to hinder *Hosein* from approaching *Cûfa*. After which, he was beheaded on the top of the castle, as *Hani* was in the street. Both of their heads were sent for a present to *Yezid*, together with a letter containing an account of their crime, and the circumstances attending their execution; which happened on the 8th day of the month of *Dbu'lhajja*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*. With regard to the collection of registers, or *book of records*, as it is called in
- c Scripture, abovementioned, we must beg leave to observe, that the antient *Persians*, to whom the province of *Irâk*, in which *Cûfa* is situated, appertained, preserved the memory of the principal events of their state every year, and even every day, in a sort of annals and journals, which formed that collection, and were recited in order of time as they happened, as may be inferred from sacred and profane authors. In these annals and journals the names of the benefactors to the public, as well as of malefactors, were inserted, both amongst the *Persians* and the *Medes*. This most clearly appears from *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Josephus*, as well as from several passages of Scripture. It is no wonder, therefore, that the same custom should prevail in the time of *Yezid* amongst some of the descendents of those antient nations. The detachment sent by *Obeid'allah* to seize *Moslem* at the old woman's
- d cottage, and conduct him to *Cûfa*, consisted of 1000 horse, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by an *Arab* author here referred to, according to *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>n</sup>.

THE favourable advices he had received from *Moslem*, together with the earnest and *Hosein* <sup>sets</sup> repeated solicitations of the *Cûfans*, who had sent him a list of 140,000 men that were ready <sup>out for</sup> *Cûfa*, to obey his orders, induced *Hosein* to think of setting out directly for *Cûfa*. The wisest of his friends, however, considered this as a desperate enterprize, and therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from it. *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, in particular, told him, that as the *Emir Obeid'allah's* forces had the proper posts assigned them for the defence of the country, and as the *Cûfans* at best only had invited him to a war, in which they would probably desert him, he ought by no means to embark in so perilous an undertaking. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* also

e endeavoured to prevail upon him to lay aside his design, though in a more faint and languid manner; he being in reality rather desirous of precipitating him into dangers, than of delivering him from them; since, in case of *Hosein's* death, he thought he might, with the greater ease, aspire to the *Khalifat* himself. But *Hosein* still persisting in his former resolution, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, who had a most sincere and cordial respect for him, represented to him, that if he was fixed in his intention of entering into a war against *Yezid*, he ought to stay till his friends at *Cûfa* had dispatched the new governor imposed upon them by the pretended *Khalif*, and then either join them, or retire to some place of strength in *Hejâz*; that, in the mean time, he should write circular letters to his friends, desiring them to assemble their forces with all possible expedition, and not suffer any part of the scheme he

f had formed to transpire: and that at least, if nothing could divert him from appearing immediately at the head of the *Cûfans*, he ought not to entertain any thoughts of taking his wives and children along with him, lest he should meet with the fate of *Othmân*, who was murdered in his family's sight. Besides, added he, your departure from *Mecca* at this juncture, especially if you leave him behind you, will give infinite pleasure to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who wishes for your death, in order to dispute himself the *Khalifat* with *Yezid*. But *Hosein* still proving inflexible, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* left him, and told *Ebn Zobeir*, whom he met soon after, that he had no reason to be sad, since *Hosein*, hurried by his destiny, was obstinately bent upon his own destruction. Nay, though the same *Ebn Abbâs* sat up with him afterwards a whole night, in order to prevail upon him to remain at *Mecca* a little

g longer, and at least till his troops were ready to enter upon action, he could make no impression upon him. *Hosein*, therefore, with his family, and some other attendants, set

<sup>n</sup> MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EZR. vi. 1. ESTH. vi. 1. x. 2. HERODOT. lib. viii. c. 85. THUCYDID. lib. i. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xi. c. 6. GRÆG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 195.



out from *Mecca* either on the 8th of *Dbu'lbajja*, the very day on which *Moslem* and *Hani* were executed at *Cúfa*, of which *Hosein* had not yet received advice, or the day before, as we learn from an anonymous oriental historian °.

Obeid'allah

sends a body of  
troops against  
him.

THE Emir Obeid'allah, being apprized of *Hosein's* approach, detached *Harro Ebn Yezid*, of the tribe of *Temimab*, with 1000 horse, to meet him on the road, and conduct him, with all the people attending him, to *Cúfa*. *Harro*, who was far from being an enemy to *Hosein*, advanced at the head of his troops to *Asheraf*; and, when *Hosein* came up, imparted to him the orders he had received. *Hosein* at first attempted to engage *Harro* directly in his interest; but finding this impracticable, he said, he would die rather than suffer those orders to be put in execution; and commanded his men instantly to continue their march. But this *Harro* opposed; which provoked *Hosein* to curse him in the following terms, pretty frequently used amongst the *Arabs*, *May your mother be childless of you!* This not a little exasperated *Harro*; who, nevertheless, only replied, "If any other person had treated me as you have done, I should not have failed recriminating; but there is no room to speak of your mother without the highest respect." Then ordering his men to retreat, he told *Hosein*, that he was not commanded to fight him, but only to conduct him to *Cúfa*; adding, that if he thought fit either to go to *Medina*, or take any other road that did not lead directly to *Cúfa*, he should meet with no opposition from him. Nay, he ventured farther to assure him, that if he could assemble a body of troops sufficient to enable him to fall upon Obeid'allah's forces, and not suffer himself to be attacked first by that commander, he would, in his opinion, be in a fair way of carrying his point. After which, *Hosein* moved towards *Kadesia*, famous for the bloody battle fought there between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*, and was accosted at *Adib* by a small party of four horse; whose guide *Thirmab* informed him, that the noblesse of *Cúfa* were resolved to oppose him; and that though the rest of the *Cúfans* were his friends, to-morrow their swords would all be drawn against him. He also assured him, that his messenger *Kais*, who had been sent before to dispose the *Cúfans* to give him a good reception, had been thrown down headlong from the top of the castle, for cursing Obeid'allah, and his father *Ziyád*, when he was commanded by the former to curse *Ali* and *Hosein*. This news greatly affected *Hosein*; upon which, *Thirmab* offered to conduct him to mount *Aja*, a place impregnable by its situation, in the province of *Najd*, and even to attempt assembling a body of ten thousand men, of the tribe of *Tay*, to support him. But *Hosein* still persisting in his resolution of advancing towards *Kadesia* and *Nineveh*, *Thirmab* took his leave of him, and, with the four horse he was conducting, continued his rout. The next day *Hosein*, with *Harro*, who still attended him, arrived at *Nineveh*, a town distant from the ancient city going under the same name, which stood on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*. Here *Harro* met with an express, who brought him an order from Obeid'allah to prevent *Hosein* from possessing himself of any fortified town, or place of strength, before the arrival of his forces. This order came to hand on Friday the second day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the 61st year of the *Hejra*; and the next day *Amer Ebn Saad*, having received advice of *Hosein's* approach, appeared with a body of 4000 men, who had for some time pitched their tents without the walls of *Cúfa*. Those troops were upon the point of marching to *Deylam*; but as the partisans of the house of *Hâshem* began now to be in motion, Obeid'allah commanded *Amer* to lead them against *Hosein*. This, for some time, at the instigation of his nephew and others, *Amer* refused to do; but at last, being intimidated by Obeid'allah's menaces, he moved with all his forces to *Kerbela*, where *Hosein* was at that time posted. Here he was joined by *Harro* with 1000 horse; so that, after this junction, the *Moslem* troops destined to act against *Hosein* amounted to 5000 men. However, before the commencement of hostilities, several messages passed between *Amer* and *Hosein*; when the latter finding his affairs in a desperate situation, and that the *Cúfans* had deserted him, offered to return home, if Obeid'allah would permit him. Upon this, *Amer* wrote to the governor, and acquainted him with the overture made by *Hosein*; but received for answer, that no proposal from him would be listened to, till he had acknowledged *Yezid* to be the true and lawful emperor of the faithful. At the same time, Obeid'allah commanded *Amer Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakkás* to cut off all communication between *Hosein's* camp and the *Euphrates*, or rather those branches of it called by *Abu'l Faraj* the rivers of *Kerbela*; that by this means he might oblige him to surrender to the *Khalif's* forces, without any effusion of *Moslem* blood. In these calamitous circumstances, *Hosein* and *Amer*, at the request of the former, held a conference between the two armies; each of them being attended by an escorte of twenty horse. In this conference, *Hosein* desired to be permitted either to accommodate matters in person with *Yezid*, or to return into *Arabia*, or, lastly, to command some remote garison in *Khorasán*, where he might distinguish himself against the *Turks*. But Obeid'allah was dissuaded from accepting of any of these conditions by *Sha-*

° MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TAEARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 51. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 195.



a *mer Ebn Dhu'ljeysuf*, who scrupled not to accuse *Amer* of carrying on a clandestine negotiation with *Hosein*; though the governor at first discovered no repugnancy to an accommodation. According to a tradition, mentioned by Mr. Ockley, though he names not the author of it, *Hosein* begged he might either have leave to return to the place from whence he came, or be permitted to sound the people of *Irâk*, in order to discover whether they had really any intention of declaring for him. Be that as it will, *Obeid'allah* would grant neither *Hosein*, nor the people attending him, any terms; offering them only this alternative, either to submit to the *Khalîf*, or leave the point in dispute to the decision of the sword<sup>p</sup>.

OBEID'ALLAH being at this time sufficiently apprized of the seditious disposition of the *Cîsans*, was resolved to bring matters to an éclaircissement, before *Hosein* advanced nearer *Kerbela*.  
 b to the gates of their city. He, therefore, sent *Shamer*, upon whom he could intirely depend, with a body of 5000 men, to reinforce the troops under *Amer*; whom he ordered once more to assure *Hosein*, that if he and his men would submit to *Yezid*, no violence should be offered them; but that if they refused such submission, they should all be put to the sword. He likewise ordered *Shamer* to strike off *Amer's* head, if he discovered any reluctance to an engagement with *Hosein*, and to take upon himself the command of all the forces. At the same time, the governor offered his protection to *Abbâs*, *Abd'allah*, *Jaafar*, and *Othmân*, four of *Ali's* sons; which they refused to accept; saying, that the security of God was better than that of the son of *Somyab*. By which appellation, they intended to stigmatize *Obeid'allah*; intimating thereby, that he was the son of one of *Somyab's* bastards, his father *Ziyâd* having been the fruit of an illicit commerce between that  
 c strumpet and *Abu Sofiân*. *Amer* having received *Obeid'allah's* orders by *Shamer*, together with a letter severely reprimanding him for not attacking *Hosein* sooner, drew up his army in order of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. This happening after evening-prayer, *Hosein*, who, with his brother *Abbâs*, was then in his tent, begged a truce till the following day; which was easily granted by *Amer*. In the mean time, *Hosein's* sister viewed with the utmost horror and consternation her brother's approaching fate. She was quite disconsolate, fainted away, and discovered all the symptoms of grief and despair; tho' *Hosein* did every thing in his power to comfort her. He endeavoured also to calm the minds of his men, who seemed then to be under the most dreadful apprehensions, by advising them to retire  
 d to their respective habitations. This, however, they could by no means be induced to do, most of them being determined not to survive him. But notwithstanding the ferment they were in, he did not omit making the proper dispositions for his defence. He ordered all the tents, of which his camp was composed, to be fastened to one another with ropes and cords, and to be fortified at one end with a trench; so that the whole, which was finished in the night, formed a sort of barricade. Into the trench he caused to be thrown a large quantity of wood, and other combustible materials, which his men set on fire, to prevent their being surrounded; so that they could be attacked only in front. They spent the night in prayers and supplications, whilst the horse of the enemy's guard were perpetually moving round them. The next morning, the troops on both sides made such movements,  
 e as are for the most part immediately previous to an engagement. *Hosein* drew up his small army, which, according to an *Arab* writer of good authority, consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot (tho' *Abu Jaafar* makes the whole number to have amounted to fifty horse and an hundred foot) in order of battle, and made as good a disposition of this considerable force, as the nature of the ground on which he incamped, and the short space of time, allowed him to do it in, would permit. *Amer*, as soon as the day appeared, having ranged his troops in battle-array, approached the barricade, in order to begin the attack; and found *Hosein*, who had before washed and perfumed himself, according to the *Arab* custom, wherein he was followed by his principal officers, prepared to receive him in a proper manner. Upon this motion of *Amer*, *Hosein* instantly mounted his horse, as did his son *Ali*,  
 f laid the *Korân* before him, and earnestly pressed the soldiers that attended him to a performance of their duty. This drew a fresh flood of tears from his sisters and daughters, who rent the air with their lamentations; upon which, he sent his son *Ali*, and his brother *Abbâs*, to pacify and appease them, declaring, that he would die in the field of battle, rather than renounce his right in so servile a manner as was required of him to any tyrant whatsoever. Which moving scene so affected *Harro*, that he expressed great sorrow for having intercepted *Hosein*, immediately joined him with thirty horse, and came to a determination to die with him. He also made a final effort to mollify *Amer*, but without effect; that general alleging, that the express orders he had received from *Obeid'allah* would not permit him to follow pacific measures. Upon which, *Harro* upbraided him, as well as the  
 g *Cîsans* in general, with having imposed upon *Hosein*, and with having deprived him and his

<sup>p</sup> MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 234. D'HÉREL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Houffuin*. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



men of the water of the *Euphrates*, of which *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Sabians*, were permitted<sup>a</sup> to drink, and in which even hogs and dogs were suffered to sport themselves. An accommodation, therefore, being impracticable, *Shamer Ebn Dhu'ljezowsh* began the attack, and showers of arrows were on both sides discharged. But before the action became general, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, having obtained leave of *Hosein* to fight them, killed *Tafer* and *Salem*, two of *Amer's* men, in single combat; and another of the enemy attempting to engage *Hosein*, his horse threw him, dragged him with his left foot in the stirrup, his right leg having been cut off by one of *Hosein's* men, and at last destroyed him, by dashing his head against some stones. Several other combats were fought, wherein *Hosein's* men, being animated by despair, were superior to their antagonists; which induced *Amer* to order his soldiers to desist from that kind of engagement. After this, *Amru Ebn Hejâj*, who commanded<sup>b</sup> the right wing, charged *Hosein's* troops with great fury, crying out aloud to the *Cûfans*, "Behave with bravery against those who separate from the religion, from the congregation, and from the *Imâm*." To whom *Hosein*, with great coolness replied, "You are the separatists; when your souls have taken their flight from your bodies, you will know which of us deserve hell-fire most." In this attack, *Moslem Ebn Aufâjab*, the first that fell on *Hosein's* side, was killed, after he had behaved with unparalleled bravery. Several other *Arab* officers likewise at this time lost their lives; though the *Cûfans*, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, were not able to make themselves masters of the person of *Hosein*. The little body of cavalry that surrounded him sustained the shock with incredible firmness and intrepidity, and at last forced the enemy to retire with considerable loss<sup>c</sup>.

*Hosein defeated and killed.*

THE right wing thus failing in its attempt upon *Hosein*, *Shamer*, who commanded the left, fell upon the *Arab* cavalry with such fury, that he had well nigh broke them, and even penetrated to *Hosein*. However, he was at last repulsed, and obliged to send to *Amer* for a reinforcement of 500 archers. Upon the arrival of these succours, the *Cûfans* under *Shamer* renewed the attack upon *Hosein's* camp, and so galled his cavalry, or rather their horses, with their arrows, that they were obliged to dismount, and fight on foot. Amongst the rest, *Harro* being forced to abandon his horse, by reason of a wound he had received, defended himself with his sword for a considerable time. *Shamer*, finding his efforts hitherto ineffectual, resolved to destroy the barricade; and therefore commanded his men to advance, and overthrow the tents that formed it. But they met with such a warm reception from the troops which defended them, that, after a vigorous action, they were again repulsed, left several of their men dead upon the spot, and were obliged to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. *Shamer* then attempted to set fire to *Hosein's* tent, but without effect; the *Arabs* driving his troops before them, and forcing them to abandon the camp they had attacked, with considerable loss. The battle now grew hot in all parts; notwithstanding which, *Hosein* performed his devotions with great fervency, saying the noon-prayers amongst the poor remains of his shatter'd troops, to which he added that of *Fear*, which is never used but in cases of the last extremity. The fight having already proved almost fatal to *Hosein*, notwithstanding the incredible valour of the *Arabs*, most of his men having been killed, and amongst the rest *Habib*, an officer of great merit and distinction; *Shamer* charged the small phalanx that supported him with such fury, that he broke it, put to the sword several of the soldiers that formed it, particularly one that had killed no less than ten of his men, as also *Ali*, the son of *Hosein*, who was first wounded with a lance, and afterwards cut to pieces, with unrelenting barbarity. Most of the rest were shot by the *Irâkian* archers; so that *Hosein*, his little son *Abd'allah*, and a nephew of his, that was likewise a child, were almost the only persons who survived the common destruction. The last of these had his hand cut off, and was killed, when he was upon the point of embracing his uncle *Hosein*; and *Abd'allah* was struck dead with an arrow, whilst he was in his father's lap. As for *Hosein* himself, he first received a wound in the head, which filled his helmet with blood, and was afterwards shot in the mouth with an arrow, whilst he was quenching his thirst. However, he continued still to defend himself like a man animated by despair; insomuch that none of the *Irâkians* durst, for a considerable time, attempt to give him the fatal stroke. Nay, his sister *Zeinab*, the daughter of *Fâtema*, turning to *Amer*, asked him whether he could have the heart to see *Hosein* slain? Upon which, the tears ran down his beard, and he turned his face away from her. But *Shamer*, who was of a more fierce and brutal disposition, cursed and upbraided his men for not approaching *Hosein*; whereupon one of them wounded him in the hand, another in the neck, and a third thrust him through with his spear. In fine, he received thirty-four contusions, and thirty-three wounds. After his death, his head was cut off, and the *Irâkians* rode over his dead body so often, that they trod it into the very ground. *Shamer*, not satisfied with his blood, intended to have butcher'd<sup>d</sup> likewise his youngest son *Ali*, afterwards called *Zein Alabedin*, or *Zein Alab'addin*, i. e. the

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. & in art. *Jizid*.



a ornament of the religious, who was then very sick, and young; but was diverted by one of his officers from putting in execution so cruel a design. All the riches and spoil taken from *Hosein* and his family, even the womens richest cloaths, were divided amongst the *Khalif's* troops; tho' the particular manner in which this was done has not been handed down to us by any of the *Moslem* authors. The night after the battle, *Hawla* carried *Hosein's* head to his own house; which so disgusted his wife, that she abandoned his bed, and could never afterwards be persuaded to cohabit with him. Nay, the woman that he took to supply her place that night, was terrified, as we are told by an *Arab* writer, by a supernatural light ascending from the spot on which *Hosein's* head was deposited towards heaven, and certain white birds that continually hovered over it. The next morning *Hawla* carried the head

b to *Obeid'allah*, who struck it over the mouth with his stick, and treated it with great contempt. This so offended *Zeid Ebn Arkom*, that he gave the governor opprobrious language, for discovering so savage a disposition; which had like to have cost him his head. Thus ended the battle of *Kerbela*, fought on the 10th day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the 61st year of the *Hejra*; which proved so fatal to the house of *Hâshem*; and so firmly established *Yezid* upon the *Moslem* throne. The *Arabs*, according to an eastern author, much esteemed by Mr. *Ockley*, had 72 men killed in the action, 17 of whom were descended from *Fâtema*; and the troops of *Irâk* 88, besides a considerable number wounded; tho' if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, not above thirty-eight of the *Khalif's* men fell on the field of battle. According to the same historian, *Obeid'allah* ordered the head of *Hosein* to

c be carried through the city, exposed to public view, fixed for some time, with forty others, upon one of the gates of *Cûfa*, and afterwards, with the women, and his son *Ali*, sent to *Yezid* at *Damascus*. *Hosein*, as some say, was about fifty-five or fifty-six, or, as others will have it, fifty-eight or fifty-nine, years old, at the time of his death. The principal officers slain on the side of the *Arabs*, in this unfortunate action, besides *Hosein*, were *Habib*, *Abd'allah Ebn Moslem Ebn Okail*, *Mohammed* and *Awn*, the sons of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Ali* the elder son of *Hosein*, *Harro Ebn Yezid*, and *Moslem Ebn Ausâjah*. Some authors relate, that *Hosein* was killed by *Senân Ebn Anas*, and others by *Shamer* himself. The *Arab* historians likewise differ in their opinion concerning the person who cut off *Hosein's* head; some of them ascribing this barbarous action to *Hawla Ebn Yezid*, and others to *Nafr Zeinab*, *Hosein's* daughter, went, after the battle, to the citadel, where *Obeid'allah* had a conference with her, in which he reflected, with great warmth and asperity of expression, upon the family of *Hosein*, which provoked *Zeinab* to reproach him for his cruelty in such severe terms, that he was near issuing an order for her execution. After examination, finding that *Hosein's* youngest son *Ali* was arrived at puberty, he also threatened to execute him before her face; but, being mollified by her tears, he was at last prevailed upon to spare both of them, notwithstanding the high provocation he pretended to have received. We must beg leave to inform our curious readers here, that *Kerbela*, or *Kerbala*, was the name of a district, or territory, in *Babylonian*, or *Chaldean*, *Irâk*, famous for the death and sepulchre of *Hosein*. This district, or territory, lies a little to the west of the city called *Kasr Ebn Hobeirah*, and

e at a small distance from *Cûfa*. The *Persians* still retain the name of *Kerbala* in their songs and elegies, made to commemorate the fatal death of *Hosein*; from whom the bulk of those sectaries, as has been already observed, derive the descent, or succession, of their *Imâms*.

f THE first time *Obeid'allah* went to the great mosque in *Cûfa*, after the defeat of *Hosein*, *Yezid's* behaviour to the memory of *Ali*, and highly reflecting upon his family. He praised God therein for discovering the truth, and those who were in possession it; as also for assisting *Yezid*, the emperor of the faithful, and his party; and, lastly, for destroying the liar *Hosein*, the son of the liar *Ali*, and his adherents. This so incensed the friends of the house of *Hâshem*, many of whom were then present, who rose up from their seats with great indignation, that they

g could scarce forbear shewing their resentment in the most public and violent manner. One of them in particular, who in two battles had lost his eyes, and continued for the most part in the mosque from morning till evening, performing his devotions, cried out, whilst the governor was in the midst of his harangue, O son of *Merjânah*! the liar, and the son of the liar, you, your father, and those from whom you derive your commission, kill the sons of the prophets, and yet pretend to speak the words of honest men. Upon which, *Obeid'allah* ordered him to be instantly seized; but he was soon rescued by those of his own party, about 700 of whom were at that time in town. However, he was killed not long after, and hung upon a gibbet, erected for that purpose at a small distance from *Cûfa*; which barbarity rendered *Obeid'allah* extremely odious to the inhabitants of that place. Nor was his bloody treatment of *Hosein* at all relished by the *Khalif*; who, upon the arrival of an express dispatched from

<sup>r</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 51, 52. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 196, 197. D'HERBEL. in Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. & in art. *Kerbela*. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 105, 211, &c.



*Cúfa*, to bring him advice of what had happened, and to congratulate him upon the success of his arms, is reported to have shed tears, and said, "God curse the son of *Somyab*," meaning *Obeid'allab*; "I should have been well pleased without the death of *Hosein*. Had he been with me, I should have pardoned him. God loved *Hosein*, but did not suffer him to arrive at the dignity to which he aspired." Before young *Ali*, and the women of *Hosein's* family, entered *Damascus*, *Yezid* consulted his courtiers about the disposal of them. One of these told the *Khalif*, that nothing could better support his interest than the extinction of the line of *Hosein*; to whom *Yezid*, not approving of what he proposed, made no manner of reply. Another of a milder disposition delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "O emperor of the faithful, treat them as would the apostle of God himself, were he to see them in this disconsolate condition." This moved his compassion; which was farther excited, when he saw the head of *Hosein*; insomuch that he could not forbear breaking out into this pathetic exclamation: "O *Hosein*, had it been in my power to have saved thee, thy life should not have been taken away!" When *Hosein's* wives and children were brought before him, and he saw the women appear in such mean and sordid attire, he cursed *Obeid'allab* again, calling him by way of contempt the son of *Somyab*, for suffering his troops to strip them of their most valuable effects in so shameful a manner. He afterwards entered into discourse with *Ali*, the son of *Hosein*, and his sisters *Fátima* and *Zeinab*, wherein some warmth and asperity of expression, not to say personal reflections, on both sides were used; tho', when the conversation was over, the *Khalif* ordered them to be conducted to the hot bath, and sent them cloaths suitable to their quality, as well as all sorts of refreshments, to comfort them after the fatigues they had sustained. He also treated the women with the utmost respect; *Moáwiyah's* widows keeping them company for the space of three days, at his command, and mourning with them for *Hosein*. He once asked *Amru*, *Hosein's* son, a child, whom he took with him, as well as his brother *Ali*, whenever he walked abroad, whether he would fight his son *Khâled*? *Amru* answered, "Give me one knife, and him another." Which an enemy of the house of *Hâshem* taking advantage of, said to *Yezid*, in order to incense him against the child, "One serpent naturally begets another." But this produced no alteration in the *Khalif's* conduct. He continued to treat with lenity, not to say tenderness, the distressed family of *Hosein*; and dismissed them with great politeness, after they had sufficiently refreshed themselves, and were upon the point of setting out for *Medina*, the place of their destination. He ordered his wives and children to take leave of them in a friendly manner; commanded *Nooman Ebn Basbar* to furnish them with a proper escorte, as well as a quantity of provisions sufficient to enable them to perform the journey they were to undertake; and once more assured them, in the most moving terms, that he would have saved *Hosein*, had it been in his power, even tho' this could not have been done without the loss of some of his own children; and that he would endeavour, by all possible means, to make the place of their residence agreeable to them. The commander of the escorte that attended them so won the hearts of *Fátima* and *Zeinab*, by his tenderness and indulgence, that they offered him all the jewels the plunderers had left them; which he modestly declined accepting, telling them, that, "had he been influenced by any worldly considerations, a less reward would have been sufficient; but that the kindness they had met with from him was shewn for them God's sake, and on account of their relation to the prophet." Upon their arrival at *Medina*, they were visited immediately by the whole family of *Hâshem*, who came to condole with them for the loss of their father, and their unhappy fate. We must not forget to inform our readers, that, according to *Khondemir*, *Ali*, surnamed *Zein Alabeddin*, or *Zein Alab'addin*, i. e. the ornament of the religious, as has been already observed, at this time conducted with the rest of the family to *Medina*, has all along been considered by the *Persians* as the fourth lawful *Imâm*.

Where *Hosein's* head and body were buried.

FROM the preceding account of *Yezid's* behaviour to the family of *Hosein*, extracted from some *Arab* writers of good authority, it appears highly improbable, that he should have insulted the head of that *Imâm*; and not, without great difficulty, have permitted it to be buried at *Damascus*, as we find asserted by *M. D'Herbelot*; in which article, as well as many others, he seems to have been misled by the *Persian* historians. The place in which the *Khalif* ordered it to be interred there was called *Bab al faradis*, the garden-gate; from whence it was removed first to *Ascalon*, or *Asbkelon*, in *Palestine*, and afterwards to *Cairo* or *Al Kabi-rab*, by the *Fátemite* *Khalifs* of *Egypt*. Some of those *Khalifs* erected a monument, or mosque, over it, which went under the name of *Mashhad Hosein*, the sepulchre of *Hosein* the martyr. These *Khalifs* were masters of *Syria* and *Egypt*, from before the year 400 till after the year 660 of the *Hejra*, and pretended that *Hosein's* head came not into *Egypt* till after the 500th year of that *era*. But that story has been rejected, says a reputable *Arab* author, by the *Imâms* of the learned. Those princes deduced their origin from *Fátima*, the

\* MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali Ben Hossain*, p. 96, 97. GREG. ABUL FAR. ubi sup. p. 197.



- a daughter of *Mohammed*, and consequently looked upon themselves as descended from *Ali*; for which reason they assumed the name, or rather the surname, of *Fâtemites*, as an appellation more immediately pointing out the nobility of their extraction. With regard to the body of *Hosein*, it was interred in the plain of *Kerbela*, where he was slain; and *Adado'd-dawla*, surnamed also *Abu Shaja'*, the second *Soltân* of the dynasty of the *Buiyans*, or *Deylamites*, raised a sumptuous monument upon the spot where it was inhumed, which is to this day visited with great devotion by the *Persians*. The *Soltân* called his magnificent edifice *Kunbud Faiz*, which, in the *Persian* language, signifies *the magnificent dome*; but at this time it goes among the *Arabs* under the denomination of *Mashhad Hosein*, *the sepulchre of Hosein the martyr*. The *Khalîf Al Motawakkel*, being an enemy to the house of *Ali*, forbade, under rigorous penalties, any of his subjects to perform the pilgrimage to *Hosein's* tomb. Nay, in order effectually to prevent this, he intirely razed the mosque built upon the spot, where had been deposited the remains of that *Imâm*; and not content with this, being resolved to efface all traces of it, he attempted to draw a canal of water over that place. But the water, say the *Shiites*, would never approach it, keeping its distance out of respect; from whence that water received the denomination of *Hair*, that is, *astonished and respectful*; a name which has since passed to the sepulchre itself, on account of this miracle. The *Shiites* call that sepulchre *Mashhad Mokaddes*, *Moali*, and *Mozzeki*, i. e. *the holy, sublime, and pure place*, or *sepulchre*; because *Hosein*, whom they regard as a martyr, suffered death there. Nor did this impious attempt of *Al Motawakkel*, according to some *Persian* traditions, go long unpunished; *Ali* soon after appearing to him in his sleep, and, after having reproached him with the outrages committed upon his descendants, gave him seven lashes with a whip that he had in his hand. The *Khalîf* telling his friends the next day what had happened, one of them assured him, that the whip *Ali* had in his hand was no other weapon than the famous sword *Dhu'l-Fakar*, which belonged at first to *Monba Ebn Hejab*, the *Sabanite*, and fell into the hands of *Mohammed* at the battle of *Bedr*, and, after the prophet's death, came into the possession of his son-in-law *Ali*; to which he likewise added, that this dream, or vision, portended some signal misfortune to him, by way of punishment, for the hatred he bore the family of that *Imâm*. Which prediction, or prognostication, continue the same traditions, was verified two days after, when *Al Motawakkel* was assassinated by some of his servants, that were *Turks*, at the instigation of his son *Al Montaser*, who, after his death, mounted the *Moslem* throne. We are told by an author extremely well acquainted with the oriental historians, that the sepulchre of *Hosein* stood not very far from that of his father *Ali*; tho', according to an *Arab* writer of considerable credit, one *Na'im* was angry with any one who would pretend to point out the place where the former of those *Imâms* lay interred<sup>1</sup>.

THE death of *Hosein* did not remain long unrevenged; several persons appearing in this *Hosein's death* and the following reigns, who demanded the blood of *Hosein*; that is, in the language of *afterwards* the *Moslems*, insisted upon vengeance being taken of the murderers of that *Imâm*. *Al Mokhtar*, one of the chiefs of that faction, in particular, boasted that he had destroyed near 50,000 of the enemies of the house of *Ali*, without reckoning those who were slain in the battles which he fought. The two titles generally given by the *Persians* to *Hosein* are *Shahid*, *the martyr*, and *Seid*, *the lord*. By the words *Al Seidân*, *the two lords*, without any addition, they always understand the two eldest sons of *Ali*, *Hasan* and *Hosein*. According to *Ebn Shohnah*, the latter of those *Imâms* made before God every twenty-four hours a thousand adorations, or prostrations; and, at the age of fifty-five years, had performed 25 pilgrimages to *Mecca* on foot; whereas one of them would have been sufficient to have procured salvation for a pious *Moslem*. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that there fell no less than three of his own sons, and seven of those of *Ali*, with *Hosein*, when he was killed in the battle fought on the plain of *Kerbela*<sup>2</sup>.

- f YEZDI, in a treatise concerning divine love, relates, that *Hosein* having one day asked his father *Ali* if he loved him, and received for answer, that he loved him tenderly; he then demanded of his father if he loved God? to which he also answered in the affirmative. Upon which, *Hosein* said to him, "Two loves can never meet in the same heart." At these words, *Ali* was so moved, that he could not forbear shedding tears; when *Hosein*, touched with the impression his words had made, in order to comfort his father, again asked him, "Whether he should consider the sin of infidelity, or his death, as the greater evil?" *Ali* replied, "I would rather deliver you up to death than abandon my faith."

<sup>1</sup> D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* in art. *Houffain*, p. 462. & in art. *Motawakkel*, p. 640, 641. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mahom. c. lxx. p. 153. AL JANNAB. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. viii. p. 355. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, in hist. Sarac. lib. ii. c. xi. p. 151, 152, 153. GREG ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 261, 262. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 221, 222, 223. See also SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary discourse. <sup>2</sup> D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* in art. *Houffain*, p. 463. EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 196.



“ By this mark then,” said *Hosein*, “ it is apparent that the love you have for me is only a natural tenderness; and that you bear towards God a true love.” Many other sayings, attributed to *Hosein*, have been preserved by the *Persians*, who hold his memory in the highest veneration, and consider him as the great progenitor of their *Imâms*. Hence it comes to pass, that the day of his death, the 10th of the month *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 61, is so celebrated amongst them, that they have all along, from that very year to this day, called it *Yaum Hosein*, *Rûz Hosein*, the day of *Hosein*. Nor can it be doubted, but the anniversary weeping and extravagant lamentation on this day, still kept up by the *Persians*, principally contribute to the subsistence of the aversion bore by that nation to the other *Moslems*, who entertain different sentiments of this great *Imâm*. The superstitious observance of this day, and the many ridiculous fictions framed by the *Shiites* concerning *Hosein*, have been sufficiently exposed by an *Arab* author, cited often in this work; to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we must beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers <sup>w</sup>.

The Moslems  
make them-  
selves masters  
of the kingdom  
of Khowarazm.

THE same year, *Yezid* appointed *Salem Ebn Ziyâd* to preside over *Sejstân* and *Khoraśân*, when he came ambassador to him. *Salem* was then but twenty-four years of age, tho' he was in all respects qualified for the honourable post assigned him. Soon after he had entered upon his government, he assembled a body of troops, in order to make an irruption into the *Turkish* territories. He took his wife along with him in this expedition, who was brought to bed of a son in the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, or the circumjacent villages and plains in the neighbourhood of that city. This child from the place of his nativity, was surnamed *Al Sogdi*, or the *Sogdian*. *Salem's* wife, at this juncture, borrowed some jewels of the prince of *Sogd's* lady, which she carried off with her, upon the return of the *Arabs* into their own dominions. In the mean time, *Salem* sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Mohalleb*, to *Khovarazm*, the principal city of the *Turks*, or *Tartars*, in those parts, which exacted an immense sum of the inhabitants, amounting to 50,000,000 pieces of money; part of which he reserved for his own use, and sent the rest to *Yezid*. Then he advanced to *Samarkand*, forced the citizens to pay him likewise a vast sum of money, and afterwards retired with little loss into the provinces he governed. The city of *Khovarazm*, in the time of the *Khalif Yezid*, was the capital of the kingdom of the same name, the *Chorasnia* of *Ptolemy* and *Herodotus*, and the same with that afterwards called *Kharizme*, *Korkang*, *Orkang*, and at present *Urgens*. It was situate in a western direction from the *Jihûn*, the *Oxus* of the antients; or, as the situation of *Urgens* has been more accurately determined by the modern geographers, in a great plain to the north of the river *Amû*, in lat. 39° 50', twenty-five German leagues from the eastern shores of the *Caspian* sea. The tract called *Sogd*, or the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, went under the name of *Sogdiana* in the days of *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and of *Sugdias* in those of *Dionysius Afer*. The natives were denominated *Sogdiani* and *Sogdii*, in the *Roman* times, as appears from *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*. The *Moslems*, under the conduct of *Mohalleb*, did not only acquire an immense quantity of plunder, in this expedition, but likewise made themselves masters of the kingdom of *Khovarazm* <sup>\*</sup>.

Abd'allah Ebn  
Zobeir pro-  
claimed Khalif  
at Medina.

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR, after the death of *Hosein*, finding himself at the head of the partisans of the house of *Hâshem*, who was greatly oppressed by *Yezid*, began to entertain thoughts in earnest of aspiring to the *Khalifat*. As he had, therefore, never recognized *Yezid's* authority, he now declared publicly against him, and deposed him in a formal manner at *Medina*; being supported by the inhabitants of that city, as well as those of *Mecca*; who, soon after the arrival of *Hosein's* family at *Medina*, proclaimed him *Khalif*. After his inauguration, in order to render himself more popular amongst them, he aggravated all the circumstances of *Hosein's* death to the last degree, and represented the *Cûfans*, who had first invited *Hosein* to their city, and afterwards deserted him, as the most faithless and perfidious villains upon earth, in his speeches to the people; which produced the desired effect. For, the citizens, who had always been well affected to *Hosein*, heard these discourses with delight; especially as *Abd'allah* took care in them, to give the highest character of that *Imâm*; to expatiate upon his heroical conduct, in preferring to an ignominious life an honourable death; to magnify his merits, and remind them of his supereminent sanctity; and, in fine, to exhibit to their view every thing that might excite in them

<sup>w</sup> YESIDI, in refalat si biyâni'l mehabbat. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 226—231. <sup>\*</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 120, 121, et alibi. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. xii. p. 160. edit. Bert. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. xciii. p. 200. Lond. 1679. STRAB. lib. xi. ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. iv. et lib. viii. c. 1. DIONYS. perieg. v. 746, 747. ATHEN. deipnosoph. lib. ii. sub. fin. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiii. c. 26. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 16. CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xxi. p. 832—835. Lipsiæ, 1706. An account of the present state of the NORTHERN ASIA, par. i. c. ii. p. 420, 438, 440. Lond. 1729. Vide etiam ISM. ABU'LFED. in tab. ULUGH BEIGH, in tab. &c.



- a a desire of revenging his death, and inspire them with an abhorrence of that government, which had been the cause it. They, therefore, flocked to him in such numbers, that he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. *Yezid*, being informed of his progress, swore he would have him in chains, and accordingly sent a silver collar for him to *Merwân*, then governor of *Medina*, with orders to put it about his neck, and send him to *Damascus*, if he did not immediately desist from his attempt. But *Abd'allah*, having secured the affections of the people, ridiculed both the *Khalîf* and his deputy, as well as the collar that had been prepared for him. As *Yezid* was a man of a very dissolute life, spending his time wholly in drinking wine, and with his dogs, and had not the least regard for religion, he was perfectly abhorred by the *Arabs*; and consequently the menaces he uttered against
- b *Abd'allah* did not in the least tend to the diminution of his authority. Besides, it was very well known in *Arabia*, that when his father *Moâwiyah* had reprimanded him for his abandoned course of life, and advised him to conform his actions more to the precepts of the *Korân*, he had slighted his wholesome reproofs, and treated with contempt his salutary admonitions; which made the *Arabs* to consider him as a wretch altogether incorrigible. About this time, *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, governor of *Mecca*, having been assured by *Abd'allah Ebn Amru* in *Egypt*, a person who had studied the prophet *Daniel*, and was celebrated amongst all the *Moslems* for his wisdom and knowledge of future events, whom he had consulted on this occasion, that, in his opinion, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* would live and die a king; this prejudiced farther in his favour the bulk of the *Arab* nation. Nay, *Amru Ebn Sa'id* himself, tho'
- c he secretly hated him, thought it policy, as affairs then stood, to keep up a good understanding with him. This induced some of *Yezid's* courtiers, who probably before were no friends to *Amru*, to suggest to the *Khalîf*, that, had the commandant of *Mecca* been heartily in his master's interest, he might have seized *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and sent him to *Damascus*. Upon which suggestion, *Yezid* dismissed *Amru* from his post, and substituted *Walid Ebn Otbah* in his room. These commotions happened in the 61st year of the *Hejra*, about the same time that *Salem Ebn Ziyâd* was employed in the expedition to *Samarkhand*, or at least a little before the commencement of that expedition. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Salem* first advanced to *Nisabor*, or *Naisabour*, the capital of *Khorasân*, which he reduced; and from thence penetrated to *Khowarazm*, which likewise surrendered to
- d him. The same author also relates, that he detached *Mohalleb Ebn Abu Saфра* with a body of troops against *Khatûn*, queen of *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, who had been joined by the king of *Sa'id* with an army of 120,000 men. *Mohalleb*, continues he, notwithstanding the prodigious inequality of numbers, defeated *Khatûn*, and the king of *Sa'id*, and dispersed their numerous forces. The king of *Sa'id*, on whom *Khatûn* had promised to bestow herself in marriage, was killed in the action, together with a considerable part of his troops; after which *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, a very famous and antient city of *Mawara'lnabr*, *Transoxiâna*, or, as it is now called, *Great Bukhâria*, submitted to the victors, and was, with the territory belonging to it, annexed to the *Moslem* empire. The city of *Bukhâra*, the capital of *Great Bukharia*, or rather of the province of *Bukharia*, properly so called, and situated in
- e lat. 39° 30', is at present the residence of the *Khân* of *Great Bukhâria*, of a vast extent, and fortified with a strong rampart fenced with earth. It stands about seven days journey to the south of *Samarkand*, upon a little river, that is said to fall into the *Jihûn*, the *Amu*, or the *Oxus*, about the 92° of longitude. This river is called by the *Arabs* *Sogd*, or *Al Soghd*, and, as some writers assert, has its source in the cold and mountainous part of *Fargana*. Its water is said to be very bad, and to breed worms in the legs of those who drink it. One of the three parts of *Bukhâra* is formed by the *Khân's* castle, and the buildings depending upon it; another by the places destined for the *Mursas*, or officers of the court, and others belonging to the retinue of the *Khân*; and the third, which is larger than the others, for the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. The mosques, baths, and such-like public edifices, are built of brick, and of a fine structure; but the other buildings consist only
- f of earth. The situation of this place is very convenient for trade, especially that between *Grand Tartary*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*; and the inhabitants actually supply the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Persia*, with all sorts of dried fruits of a most exquisite flavour. It has produced a very considerable number of learned men, and some of the brightest genius's of the east; amongst whom we may reckon the famous *Ebn Sina*, or *Avicenna*, so well known by his writings even in our part of the world. Some authors place it above a day's journey from the *Oxus*. It was surrounded with delicious gardens, stately towers, magnificent palaces, or rather splendid country seats, pleasant villages, and fine verdant fields; all which were environed by a wall of twelve parasangs in extent, in the days of *Abu'lfeda*. We are told by *Tâkût*, that the *Arabs* passed the *Jihûn*, the *Amu*, or the *Oxus*, overthrew the *Bukharian* forces assembled by *Khatûn* and possessed themselves of *Bukhâra*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, about the 55th year of the *Hejra*. But the best and most  
antient



antient *Arab* historians fix this expedition, as has been already observed, with greater accuracy and precision, in the 61st year of that æra <sup>y</sup>.

Great com-  
motions at  
Medina.

WALID EBN OTBAH had no sooner entered upon the government of *Mecca* than he began to exert his authority, by imprisoning 300 of his predecessor *Amru's* dependents. However *Amru* found means soon to release them; which having done, he undertook a journey to *Damascus*, was introduced to the *Khalif* there, and met with a gracious reception from him. But notwithstanding this, *Yezid* rebuked him for being remiss in the execution of his commands, and for not being active enough in extinguishing the rebellion of *Abd'allah* and his adherents. *Amru*, being a man of great address and penetration, easily justified his conduct, and that so much to the *Khalif's* satisfaction, that he told him he was an honest man than those who had taken such pains to misrepresent him; and that he should, for the future, repose an intire confidence in him. About this time, one *Nadjab*, a powerful *Arab* of *Yamâma*, appeared at the head of a body of troops he had assembled against *Yezid*, and discovered a strong disposition to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. In the mean time, the new governor *Walid* made use of all his skill to circumvent *Abd'allah*; but without effect, that general being always upon his guard. This conduct, however, giving great disgust, as well as terrible apprehensions, to *Abd'allah*, he sent a letter to *Yezid*, informing him therein, that *Walid* was totally unfit for the post he had honoured him with; and that if he would send to *Medina* a person of a more tractable disposition, all differences between them might easily be composed. *Yezid*, desirous of peace upon any terms, indiscreetly dismissed *Walid*, a man of an unshaken fidelity to him, at the instigation of his mortal enemy, and sent *Othmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abu Sofiân*, a man by no means qualified for so important a trust, to take upon him the government of *Medina* in his room. Soon after this event some ambassadors, or rather deputies, were sent from that city to *Damascus*, where they waited upon *Yezid*, who received them kindly, and made them considerable presents; but his conversation gave them such offence, that upon their return to *Medina*, they inflamed the people there greatly against him. They represented him as a man wholly addicted to wine, singing, girls, and dogs, and void of all religion; for which reason they publicly renounced their allegiance to him, and were joined herein by many of their fellow-citizens, who came to a resolution to depose him in a formal manner. *Al Mondar*, one of the ambassadors, instead of returning home, went to *Basra*, where he was courteously entertained by *Obeid'allah*, who had formerly been acquainted with him. *Yezid* being apprized of this, and of the seditious proceedings of the ambassadors at *Medina*, wrote to *Obeid'allah* to put him under arrest till farther orders. But *Obeid'allah*, considering a compliance with the *Khalif's* commands in this point as a violation of the laws of hospitality, enabled *Al Mondar* to make his escape; who, upon his arrival at *Medina*, confirmed what the other deputies had related of *Yezid*; to which he likewise added, that his almost total neglect of prayers had rendered him infamous in the sight of all who had any regard for the *Moslem* faith; and that he would not be bribed by the hundred *dinârs* given him by the *Khalif* for that purpose to conceal the truth. This coming to *Yezid's* ears, he threatened *Al Mondar* with his resentment, and dispatched *Al Nooman Ebn Bassîr* to *Medina*, to bring the people there back to a sense of their duty. This he endeavoured to do, by pointing out to them the effusion of *Moslem* blood, that must be the natural consequence of their persisting in such a rebellion; but without effect. The troubles mentioned here commenced in the 62d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 681; in which also died *Moseilama Ebn Mekkalled*, of *Medina*, the governor of *Egypt*. He was succeeded in that post by *Sa'id Ebn Yezid Al Azdi*, who continued in it till the death of *Yezid*. The tribe of *Azd*, to which *Sa'id* belonged, which was very famous amongst the *Arabs*, produced several illustrious men, who assumed the name of *Al Azdi*, or the *Azdite*; amongst whom were *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Wâsa* and *Abu Ishâk Ismael*, two celebrated *Moslem* doctors. The first of these, who died in the 127th year of the *Hejra*, was one of the most learned of the *Tabein*, or *Tabeites*; that is to say, the followers, or adherents, who were the successors of the COMPANIONS; and the latter was a native of *Basra*, who wrote a piece much esteemed by those of his religion, intituled, *Abkam Al Korân*, i. e. the laws and statutes of the *Korân*. He departed this life, in what place is uncertain, about the 282d year of the *Hejra* <sup>z</sup>.

The inhabi-  
tants of Me-

THE people of *Medina* having renounced all allegiance to *Yezid*, and being highly incensed against him, appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Motî* to preside over the *Koreish*, and *Abd'allah Ebn*

<sup>y</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 52, 53. GOLLIE not. ad Alfragan. p. 177, 178, 179, 183, 189. SAID EBN ALI AL JURJANI, in sua climat. descript. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geograph. YAKUT. See an account of the present state of the NORTHERN ASIA, par. i. c. iii. p. 465. 466. <sup>z</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 53. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 154. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. v. p. 340.



- a *Hantelab* over the *Anfars*. The latter of these was a person of great distinction, and adorned with many excellent endowments. He was one of the ambassadors sent lately to *Damascus*, and took his eight sons with him. *Yezid* having been before apprized, that he was very religious and devout, and for that reason extremely popular amongst his fellow-citizens, took care to caress him more than any of the other deputies that attended him. He made him a present of 100,000 *dinârs*, and every one of his sons 10,000, besides a proper number of vests suitable to the quality of the persons for whom they were designed. In the beginning of the 63d year of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs* of *Medina* put their menaces against *Yezid* in execution. After they had assembled about the pulpit in the mosque there, one of them said, *I lay aside Yezid as I do this turban*; and then threw his turban upon the ground.
- b Another said, *I put away Yezid as I do this shoe*; casting away the shoe at the same time from him. These examples being followed by others, there was a large heap of shoes and turbans almost instantly formed upon the spot. Then they dismissed *Othmân*, *Yezid's* lieutenant, and banished from *Medina* the house of *Ommiyab*, together with all their friends and dependents. These, to the number of about a thousand, took refuge in *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem's* house, where they were so closely besieged by the *Hâshemite* faction, that they found themselves obliged to send to *Yezid* for immediate assistance; intimating in the letter they wrote to him, that, unless they received speedy relief, they must all inevitably perish. *Yezid* wondered that so considerable a number of men should suffer themselves to be confined, without making the least resistance; and asked *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, the former governor of *Mecca*, whom he had lately recalled from thence, whether he would march with a body of troops to *Medina*, in order to chastize the rebels there? But *Amru* declining the command of the forces offered him, the *Khalîf* put *Meslem Ebn Okba*, tho' very antient and infirm, at the head of the troops that were to undertake the intended expedition. However, the conduct of the friends of the house of *Ommiyab*, who had suffered themselves to be cooped up in so ignominious a manner, irritated *Meslem* to such a degree, that he pronounced them both cowards and traitors to their prince, and declared that they ought not to be delivered before they had at least made one effort to extricate themselves out of the difficulties in which their pusillanimity had chiefly contributed to involve them. But *Yezid's* command being peremptory, he was obliged to submit. The *Khalîf* ordered him to spare *Ali*, the son of *Hosein*, and his family, as they had had no hand at all in the present commotions. He also ordered him to summon the city of *Medina*, upon his arrival before it, three days successively; and if, after such summons, the citizens refused to surrender the town, to take it by storm, and give it up to the soldiers to be plundered for three whole days. The inhabitants of *Medina*, being apprized of the impending storm, permitted all the members of the house of *Ommiyab*, together with their friends and adherents, to retire quietly out of the city; tho', before their departure, they extorted from them a promise never to appear in arms, or commit any hostilities, against the dominant faction<sup>a</sup>.

- MESLEM EBN OKBA AL MARSI, having received his instructions from the *Khalîf*, begun his march for *Medina* with 5000 foot and 12,000 horse; and, upon his arrival before the town, the citizens having refused to surrender, made the necessary preparations for a general assault. He proposed to attack the place on the east side, that the troops which defended it, and had surrounded it with a ditch for their security, might have the sun in their faces; and this proved of signal service to him. However, the garison, for a considerable time, made a vigorous defence; insomuch that *Meslem* advanced very slowly in the siege. But at last most of the *Anfars* and the principal officers being killed, the *Arabs* within the town offered to capitulate. *Meslem* refused to grant them any terms, and insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. But this last summons not being complied with, the *Moslem* general, after a faint opposition, entered the place; sent *Ali*, whom he treated with great respect, in pursuance of the orders he had received, home upon his own camel; put all the men he met with to the sword; and, tho' the prophet was buried there, permitted the *Syrian* forces to get a thousand women with child, and to pillage the city for three days together, without intermission. Those that escaped the sword, he obliged to own themselves slaves and vassals to *Yezid*; for which extreme severity the *Arabs* surnamed him *Al Musrif*, i. e. *extravagant, exorbitant*; because his orders did not extend to authorize the enormities he had committed. *Medina* was taken in the night, towards the close of the month *Dul'hejja*, in the year of the *Hejra* 63, or of our LORD 682. The *Muslims* considered *Ebn Okba* ever after as an impious person, for his barbarity to the citizens of *Medina*, especially as the prophet himself had denounced a sort of curse against him, which was couched in the following terms:  
 "If any man shall hereafter sack or plunder my city, the wrath of God shall most certainly remain upon him<sup>b</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 53, 54. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid*, p. 486. <sup>b</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup.



Yezid dies.

AFTER the reduction of *Medina*, *Meslem* marched with his army towards *Mecca*, in a order to chastize the insolence of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who then resided in that place; but he died on his march, in the month of *Al Moharram*, the following year. Upon his death, *Hosein Ebn Thamiir Al Selwi* took upon him the command of the army, and advanced to *Mecca*, which he besieged for the space of forty days; during which term, he battered the town, by the assistance of his military engines, with so much fury, that he beat down a great part of the famous temple there, and burnt the rest. Nor had the city itself escaped the same fate, had not the news of *Yezid's* death recalled *Hosein* into *Syria*, and forced him to abandon the siege <sup>c</sup>.

The Syrian  
forces return  
home.

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR had before been informed of the *Khalif's* decease, and even apprized the *Syrian* troops of it from the walls; asking them, at the same time, for whom they fought, as *Yezid* was most certainly dead? However, they would not believe him; but continued the siege with great vigour, till they received farther information. As soon as this news was confirmed, *Hosein* told *Abd'allah*, that, as a farther effusion of *Moslem* blood was altogether unnecessary, he would take the oath of allegiance to him; and assured him, that all the forces under his command, amongst which were all the principal men of *Syria*, should be at his devotion. But *Abd'allah*, at this juncture, durst not trust him; and therefore refused the overture made him; tho' afterwards, when too late, he repented of this conduct. During the conference between them, *Hosein* turned his horse aside, in order to avoid killing some of the temple pigeons, that were pecking something on the ground at a small distance from him; which being observed by *Abd'allah*, he could not forbear asking him, "How he could scruple destroying any of those birds, and yet not be afraid of spilling the blood of so many *Moslems*?" *Hosein* replied, that "he would never for the future fight against him." After which, he desired leave to go in procession round the *Caaba*; which was immediately granted. Some pretend, that the temple was not set on fire by the engines employed by the *Syrian* army in the siege; but by a little fire accidentally wafted by the wind from the top of *Hosein's* spear, the sparks of which were communicated from thence to the hangings and wood-work of that edifice. We must not forget to remark, that the house of *Ommiyah* attended *Hosein* into *Syria*; and that *Yezid*, before his decease, having received advice of the death of *Meslem*, confirmed *Hosein Ebn Thamiir Al Selwi* in the command of the *Moslem* forces before *Mecca*. The engines made use of by *Hosein* in the siege of that place were a species of the catapult, or catapulta, a military machine generally employed on such occasions by the antients, as we learn from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>d</sup>.

Description of  
Yezid's person,  
and his cha-  
racter.

YEZID died at *Hawwarin*, in the territory of *Hems*, in the beginning of the former *Rabi*, and the 64th year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 684. He died in the 39th year of his age, after he had reigned about three years and six or eight months. As to his person, he was either of a ruddy, according to *Abu'lfeda*, or, as *Abu Jaafar* will have it, of a swarthy complexion. He was a tall thin man, had a handsome beard tinged with *Al Henna*, curled hair, black eyes, leprous fingers, and a face pitted with the small-pox. His under-lip was inverted, when he laughed. He left behind him several children of both sexes. His son *Khaled* is reported to have been skilled in the art of alchemy, and his son *Abd'allah* to have been the most exact archer of all the *Arabs* of his time. His mother's name was *Meisun*, the daughter of *Yahdak*, of the tribe of *Calb*. She had an excellent genius for poetry; and, at *Moawiyah's* command, took her son *Yezid* with her into the desert amongst her own relations there, in order to inspire him with poetic sentiments. Nor was this education altogether thrown away upon him, as he discovered himself capable of drawing up a tolerable good copy of *Arabic* verses, on several occasions. *Yezid* was the first *Khalif* that drank wine publicly, and was waited upon by eunuchs; which gave great offence to the *Mohammedans*. He was extremely fond of dogs; which likewise not a little disgusted vast numbers of his subjects, as the more scrupulous *Moslems* have an aversion to those animals. But he was rendered the most disagreeable to the *Arabs* by his avarice and impiety. This occasioned a certain author to observe, that the *Moslem* empire could only flourish either under a pious prince, such as were the four first *Khalifs*, or a liberal one, such as was *Moawiyah*; and consequently that, under such an impious and avaritious prince as *Yezid*, every thing must be lost. The ravages committed at *Medina*, or the city of the prophet, by this *Khalif's* order, are considered by the *Mohammedan* doctors as the highest instance of his impiety, and as the principal cause of his being cut off in the flower of his age. In support of which notion, they produce this saying of *Mohammed*, *Whoever injureth Medina shall melt away, even as salt melteth away in the water*. The *Persian* writers have the memory of *Yezid* in such abhor-

<sup>c</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 362, 363. <sup>d</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 245, 246, 247.



a rence, that they always mention him with abomination, and generally annex to his name the following malediction, *The curse of God be upon him*. Which they do not so much on account of his vices, as because of the death of *Hosein*, whom, with all his family, he attempted first to destroy by poison, and afterwards caused to be killed on the plain of *Kerbela*. His principal secretary of state was *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*, and, after him, *Rumi Ebn Omar Al Adri*; his *Kâdi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Hokwâni*; his chamberlain, *Kbâled* his servant, or, as others say, *Safwân*; and the captain of his guards, *Hamid Ebn Kharbat Ebn Yabdak*, of the tribe of *Calb*, and afterwards *Amer Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamadani*. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Saturday*, and the last *Monday*. He was looked upon as so irreligious a prince, that some of the *Moslems*, and particularly the *Persians*, called, in after-  
b ages, all those persons void of religion *Yezid* and *Yzit*. The *Persian* poet *Jami* being one of these, a man, named *Mezid*, was resolved to insult him on that account; and, therefore, one day, as soon as he entered the room where an assembly was met at *Jami*'s house, he cried out with a loud voice, *The curse of God fall upon Yezid!* *Jami* perceiving that these words were pointed at him, instantly replied, *May that curse fall upon Yezid and Mezid!* The smartness of which repartee consists in the words, *upon Mezid*, which were not only applicable to the aggressor, but likewise denoted MORE AND MORE <sup>c</sup>.

In the *Khalifat* of *Yezid*, the *Moslems* made an absolute conquest of *Khorasân* and *Kho-* *Conquests made*  
*warazm*, and put the territories of the prince of *Samarkand* under contribution. The motto, *by the Moslems*  
or inscription, of his seal was, GOD IS OUR LORD. He was buried at *Damascus*, in the *in the Khali-*  
c sepulchre of *the little gate*; and his son *Moâwiyah*, whom he nominated, when at the point of death, emperor of the faithful, said the prayers usual on such occasions over him. *Theo-*  
*phanes* barely mentions the death of *Yezid*, whom he calls *Izid*, without taking any particular notice of the cause, circumstances, or effects of it; and *Dionysius Telmarenfis* only tells us, that *Yezid* died in the year of *Seleucus* 9, 2, or of *CHRIST* 681, and was succeeded by *Mer-*  
*wân*. There is an author named *Al Fadhl Al Berid*, who has written the history of this *Khalif*, under the title of *Akbâr Yezid* <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MOHAMMED EBN KHASSEM, EBN SHOHNAH, EBN AMID, AUT. RABI AL AKYAR, MS. Huntingt. num. 495. & MS. Laud, num 161 in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> ALU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joi. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 104.

S E C T. VIII.

d **M**OA'WIYAH II. the son of *Yezid*, was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Damascus* the very day on *Moâwiyah II.*  
which his father died. His mother was the daughter of *Hâshem*, or, as others say, *succeeds his fa-*  
of *Kbâled Ebn Aïu Hâshem Ebn Otba Ebn Rabîa Ebn Abd Shams*. The *Arab* writers represent *ther Yezid*.  
this young prince as of a religious disposition, but of a very weak constitution; and tell us, that he had not completed the twenty-first year of his age, when he mounted the *Moslem* throne. He was of the sect of the *Kadarians*, having been instructed in their principles by his favourite master *Omar Al Makfûs*, whom he consulted, in order to know of him whether he should accept of the *Khalifat*, or not. *Omar* told him, that if he found himself equal to the duties of that arduous post, he ought to accept of the high dignity offered him; if not, that he ought to decline it. Some of the eastern writers make the *Kadarians* to have  
e been originally a branch of the *Motazalites*, or the followers of *Wâfel Ebn Atâ*, who, with their master, were expelled the school of *Hasan* of *Basra*, whose scholar he was, and thenceforth called *Motazalites*, or *Separatists*; tho' others look upon *Kadarians* as really a more antient name than that of *Motazalites*; *Mabad Al Jobni*, and his adherents, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before *Wâfel* quitted his master, having gone by that appellation. For which reason, some use the denomination of *Kadarians* as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the *Motazalites* under it. This sect deny absolute predestination, saying, that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions; which God has granted him power either to do or to let alone. And hence it is said they are called *Kadarians*,  
f because they deny *Al Kadr*, or God's absolute decree; tho' others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from *Kadr*, or *Kadrat*, i. e. *power*, because they assert man's power to act freely. Those, however, who give the name *Kadarians* to the *Motazalites* are their enemies; for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the *Jabarians*, who likewise refuse it, as an infamous appellation, because *Mohammed* is said to have declared the *Kadarians* to be the *Magians* of his followers. But what the opinion of the *Kadarians* in *Mohammed*'s time was, is very uncertain. The *Motazalites* say the name belongs to those who assert predestination, and make God the author of  
of



of good and evil, viz. the *Jabarians*; but all the other *Mohammedan* sects agree to fix it upon a the *Motazalites*, who, they say, are like the *Magians*, in establishing two principles, *light*, or God, the author of good, and *darkness*, or the *devil*, the author of evil. But this cannot be said of the *Motazalites*, who generally ascribe men's good deeds to God, but their evil deeds to themselves; meaning thereby, that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions. For which reason it is, that the other *Mohammedans* call them *Magians*, because they assert another author of actions besides God. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what *Mohammed's* own opinion was in this matter. For, on the one side, the *Korân* itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of *Mohammed* are recorded to that purpose. On the other, it is urged in behalf of the *Motazalites*, that *Mohammed* declaring, that the *Kadarians* and *Morgians* had been cursed by b the tongues of seventy prophets, and being asked who the *Kadarians* were, answered, *Those who asserted, that God predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it.* *Al Hasan* is also said to have declared, that God sent *Mohammed* to the *Arabs*, while they were *Kadarians*, or *Jabarians*, and laid their sins upon God; and, in confirmation of this point, a passage is produced out of the *Korân*. Both parties, therefore, have recourse to the testimony of *Mohammed* in support of their respective, tho' contrary, opinions; and consequently make him to contradict himself at least in some of his decisions. *Ebn Arwn*, one of the most celebrated *Moslem* doctors, would not salute a *Kadarian*, if he met him; saying, that the sect to which he belonged ought to be considered as the *Magians* of the *Mohammedans*; and *Shaabi*, another of those doctors, makes the *Kadarians* to have agreed c in all points with the *Motazalites*. *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Abu'lkhair*, a doctor following the sentiments of the famous *Al Shâfêi*, has written a treatise against the tenets of the *Kadarians*, intituled, *Enteffâr fil redd ala al Kadaria al ashrâr*. *Omar Al Maksûs* seems to have been one of the principal members of this sect, in the days of *Yezid*, who probably favoured it, as he intrusted him with the education of his son. *Al Maksûs* told this young prince, that, unless he found himself capable of administering justice exactly to the *Moslems*, he ought by no means to take upon himself the title of emperor of the faithful <sup>e</sup>.

Moâwiyah  
abdicates the  
government.

ABOUT six weeks after his inauguration, *Moâwiyah* finding himself too weak to sustain the weight of the government, took a resolution to lay it down. In order to which, he assembled the grandees of his court, and told them, that when he first entertained thoughts d of relinquishing the high station to which his father's nomination had advanced him, he intended to have chosen a successor in the same manner as did *Abu Becr*; but that this he found impossible, as a man of *Omar's* merit and abilities was not to be met with. Then he informed them, that, not being able to execute his first plan, he proposed to follow the example of *Omar*, and name six persons, upon one of which the choice by lot should fall; but that he likewise found this impracticable, as he could not be furnished with six men duly qualified for the discharge of the duties of so important a post. Wherefore, continued he, I am resolved to leave the election of a new *Khalif* intirely to your management. Upon which, they immediately expressed their readiness to chuse the person that should be the most agreeable to him; but he declined naming any one, saying, "As I have not enjoyed the e " advantages of the *Khalifat*, it is unreasonable that I should charge myself with the most " odious part of it; and therefore I hope you will permit me to discharge my conscience " towards you, and judge for yourselves who is the most capable amongst you of filling my " place." After which, he made his abdication in form; and the noblesse proceeding to an election, the choice fell upon *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was the fourth *Khalif* of *Syria*. However, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* had been advanced to the *Khalifat*, in *Arabia*, after the death of *Yezid*. He presided over *Hejâz*, *Yaman*, *Irâk*, *Khorasân*, *Egypt*, and all *Syria*, except that part called *Ordon*, or *Al Oroddan*, which adhered to *Yezid*. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Moâwiyah's* speech, immediately preceding his abdication, was to the following effect: "My grandfather *Moâwiyah* deprived a man more worthy than himself f " of the *Khalifat*. Nor did my father merit that sublime dignity, though he obtained it. " For my own part, I am determined not to have an account to give of so weighty a " charge as is the government of [the *Moslems*, when I appear in the presence of God; " and therefore invest the person that shall please you best with the authority of *Khalif*." Which speech, as well as what was immediately consequent thereupon, ought to be considered as the effect of those religious impressions that his preceptor *Al Maksûs* had made upon him <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> ALU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. ix. p. 55. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 197. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 362, 363. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah Ben Jezid*, p. 587, et alib. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABADI, in Kâim. AL SHAHRESTAN. ANT. SHARH AL MAWAKEF, EBN AL ATHIR, AL MOTAREZZI, in lib. *Magreb*. AL BOKHAR. EBN KHALECAN, AL KOR. MOHAM. f. vii. & alib. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 231—238. See also SALE's transl. of the Kor. p. 119. <sup>h</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah. Ebn Jezid*. ALU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.



a MOAWIYAH had no sooner abdicated the government than he shut himself up in a chamber, from whence he stirred not till he died. Some say, that he was poisoned, and others that he was carried off by the plague not long after his abdication. The interval between his death and that event he spent wholly in religious exercises, and in performing his devotions. He was surnamed, by way of ridicule, *Abu Leilab*, i. e. *the father of the night*; because his natural weakness and bad state of health would not permit him to appear much abroad in the day-time. Authors differ as to the precise account of the short time he reigned; some fixing this at twenty days, others at forty-five, others at forty, and others extending it to four months. Nor do they exactly agree in the length of the interval between his renunciation and his death; some making this to consist of only forty days, and others  
b of three months. He was buried at *Damascus*, close by his father; and, according to some, *Walid Ebn Otha* performed the funeral service over him. It has been also said, that *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, his successor, put up prayers for him. The house of *Ommiyah* was so exasperated at his abdication, that, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, the members of it buried his master *Al Makfûs*, whom they supposed to have been the author of it, alive. The inscription on his seal was, THE WORLD IS A CHEAT. He left no issue behind him. The first day of his reign was *Tuesday*, and the last *Thursday*. From the short duration of his *Khalifat*, taken notice of by the *Arab* writers, it appears, that he departed this life in the 64th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 684<sup>i</sup>.

BEFORE we proceed directly in our history, we must here beg leave, by way of digression, to give a short account of some commotions that happened in *Irâk* immediately after the death of *Yezid*. *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd* the governor of *Basra*, being apprized of that event, represented, in a set speech, to the *Basrans*, that, "he himself was their countryman, as  
" being a native of *Basra*; that, since he had taken the government upon him, he had  
" destroyed 140,000 of their enemies; that there was no person surviving that destruction  
" from whom they had any reason to apprehend the least opposition; that the territories of  
" *Basra* formed the most considerable province of the empire, both with regard to their  
" extent, and the number and valour of their inhabitants; that, till the commotions in  
" *Syria* were appeased, they ought to appoint a person to preside over them, who was duly  
" qualified to be the protector of their state; and that, after this, if the *Moslems* elected a  
d " *Khalif* disagreeable to them, they might, under the conduct of the person they had chosen,  
" assert their independency." The *Basrans*, clearly perceiving his intention in this speech, offered him the government of their country; which he at first affected to refuse, but afterwards accepted, at the repeated solicitation of his friends. However, as soon as it was known that the *Cûfans* would not acknowledge him, but even threw dust, or gravel, upon his deputy, the *Basrans* immediately deserted him, and even expelled him their city. Nor could he prevail either upon the *Najâri*, a tribe of the *Ansfârs*, or even his own relations, tho' he had divided a great part of the 16,000,000 pieces of money, found in the treasury of *Basra*, amongst them, and kept the remainder himself, to espouse his quarrel. So odious had he rendered himself to all ranks and degrees of men by the enormous cruelties he had  
e committed! Nor could his brother *Abd'allah*, who kept him disguised in women's cloaths at *Masûd's* house, lest any violence should have been offered his person, protect him from the rage and fury of the *Basrans*, tho' he distributed 200,000 pieces of money amongst them; and though *Masûd* exerted himself, to the utmost extent of his abilities, in his favour. He was, therefore, at last constrained to abandon the city, attended by an escorte of 100 men, that had been assigned him by *Masûd*; and, immediately after his departure, the mob plundered his house, and pursued him. Being much fatigued by riding upon a camel in the night, he exchanged that beast for an ass; and, with great difficulty, made his escape into *Syria*. Soon after his arrival at *Damascus*, *Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi* returned thither, with the troops that had formed the siege of *Mecca*, and gave a faithful account to *Merwân*  
f of the situation of affairs on that side. He likewise informed him of his offer to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who refused to accept of it, or at least to undertake a journey to *Damascus*, in order to be invested there with the supreme authority. He therefore advised *Merwân*, and the house of *Ommiyah*, to take care of themselves in time, and fix their interest upon a solid basis, by the election of a new *Imâm*, before the torrent of faction was too rapid to be stemmed. *Merwân*, after hearing *Hosein's* discourse, proposed to make his submission to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*; but was diverted from his resolution by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, who told him, that, in the present conjuncture, no superior ought to be acknowledged by him who was at the head of the *Koreish*. The people of *Damascus* had constituted *Dabâk Ebn Kais Al Amri* their protector, till the *Moslems* should concur in the  
g election of an *Imâm*. *Dabâk* favoured *Abd'allah*, and declared his intention of supporting

<sup>i</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. D'HERBEL. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



him. The *Bafrans* were altogether in tumult and confusion, and could not fix upon a governor, during the *interregnum*, after their ejection of *Obeid'allah*. This induced them at last to write to *Abd'allah*, to take the government upon him. He complied with their request; but could not be prevailed upon to stir from *Mecca*, at that time the place of his residence. Nor could *Merwân* be persuaded to permit any of the *Syrians* to perform the pilgrimage thither, lest they should join *Abd'allah*, and thereby contribute to his exclusion from the *Moslem* throne <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 55. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

## S E C T. IX.

Abd'allah  
Ebn Zobeir  
advanced to  
the Khalifat.

IT has been already observed, that all the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, except part of Syria, unanimously concurred, soon after the death of *Yezid*, to advance *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* to the *Khalifat*; to which we shall now beg leave to add, that, after the last invitation he had received from *Irâk*, he caused himself to be inaugurated at *Mecca*. The people of *Mecca* had first declared in his favour, and were immediately followed by the citizens of *Medina*. Nay, *Merwân* himself, a member of the house of *Ommiyah*, who was then at the latter of those places, was upon the point of recognizing his authority; which he had likewise afterwards done at *Damascus*, had he not been dissuaded from it by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, as we have just informed our readers. However, *Abd'allah* might easily have fixed himself in the *Khalifat*, and have settled his interest upon a lasting foundation, had he not too rashly formed a design either to banish or exterminate the house of *Ommiyah*; and, in consequence of this scheme, sent orders to his lieutenant at *Medina* to cut off, or, as others say, eject every member of that house. This alienated vast numbers of the *Moslems*, and particularly all the friends and dependents of the family threatened either with banishment, or excision, from him, as will hereafter more fully appear. The resolution taken by *Abd'allah* at this juncture was certainly a most impolitic step; and, notwithstanding the bravery and religious disposition he was famed for, undoubtedly indicated a want of capacity, as well as generosity and humanity, in him. He was surnamed, according to some, *Abu Becr*, or, as others will have it, *Abu Habib*. His mother was *Asma*, the daughter of the first *Khalif Abu Becr*. He was inaugurated at *Mecca* on the ninth day of the month of *Rajeb*, after there had been an *interregnum* during the former and latter *Jomâda*, and the eight first days of *Rajeb*. He appointed his brother *Masab*, or *Mas'ab*, *Ebn Zobeir* governor of *Basra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Moti* that of *Cûfa*, his brother *Obeidah Ebn Zobeir* that of *Medina*, and sent *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram* in the same capacity to *Egypt*. Some authors inform us, that his mother's name was *Asima*; and that she was not the daughter, but the grand-daughter, of *Abu Becr*; but as the *Arab* writers of best repute make her not to be much above thirty years younger than that *Khalif*, they seem, notwithstanding the authority of M. *D'Herbelot*, to discountenance the latter assertion <sup>l</sup>.

The house of  
Ommiyah pre-  
claim Merwân  
Khalif at  
Damascus.

THE members of the house of *Ommiyah* finding themselves in such imminent danger, tho' before well enough affected to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, resolved to stand upon their own defence, and consequently to oppose him to the utmost of their power. In order, therefore, to defeat all his machinations, they proclaimed *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was at the head of them, after the death of *Moâwiyah II. Khalif at Damascus*; to which place they had made their escape, after they found it necessary, for their own safety, to take their leave of *Medina*. Syria, therefore, or rather the whole *Moslem* empire, was at this time divided into two potent factions; one of which, under the conduct of *Hassan Ebn Malec*, declared for *Merwân*, and the other, under that of *Debâk Ebn Kais*, for *Abd'allah*. The latter was a person of great distinction, and had been constituted by *Moâwiyah I.* commandant at *Cûfa*, in the 54th year of the *Hejra*. His adherents, from his father *Kais*'s name, were denominated *Kaisians*. Several conferences were held between the leaders of these factions, and all possible methods made use of to dispose both parties to an accommodation; but without effect. The forces on both sides, therefore, commanded by *Merwân* and *Debâk*, found themselves at last obliged to come to a general action, which ended in the defeat of the *Kaisians*. As soon as they began to break, *Merwân* sounded a retreat, and would not suffer his men to pursue them. The battle was fought at *Marj Rakt*, a place in the plain of *Damascus*, at a small distance from that city. *Debâk* himself was killed upon the spot, together with a great number of his horse, and about eighty of the *Syrian* nobility. When

<sup>l</sup> ISM. ABUL'FED. in hist. univ. MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth orient. in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, p. 7. OCKLEY's hist of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 120. & vol. ii. p. 343.



- a *Dekák's* head was brought to *Merwân*, at the sight of it he expressed great concern, and said, "This is a very preposterous thing, that I, who am an old man, and whose bones are so wasted, that I am reduced almost to nothing, should bring armies together, in order to cut one another to pieces." After this victory, the citizens of *Damascus* submitted to *Merwân*, who lived in the house where *Moâwiyah* used to reside. He also married *Yezid's* widow, having before declared that *Khalîf's* son *Kháled*, then a minor, his successor. However, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* kept his ground still in *Arabia*, tho' the inhabitants of *Damascus* had renewed their oath of fidelity to *Merwân*, after the battle of *Marj Raht*, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*. Soon after which event, the people of *Hems*, receiving advice of the death and defeat of *Debák*, revolted from *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, whose interest they had espoused; upon which, *Nooman Ebn Bakhîr*, *Abd'allah's* governor there, betook himself, together with his wife and family, to flight. But the citizens pursued him, cut off his head, and brought it with them, as well as his wife and children, in triumph to *Hems*. In the beginning, therefore, of the 65th year of the *Hejra*, *Merwân* was in possession of the *Khalîfat* of *Syria*, as *Abd'allah* was of that of *Hejâz*, *Taman*, *Egypt*, and *Irâk* <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. p. 364, 365.

## S E C T. X.

- c **M**ERWAN, soon after his accession, advanced at the head of a considerable army towards *Merwân* <sup>con-</sup> the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jabram*, *Abd'allah's* lieutenant <sup>quers Egypt:</sup> there, being informed before of his design, had made the necessary dispositions for giving him a proper reception, in case he should attempt to make an impression upon that country. He sent before him *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, with a body of troops, to facilitate the passage of his forces, as well as the conquest of *Egypt*. *Abd'alrahmân* being worsted in several brisk actions that happened between him and the *Syrians*, at last, for a sum of money, surrendered the whole country to *Merwân*, and retired with the *Arabs* under his command into *Hejâz*. The *Syrian* troops then immediately possessed themselves of *Egypt*, and obliged the inhabitants of that region to take the oath of allegiance to *Merwân*. Things being in this happy situation;
- d the *Syrian Khalîf* appointed his son *Abd'alaziz* to preside over *Egypt*, and, with the greatest part of his forces, returned to *Damascus*. Whilst he was upon his march for that city, he was informed, that *Abd'allah* had sent his brother *Mus'ab* against him with a powerful army. Upon the arrival of this disagreeable news, *Merwân* detached *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, with a body of his troops, to give the enemy battle, without loss of time. *Amru* soon came up with *Mus'ab*, brought him to a general action, and intirely defeated him. In fine, *Mus'ab* was forced to betake himself to a shameful flight, a great part of his men were cut to pieces upon the spot, and the remainder of them so dispersed, that they found it impossible to rally. After which, *Merwân's* troops, having sustained a very inconsiderable loss, entered *Damascus* in a triumphant manner <sup>n</sup>.
- e THIS year the people of *Khorasân* chose *Salem Ebn Ziyâd*, who had before been governor <sup>Salem elected</sup> of that province, for their protector, till the *Moslems* could concur in their election of an <sup>protector of</sup> *Imâm*, *Salem* continued in this post about two months; and, during that short term, rendered himself extremely popular amongst those who had put themselves under his protection. He had likewise discharged the duties of his function, when governor, so much to their satisfaction, that, within the space of a few years, they named above 20,000 children, born amongst them, *Salem*, out of their great regard and affection for him. The natives of *Khorasân*, therefore, enjoyed perfect tranquillity at this time, when tumults and seditions, not to say open war, disturbed the repose of many other parts of the *Moslem* dominions <sup>o</sup>.
- f IN the 65th year of the *Hejra*, the followers of *Ali*, and their dependents, at *Cûfa*, like- <sup>An insurrec-</sup> wise put themselves in motion. They proposed to assemble in a body at *Nokbailah*, and <sup>on of the fol-</sup> march from thence into *Syria* the following year, in order to revenge the death of *Hossein*. <sup>lowers of Ali</sup> As the *Cûfans* now reflected upon their base and perfidious conduct to that *Imâm* with the <sup>against both</sup> utmost detestation, they thought themselves obliged, both in point of honour and duty, to take vengeance of his murderers, as the best atonement they could make for so enormous a crime. For this purpose, they sent circular letters to their friends, inviting them to contribute all in their power to the execution of so laudable a design. The five principal persons, to whom the management of the whole affair was committed, *Solimân Ebn Sorâd*, who was one of the COMPANIONS, *Mosabbib Ebn Nabbah*, one of *Ali's* most intimate friends, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, *Abd'allah Ebn Wâli*, and *Refaa Ebn Shaddâd*, met together at *Soliman's*

<sup>n</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 56, 57.  
Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 265.

<sup>o</sup> MS.



house, attended by a vast number of their adherents, in order to concert the proper measures that were to be pursued on this occasion. To the *Shiites*, or sectaries of *Ali*, now assembled, *Masabbib* made an elegant speech; wherein he fully set forth the heinousness of the crime the *Cúfans* had been guilty of, in deserting *Hosein*, the grandson of the prophet, and his family, after they had invited him to their city, and so solemnly engaged to support him; adding, that they could no otherwise, in any degree, atone for that crime, than by bringing his murderers to condign punishment; which might easily be effected, if they could pitch upon a proper general to lead them against the perpetrators and abettors of that execrable fact. *Rasfaa* then proposed to the assembly, for a general, *Solimán Ebn Sorád*, the chief of their sect, or rather political party; a man revered by all for his years, dignity, piety, and experience; who was unanimously elected, and, after having made a speech suitable to the occasion, accepted of the command. *Abd'allah Ebn Wáli*, by the unanimous suffrages of all the *Moslems* present, was then appointed treasurer, and a considerable sum of money deposited in his hands. After which, *Solimán* dispatched circular letters to *Saad Ebn Hodaisa*, and others, to excite them to act with vigour, and forward as much as possible the execution of the plan of operations that had been formed; and, in a short time, received from them such satisfactory answers, as greatly animated both him and his friends. It may not be improper here to observe, that this affair had been in agitation ever since the death of *Yezid*; so that the followers of *Ali* had amassed vast quantities of provisions, erected large magazines, and, in short, taken all the necessary precautions to render this enterprize successful. It has been remarked by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Solimán* was an Arab of the tribe of *Khozâa*; and that *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, whose mother, *Amena Bint Alkama*, was of the house of *Safwân*, was the first of the *Khalifs* who made his way to the *Moslem* throne by the assistance of the sword <sup>p</sup>.

They assemble  
a body of 4000  
men;

ABOUT six months after the death of *Yezid*, in the month of *Ramadân*, *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah* came to *Cúfa*, and brought along with him *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telba*, in order to collect the tribute of that city for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who had been elected *Khalif* by the *Arabs*. This man, pretending to act under the direction of *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, one of *Ali's* sons, was at first not a little caressed by the followers of that *Imâm*. But *Al Mokhtar* having afterwards depreciated the merits and capacity of *Solimán Ebn Sorád Al Khozâi*, and *Ibrahim* having declared in very warm terms against the sentiments contained in a speech of *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, then governor of *Cúfa*, which seemed to favour the sectaries, or male-contents, they were both for some time treated with less respect by the *Shiites*, as well as by *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*. Nay, *Ibrahim*, by his conduct, so incensed them, that *Masabbib* threatened him with an assassination; tho' afterwards finding means to pacify the governor, both he and *Al Mokhtar* recovered their former esteem; and *Solimán*, at the head of the *Shiites*, soon after appeared in arms. The troops he assembled on this occasion, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, amounted to about 4000 men <sup>q</sup>.

which in-  
creases to one  
of 16,000.

AT this time, the *Motazalites*, or *Separatists*, who had assisted *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* in the defence of *Mecca*, abandoned him, and retired to *Basra*. *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyád*, the governor of that city, who was always their most implacable enemy, had formerly done his utmost to extirpate them; so that they found themselves obliged, in order to avoid the fate he intended them, to fly to *Mecca*, and put themselves there under the protection of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. As he then stood in great need of their assistance, he gave them a favourable reception, without making any inquiry into the principles they maintained; as they, on their side, being then in very distressed circumstances, did not think it proper, or expedient, to ask him any questions either about his religious or political sentiments. However, some time after, before they engaged themselves thoroughly in his service, they recollected, that both he and his father *Zobcir* had persecuted them on account of *Othmán's* death; and therefore resolved to take an occasion from hence to discover his present disposition towards them. Coming to him accordingly in a body, they desired to know his opinion of that event; but having at that time very few of his friends about him, and clearly perceiving their view in proposing such a question to him, he told them, that, if they would return in the evening, he would give them a satisfactory answer. In the mean time, he posted a proper party of the guards in double ranks about his house; which hinder'd the *Motazalites*, when they returned, from proceeding to acts of violence. However, one of the most eloquent of them made a speech, wherein he enumerated the dispensations of providence towards them, as well as all the *Khalifs* that had presided over the *Moslems* since the death of *Mohammed*, reflected severely upon *Othmán's* administration, and, in fine, endeavoured to justify the murder of that *Imâm*. *Abd'allah* replied, that, with regard to

<sup>p</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 57. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 198. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 118. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Khouz*, p. 1002.

<sup>q</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



- a *Mohammed*, on whom too great encomiums could not be passed, as well as *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, he perfectly agreed with him in what he had advanced; but that, as no man living was better acquainted with *Othmán* than himself, he must beg leave to declare, that he believed that *Khalíf* to have been wrongfully murdered; that he never wrote the letter laid to his charge; and that he should always support *Othmán's* friends, and oppose his enemies, to the utmost of his power. To this they answered, *God is clear of thee, thou enemy of God!* Which he instantly echoed again, and they immediately took their leave of *Mecca*. Some of them went to *Yamáma*, and others to *Basra*. The latter animated one another to some bold attempt in favour of religion; and, having been joined by several stragglers upon the road, before they reached *Basra*, formed a body of 300 men. They enter'd the town,
- b when every thing was in confusion, on account of *Obeid'allah's* precipitate retreat, or rather flight, into *Syria*; which gave them an opportunity of opening the public prisons, and constraining the malefactors they took from thence to be incorporated amongst them. However, both the *Motazalites* and their companions, after the commotion was appeased, were soon dispersed, and obliged to abandon *Basra*. As for the forces assembled by *Solimán*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, they soon increased from 4000 to 16000 men. But before we can oblige our readers with the particulars of this expedition, and the fate he met with in the conclusion of it, in a satisfactory manner, it will be proper to premise a short and concise account of the famous *Mokhtar*, or *Al Mokhtar*, as he is called by the *Arab* historians, the scourge of the enemies of the house of *Ali*, who makes so considerable a figure
- c in that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon.

THE followers of *Ali* had not entertained the most favourable sentiments of *Al Mokhtar* *An account of Ebn Abu Obeidah*, since the time he was supposed to have been too remiss in the service of *Al Mokhtar*, *Hasan*. But he recovered his esteem with that party, when he not only entertained in his house *Moslem*, who had been sent to *Cúfa* by *Hosein*, to take the suffrages of the *Cúfans*, in a very hospitable manner, but likewise made use of all his interest privately to serve him; tho' he still thought fit to appear amongst *Obeid'allah's* friends, in order to prevent suspicion. But *Obeid'allah*, having secret intelligence of his conduct, upbraided him with it, and gave him such a blow with his stick upon the face, that he beat out one of his eyes. Not content with this, he sent him immediately to prison, and detained him there till the death of

d *Hosein*; when, finding means to make a proper application to *Yezid*, he was set at liberty by the express command of the *Khalíf*. *Obeid'allah*, as his interest required, was very desirous of continuing his detention, but durst not disobey the *Khalíf*; and therefore released him, but ordered him to quit the territories of *Cúfa* within the space of three days. *Al Mokhtar* then made the best of his way to *Hejáz*, where meeting with one of his friends, who asked him how he came to lose his eye, he said, "The son of a whore has beat it out; but God

e "kill me if I do not some time or other cut him to pieces." *Al Mokhtar* afterwards being told by the *Arab* with whom he was conversing, that *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* had made *Mecca* his residence, he delivered himself in the following terms: "His affairs will never be in a

f "flourishing situation, till you see *Al Mokhtar* at the head of his forces, with orders to

g "revenge the death of *Hosein*. I will then destroy as many, by way of vengeance for the

"murder of that *Imám*, as there perished on account of the blood of *John* the son of

"*Zacharias*, on whom be peace." For the illustration of which passage, it must be observed, that the *Moslems* hold in a very high veneration the memory of *St. John the Baptist*, on account of the honourable mention made of him in the third chapter of the *Korán*. Nor does the commentary on this passage, drawn up by *Hesein Wacz*, a *French* version of which has been published, give a less advantageous character of that saint. As a farther proof of his sanctity, and the iniquity of his murderers, the *Mohammedans* have also a tradition, which contains an account of the vengeance taken upon the *Jews* for the perpetration of that horrid fact, and is to the following effect: "The general either of *Bakhtnafr*,

"*Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Gudarz*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in an expedition against *Jerusalem*,

"entering the temple, saw blood bubbling upon the great altar there; and asking the reason of it, the *Jews* told him it was the blood of a sacrifice which had not been accepted

"of God: to which he replied, that they had not told him the truth, and ordered a thousand of them to be slain on the altar; but the blood not ceasing, he told them, that, if

"they would not confess the truth, he would not spare one of them; whereupon they

"acknowledged it was the blood of *John*: and the general said, *Thus hath your LORD*

"*taken vengeance on you*; and then cried out, *O John! my LORD and thy LORD knoweth*

"*what hath befallen thy people for thy sake; wherefore let thy blood stop, by God's permission,*

"*lest I leave not one of them alive*: upon which the blood immediately stopped." To this

g tradition *Mokhtar* apparently alluded, in his discourse with the *Arab* of *Hejáz*; after his

<sup>r</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. hist. univ. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



departure from whom he went to *Mecca*, in order to offer his service to *Abd'allah Ibn Zuhayr*,<sup>a</sup> and arrived there soon after his inauguration. But not meeting with proper encouragement there, he retired to *Táyef*; and, in about a year's time, returned to *Mecca*. Soon after his arrival there, *Abd'allah*, by the assistance of *Abbás Ebn Sakel*, engaged him in his service. However, *Mokhtar* could not be prevailed upon to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah*, before the latter had promised to make use of him in all his most weighty affairs, and grant him free access to him on all occasions, even before any other person. After this, he behaved with great bravery during the siege of *Mecca*, which was raised upon the news of *Yezid's* death; and continued above five months with *Abd'allah* after that event. But not being advanced to any considerable post, and being informed that the sectaries at *Cúfa* only wanted a proper general, in order to carry all before them, he immediately set out for that city. Every mosque on the road he visited, performed his devotions in them all, and harangued the people he found therein, assuring them of victory, and a speedy deliverance from all the grievances they laboured under. He had no sooner entered *Cúfa*, than he convoked the leaders of the sectaries there; telling them, that he came from *Mokammed Ebn Hanifyah*, the mine of excellency, the *Imám* that directed the right way, and representing to them the incapacity of *Solimán* for the undertaking in which he was soon to embark. These two points he repeated to them so often, that at last he made an impression upon the minds of many of the *Shiites* in his favour; though the superior interest, age, and authority, of *Solimán* rendered it impossible for him to wrest the command out of his hands. However, he comforted himself with the hopes of being vested with the supreme authority,<sup>c</sup> and consequently with the command of all the *Shiite* forces, in case *Solimán* should miscarry in the projected expedition. Nevertheless, for some time, his interest declined to such a degree, that, upon suspicion of his having formed a design of seizing upon the province, he was surprized by a detachment of *Solimán's* troops, conducted to prison, and for a certain term kept there closely confined. We must not forget to remark, that *Theophanes* calls the person, of whom we have here been giving our readers an account, *Mouchar*, or *Muchar*, and *Mouktar*, not *Mokhtar*, as has been asserted by Mr. *Ockley*. He also tells us, that this *Muchar*, tho' an impostor, pretended to act the prophet, made himself master of *Persia*, and occasioned amongst the *Arabs* many commotions. From whence, in conjunction with many more instances of the like kind that occur, some of which have already been taken<sup>d</sup> notice of in this work, we may infer, that a most confused, indistinct, and imperfect relation of the *Arab* affairs has been handed down to us by the later *Greek* and *Latin* historians<sup>e</sup>.

Solimán begins his march into Syria.

ALL *Al Mokhtar's* efforts to deprive *Solimán* of his post proving ineffectual, that general began his march at the head of the *Shiite* forces, who had assumed the name of *penitents*, because of the *penitence*, or repentance and sorrow, they now expressed for abandoning *Hosein*, for the place of their destination. He first advanced to *Nokhailab*, a town at no very great distance from *Cúfa*, being the place appointed for the general rendezvous, in the new moon of the latter *Rabí*. When he arrived there, he took a view of the camp; and being not a little surprized at the small number of men that formed it, he instantly dispatched two of his horse to *Cúfa*, with orders to cry out in the streets, and in the great mosque, VENGEANCE FOR HOSEIN! This so alarmed the citizens, that they assembled in vast numbers, and several of them repaired the next morning to the camp at *Nokhailab*. Amongst these there was one who had married an *Arabian* lady, the most celebrated beauty of her age, on whom he doated to excess; and another, who was a person of distinction, that had a daughter and many relations; both of whom abandoned every thing that was dear and valuable to them, with uncommon alacrity, on this occasion; the former saying at his departure, O GOD! I commend to thee my family and my child. O GOD! preserve me in them! and the latter, by way of answer to his daughter, when she asked him how he could abandon her, Child, thy father flies from his sin to his God. Upon the arrival of these volunteers, *Solimán* took a review of the troops under his command, and found them to amount to above 4000 effective men; though the *Cúfans* had promised to supply him with at least four times that number. Two thousand of those who had engaged to attend *Solimán*, had been drawn off by *Mokhtar*, who, tho' a pretended friend to the cause he espoused, entertained very indifferent sentiments of the military capacity of that general; and the other 10,000 chose rather to violate their oaths, and abandon the engagements they had entered into, than to run the risk of being cut to pieces by a superior enemy. However, *Solimán* did not neglect to animate his men, by assuring them, that they were to fight for another world, and not for this; and that therefore, whatever should be the fate of the present

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 33. HOSEIN WA'EZ, in comment. ad Al KOR. Moham. ibid. YAHYA, JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI, &c. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jabla Ben Zataria*, p. 471, 472. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 57. THEOPH. chronograph. p. 300, 303, 304. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 278—288.



- a expedition, they might depend upon a future state of eternal and uninterrupted felicity. A council of war being held, two plans of operations were proposed to the general; according to the first of which, the troops were to return to *Cúfa*, and put to the sword all those who had deserted *Hosein* in that city; but the latter required them immediately to march into *Syria*, and take vengeance of *Obeid'allah* there, who had been the principal cause, if not the absolute author, of the destruction of that *Imâm*. This, for several weighty reasons and considerations, meeting with *Solimán's* approbation, he made the necessary dispositions for putting it in immediate execution; tho' *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telba*, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's* collector of the tribute at *Cúfa*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, the governor of that city, who were both in the interest of the house of *Hâshem*, did their utmost to prevail upon him
- b to suspend his march. They represented to *Solimán*, that they should soon be able to assist him both with money and troops; and that as *Obeid'allah*, by reason of his enormous cruelty, was mortally hated in that province, it would be better to wait for him there, where the people would most certainly declare against him, and where he would soon arrive, than to attack a powerful enemy in his own country with so inconsiderable a force. But *Solimán* proving deaf to so salutary an admonition, *Ibrahim* endeavoured to persuade him to remain in his camp at least till he could furnish him with the tribute of the provinces; which would not fail of animating his men, and enabling him to push on with greater vigour the military operations. But *Solimán* still continuing refractory, the conferences broke off without success; and the *Shiite* army decamped from *Nokbailah*, in order to pursue their march into
- c *Syria* without delay<sup>1</sup>.

THE first place to which *Solimán* advanced, after his departure from *Nokbailah*, was *Eksâs* And advanced upon the Euphrates; where, upon a general muster, he found that by desertion he had lost 1000 men. Nor was he joined there by the Separatists of Basra and Al Madâyen, tho' they had promised him a reinforcement; which proved a great discouragement to his troops, especially as they had received certain advice, that Obeid'allah was upon his march against them. However, Solimán put a good face upon the matter, saying to his men, "The LORD doth not approve of their going out, and therefore he hath withdrawn them for our advantage; wherefore praise ye the LORD." *Solimán* having resumed his march, and continued it all night, he arrived the next morning at *Mashhad Hosein*, or the sepulchre of the

d martyr *Hosein*, where the army staid a day and a night, in order to pray for *Hosein*, to beg his pardon for deserting him, and to perform upon that holy, pure, and sublime spot their devotions. When they first approached the tomb, they all cried out with one voice, and shed tears in the most copious manner, wishing that they had all died with him; insomuch that a more melancholy and moving scene never appeared. Nay, their grief was so intense on this occasion, their repentance for abandoning *Hosein* so sincere, and so fervent their devotion, that, when *Solimán* commanded them to march, not a man of them would stir till he had first stood upon *Hosein's* tomb, and asked his pardon for what had happened. Which conduct seemed so extraordinary even to the more rational *Mohammedans* themselves, that one of them then present swore that he never saw such crouding about the black stone

e in the temple of *Mecca* itself. In order to set which remark in a clear light, we must beg leave to remind our readers, that the black stone here mentioned is a stone set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the *Caaba*, being that which looks towards *Basra*, about two inches and one-third, or, which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground, held in the utmost veneration by the *Mohammedans*, and kissed by all who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*; being called by some of them the right hand of God on earth. But for a farther account of this stone, as well as of every thing else relating to the temple of *Mecca*, we must refer our readers to a preceding part of this work<sup>2</sup>.

- f FROM *Mashhad Hosein* the *Shiite* army marched to *Hesâsab*, and from thence to *Al Ambâr*, He and his or Ambâr, a city of Irâk, near the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in the territory of Baghdâd, and the imperial seat of Al Saffab, the first Khalif of the house of Abbâs. troops are cut to pieces by Obeid'allah. From *Ambâr* *Solimán* advanced to *Sodûd*; and from thence to *Kayyârah*, where he ordered his troops to pitch their tents. They had not been long here before *Solimán* received a friendly letter from *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, the governor of *Cúfa*; wherein he pressed him to return home, and represented to him, in the strongest terms, the folly and temerity of engaging so powerful an army as would be sent against him with a handful of men. *Abd'allah* concluded his letter with these remarkable words: "Do not set at nought my advice, nor contradict my command. Come as soon as my letter is read to you. God turn your faces towards his obedience, and your backs to a rebellion against him." But *Solimán* imagining that *Abd'allah* recalled them only in order to support *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, persisted in his intention of penetrating into *Syria*; telling his troops, that they would never be
- g

<sup>1</sup> MS. Laud. num. 167. & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. *Houssain & Metavakkel. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AHMED EBN YUSEF, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 117, &c. Mod Hist. vol. i. p. 59.*

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art.



nearer the two *Hoseins*, meaning *Hosein* and his brother *Hasan*, to whom the *Shiites* gave that name, than they were at present; and that if they, at this juncture, should meet with death, they would die in a state of repentance, and consequently obtain a remission of their sins. From *Kayyârah* the *Shiite* general moved to *Hait*, or *Haditza*, another town of *Irâk*, situated on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, from whence he wrote an answer to *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*; wherein he thanked him for his kind letter, but said that he could not accept of his invitation. To which he added, that his men considered themselves as true penitents, and therefore resolved to continue their march, and leave to God the success of the expedition. From *Haditza* *Solimân* advanced to *Karkisia*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, the *Cercusium* of the later *Greek* and *Roman* writers, whose walls were surrounded by the *Chabora*, or *Abora*, and the *Euphrates*; and from thence to *Ainwerda*, or *Ainwerdab*, where the *Separatists* gave out, that their design was to depose both the *Khalîfs*, and fix upon the *Moslem* throne one of the family of the prophet. But here a stop was put to their career, they meeting with the just reward of their temerity and presumption. For, *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd* came up with them at *Ainwerda*, or *Ras Ain*, as we find it called by *Abu'l Faraj*, with a body of 20,000 horse; in a short time brought them to a general action; and, after a sharp dispute, cut them all to pieces upon the spot \*.

*Merwân dies.* Soon after this decisive action, the governor of *Cûsa* released *Al Mokhtar*, whom he had before ordered to be confined, at the request of *Abd'allah Ebn Omar*, who had married *Al Mokhtar*'s sister. This happened a little before the death of *Merwân*, who departed this life in the month of *Ramadân*. It must here be remember'd, that, after *Moâwiyah*'s decease, *Merwân* was elected *Khalîf*, on condition that *Khâled*, the son of *Yezid*, should mount the *Moslem* throne after him, and his own children be excluded from the succession; *Khâled* at that time refusing to take the government upon him, on account of his tender age. To shew the purity and sincerity of his intentions in this affair, *Merwân* married *Yezid*'s widow, who was *Khâled*'s mother, and declared that he would never be guilty of an infraction of the treaty concluded with *Khâled*, in the minutest particular. However, afterwards altering his mind, he caused his eldest son *Abd'almâlec* to be proclaimed his lawful successor; which so disgusted *Khâled*, who always hated him, that he one day reviled him for it, before a great number of the nobility, in a very reproachful manner. This so incensed *Merwân*, that he called him bastard; which his mother being informed of by the child, she vowed to be revenged of him for so grievous an affront. In consequence of which resolution, she soon after poisoned him, as we find asserted by some of the *Arab* historians, or, as others will have it, smothered him, by laying a pillow on his face, when he was asleep, and sitting upon it till he was dead. However, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* seems to intimate, that *Merwân* died of the plague; and not a word is said of his wife's being even in any manner accessory to his death by *Abu'l Faraj*. Some authors make him to have been sixty-three, and others, with more probability, seventy-one years of age, at the time of his death. His wife, say those who believe that she destroyed him, gave out that he died suddenly. He reigned 298 days, or, as others affirm, eleven months, if we compute from the renewal of his inauguration. We find it intimated by *Theophanes*, that the *Arabs* elected *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Khalîf* at *Yathreb*, or *Medina*, which he denominates *Æthrib*, and the *Syrians* *Merwân*, called by him *Maruan*, at *Damascus*; where, according to this writer, he reigned about nine months. *Dionysius Telmarenis* makes *Yezid*, *Merwân*, and *Abd'almâlec*, to have reigned in continual succession, and consequently takes no notice of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* and *Moâwiyah* II. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have kept *Merwân* a year upon the *Moslem* throne. For this may be easily accounted for, if we suppose his *Khalîfat* to have commenced at the death of *Yezid*. It ought to be remarked here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a mistake, when he affirms, that *Merwân*'s authority was recognized by all the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, after the defeat of *Dabâk Ebn Kais*; and that he left his son *Abd'almâlec*, after his death, in full possession of the sovereignty of all those provinces. For, that *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* was invested with the supreme authority in *Arabia*, when *Abd'almâlec* ascended the *Syrian* throne, and not intirely reduced till the 73d year of the *Hejra*, is attested by the best *Arabic* writers, and even by M. *D'Herbelot* himself; and will, as we fully persuade ourselves, in the sequel of this history, most clearly appear \*.

*And is buried at Damascus.* As to his person, *Merwân* was tall and of a thin habit of body. He had blue or grey eyes, and red or yellowish hair. He was surnamed *Ebn Tarîd*, or *the son of the expelled*;

\* MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124, 234, 256. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 95. ZOSIM. lib. iii. c. 12, 13. EUTROP. lib. ix. c. 2. SEXT. RUF. c. xxii. PROCOP. Persic. lib. ii. c. 5. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiii. c. 11. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 57. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 198.

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 104. ut & ipse JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Marwan*, p. 558. & in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, p. 7.



- a his father *Al Hakem* having been banished by *Mohammed* to *Al Táyef*, or *Waj*, for divulging a secret that had been imparted to him. He continued in exile during the reigns of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, but was recalled by *Othmán*; to whom this was afterwards objected as one of his greatest crimes. His secretary was *Sofíán Ebn Abrád*, or, according to others, *Abd'al-lab Ebn Aws*; his *Kádi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Holwáni*; the captain of his guards, *Tahya Ebn Kais*; his chamberlain, *Abu Sabl*, his servant, who was a black, or negro, and his mother's freed-man. *Eutychius* fixes the duration of his *Khalifat* precisely at nine months, and *Abu'l Faraj* at seven and a few days; in which he differs from all other authors. He died, and was buried, at *Damascus*, and his son *Abd'almálec* performed the funeral-service over him. He expired, as has been already observed, in the month of *Ramadán*, or, as b *Eutychius* will have it, in the former *Rabí*, and the 65th year of the *Hejra*, corresponding with the year of our LORD 685<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup p. 198.

## S E C T. XI.

- c **A**BD'ALMALEC, the son of *Merwán*, who succeeded him, was surnamed *Abu'l-Walid*, *Abd'almálec* or, as others affirm, *Abu Merwán*, and, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was inaugurated on the 3d day of the month of *Ramadán*, being the very day on which his father died. His mother was *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Alúm Ebn Arab Ebn Abu'l As*, or, according to others, of *Moáwiyah Ebn Mogheirah Ebn Abu'l As Ebn Ommeya Ebn Abd Shems*. Some authors relate, that, at the time of his inauguration, he had the *Mosháf*, or the *Korán*, in his lap; which folding up, he said, probably to the person taking the oath of allegiance to him, "Let this divide, or determine, between me and thee." But this circumstance is related by *Abu'lfeda* in a different manner. He informs us, that when the news of his father's death was brought to *Abd'almálec*, the messengers found him with the *Korán* in the aforesaid position; d and that hereupon folding it up, he said, "I must take my leave of thee now." But this relation, though followed by Mr. *Ockley*, ought to be considered, on many accounts, as much more improbable than the other<sup>z</sup>.

- ABD'ALLAH EBN SOBEIR, who had been elected *Khalíf* by the *Arabs*, still holding his residence at *Mecca*, *Abd'almálec* would not permit his subjects to visit the temple there; and, for that reason, ordered the temple at *Jerusalem* to be so enlarged as to take the stone, or rather the steps, on which *Omar* had formerly prayed, and on which the *Moslems* had before erected a mosque; into the body of the church. The whole being, therefore, thus in a manner converted into a mosque, the *Syrians* performed their pilgrimage thither, as the *Arabs* under *Abd'allah's* jurisdiction did still to the *Caaba*. Not content with this *Abd'almálec* desired the *Christians* of *Damascus* to deliver into his hands one of their churches adjoining to the cathedral there. Upon which, they shewed him the instrument drawn up and signed by *Kháled Ebn Al Walíd*, when the city was taken in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; by which the possession of that and the other *Christian* churches was for ever secured to them. *Abd'almálec* then offered them a large sum of money, and gave them leave to build another church in lieu of it, in what part of the town they pleased. But not being hereby induced to part with it, he left it in their possession; not judging it proper or expedient at this juncture, when he had a powerful enemy to contend with, to take it from them by force<sup>a</sup>.

- THE following year, *Al Mokhtar*, who had found means, during his imprisonment, to keep up a correspondence with the sectaries, being informed of *Solimán's* fate, which, from the moment of that general's departure, he had expected, began to put himself in motion. As *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* still supported himself in *Arabia* against the new *Syrian Khalíf*, he thought this a proper time to put his design in execution; and therefore having received a commission from *Al Mobdi*, the son of *Mohammed*, the son of *Ali*, the great *Imám*, or head of the sect in a lineal succession, constituting him general of all his forces, he took the command of the *Shiite* army upon him. This was for some time opposed by *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar*, a man of considerable interest amongst the sectaries; but, upon *Al Mokhtar's* producing his commission, he acquiesced in the measures that had been taken, and *Al Mokhtar* was universally acknowledged generalissimo of the forces assembled to demand the blood of *Hossein*, or, in other words, to take vengeance of the murderers of that *Imám*. Nay, according to *Abu'lfeda*, he was formally inaugurated *Khalíf* upon the following terms; that he should govern according to the contents of the Book of God, and the traditions of his

<sup>z</sup> AL MAKIN, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 12. p. 58. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 198, 199. ISM. ABU'L FED. hist. univ. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 299. <sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.



apostle, and destroy all the murderers of *Hosein*. In consequence of which agreement, he a killed *Shamer*, *Kawla*, who carried *Hosein's* head to *Obeid'allah*, and *Amer*, who commanded the army that defeated the troops of that *Imâm*. The head of *Amer*, together with that of his son, he sent to *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*; and put *Adi Ebn Hathem*, whom he had taken prisoner, into the hands of the *Shiites*, who stripped him and shot him with arrows, in the same manner as he had served the son of *Ali*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to *Ebn Faljal Al Andalusi*, an *Arab* author of *Spain*; one *Masarjowyah*, a *Jewish* physician of *Basra*, flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Merwân*. He translated the medical pandects of *Aaron* the presbyter into the *Arabic* tongue. A remarkable story has been told of him by one *Ayub Ebn Al Hakem*; for the particulars of which we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>b</sup>.

A pacification  
concluded be-  
tween Ab-  
d'allah Ebn  
Zobeir and  
the followers  
of Ali.

AL MOKTAR EBN ABU OBEIDAH AL THAKIFI having received advice, that *Abd'almâlec* had sent an army to reduce *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and that a body of the *Khalif's* troops were posted upon the frontiers of *Irâk*, which he apprehended might attack him on that side, whilst *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, *Abd'allah's* brother, advanced against him with a strong detachment from *Basra*; he wrote a deceitful letter to *Abd'allah*, wherein he offered to march to his assistance, at the head of all his forces. *Abd'allah*, in answer to that letter, assured him, that, as soon as he had satisfied him of the sincerity of his allegiance, by receiving the suffrages of his men for him, he should look upon him as his friend, and not send any forces into his country. To which he added, that, for the present, he could not give him a more convincing proof of the sincerity of his intentions, than by sending a body c of troops, with all possible expedition, to watch the motions of the *Khalif Abd'almâlec's* army, that was then posted at *Dilkôra*. As soon as this answer came to hand, *Al Mokhtar* dispatched *Serjabil Ebn Wars*, one of his officers, with a body of 3000 men, consisting chiefly of slaves, there being but 700 *Arabs* amongst them, to *Medina*; commanding him, upon his arrival there, to write to him from thence for farther orders. His design herein was to send an *Emir* immediately to *Medina* to command those troops, whilst *Serjabil*, at the head of another body of the *Shiite* forces, should form the siege of *Mecca*, at that time the residence of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. But *Abd'allah*, not having received from *Al Mokhtar* the security he required, was resolved to be upon his guard; and therefore sent *Abbâs Ebn Sabel* to *Medina*, with a detachment of 2000 men; ordering him to treat *Al Mokhtar's* troops d as friends, if he found them really in his interest; but, if otherwise, to use his utmost endeavours to destroy them. *Abbâs*, upon his arrival at *Medina*, not being able to persuade *Serjabil* to march with him to *Dilkôra*, very justly entertained a suspicion of him. However, he dissembled this, till he found an opportunity of distributing a few sheep amongst *Al Mokhtar's* troops, reduced almost to the last extremity for want of provisions; which excited them to disperse themselves over the adjacent territory, in order to supply the camp with what necessaries they could collect. This being observed by *Abbâs*, he advanced at the head of his troops, to the enemy's tents, soon made himself master of them, killed *Serjabil* himself, with seventy of his men, and spared all the rest, who accepted of the quarter offered them, except about 300, who were afterwards put to the sword. *Al Mokhtar* e fearing this disaster might intimidate *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*, at the same time that he acquainted him with it, offered to support him with a powerful army. But *Mohammed* refused such assistance; telling him in the answer he wrote, that his intention was to have recourse only to pacific measures; and before the messenger, which he sent to *Al Mokhtar*, departed, he said, "Desire him to fear God, and abstain from all effusion of blood." But though *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*, and all the rest of *Ali's* family, behaved at *Mecca* in a very inoffensive manner, and were so far from exciting any commotions there, that they did their utmost to preserve the public tranquillity and repose; yet *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* not thinking himself safe as long as they refused a recognition of his authority, imprisoned them, together with seventeen of the principal *Cûfans*, set a guard over them, and threatened to f put them to death, and reduce their bodies afterwards to ashes, if, within a limited time, they did not take the oath of allegiance to him. *Al Mokhtar*, being informed of the distressed situation they were in, sent a body of 750 horse, under the command of *Abu Abd'allah Al Jodali*, to *Mecca*, to release them. *Al Jodali* not only executed his orders with great bravery, but likewise took *Abd'allah* himself prisoner, and would have cut him to pieces on the spot, had not *Mohammed* prevented such an act of violence, and composed all differences to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, by his timely interposition. *Abu Abd'allah Al Jodali*, or rather *Mohammed* himself, distributed a sum of money he brought with him amongst 4000 of *Ali's* friends, in order to make them some amends for the losses they had sustained. When *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah* was delivered from the prison near the well g *Zemzem*, in which he had been confined, the time allowed him to make his submission to

<sup>b</sup> ISL. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. AL MAKIN & GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup.



*Abd'allah* was within two days of being expired; and a sufficient quantity of wood, and other combustible materials, was prepared for burning both him and his companions, if they had not been set at liberty by the *Shiite* horse. One of the persons confined with *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah* was *Abd'allah Ebn Ayad*, a man highly esteemed by the followers of *Ali*. Notwithstanding the late pacification, *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*, after a distribution of *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah's* money amongst those that attended him had been made, for his farther security, took post on a mountain near *Mecca* with a body of 4000 men<sup>c</sup>.

THE *Cûfans* having received advice, that *Merwân*, before his death, had sent *Obeid'allah* Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyad defeated and killed. with a powerful army towards their city, and even given him a permission to plunder it for three days together, appointed *Yezid Ebn Ares*, a man of undaunted courage, to command the forces they raised to oppose him. But *Merwân* dying before *Obeid'allah* could execute his orders, an end was put, at least for the present, to the intended expedition. However, the *Cûfans* remembering this, and *Al Mokhtar* now being at leisure to chastize that general for suggesting such an enterprize to *Merwân*, as well as for the murder of *Hosein*, which still was the pretext for all the hostile proceedings of the sectaries; they assembled a body of troops, in their turn, to act offensively against *Obeid'allah*, and even the *Syrian Khatif* himself, if he should think fit to support him. There was one thing very remarkable in the preparations made for this expedition. *Al Mokhtar* caused a portable throne to be made, in which he pretended there was something mysterious; telling the people, that "it would be of the same use to them that the ark was to the children of *Israel*." Wherefore he ordered it to be carried on a mule with the forces that were to march against *Obeid'allah*, and a prayer to be said before it, conceived in the following terms: "O God! grant that we may live long in thy obedience; help us, and do not forget us, but protect us." To which the people answered, *Amen, Amen*. By this stratagem, than which nothing could have been devised more proper to animate a body of ignorant hot-headed enthusiasts, the *Cûfan* troops were inspired with such fortitude and resolution, that *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar*, *Al Mokhtar's* general, found it no difficult matter to lead them against the enemy. In fine, being determined to act offensively, he attacked *Obeid'allah's* camp; and, after a sharp engagement, forced it, put that general and many of his men to the sword, and drove a greater number of them into a neighbouring river, where they all immediately perished. *Ibrahim* cut off *Obeid'allah's* head, which, with some others, he sent to *Al Mokhtar*, and afterwards reduced his body to ashes. This victory the *Cûfans* ascribed intirely to the ark, or throne, and consequently almost idolized it for a long time after. We are told by some *Arab* authors, that the army commanded by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyad* consisted of 70,000 men, of whom 10,300 were killed in the action; and that the loss sustained by *Ibrahim* scarce amounted to 370 men. Be that as it will, the victory was complete; insomuch that *Nisibin*, or *Nisibis*, *Sinjar*, and *Dara*, or *Daras*, without the least opposition, surrendered to the victors. This great success rendered the sectaries so formidable, that they began to entertain thoughts in earnest of fixing either *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*, or some other of *Ali's* family, upon the *Moslem* throne<sup>d</sup>.

THE same year the late battle was fought, that is, the 67th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah* *Al Mokhtar* *Ebn Zobeir* sent his brother *Mus'ab* to govern *Basra*. *Al Mokhtar* was then absolute master of *Cûfa*, where he put all to the sword who would not join him, in order to revenge the murder of *Hosein*. Upon *Mus'ab's* arrival at *Basra*, he went into the mosque there, ascended the pulpit, and made a speech to the people. His predecessor *Al Hâreth* sat one step below him. In his speech, amongst other things, he reflected upon *Abd'almâlec*, and that part of the *Moslem* empire which submitted to him, and extolled the conduct of the *Arabs* who obeyed the orders of his brother *Abd'allah*. Then he told the *Basrans*, that as they usually gave names, or rather surnames, to their *Emirs*, he would take the liberty to assume that of *Hejâz*. Soon after which, one *Shebet* came to *Basra*, upon a crop-eared bob-tailed mule, from *Cûfa*, with his cloaths rent, crying out, *Ya gautha, Ya gautha, Help! Help!* He was attended by many of the principal *Cûfans*, who complained bitterly of *Al Mokhtar's* cruel and tyrannical administration; and begged *Mus'ab* to march with an army against him. This petition *Mus'ab* very readily complied with, and wrote immediately to *Al Moballeb*, his lieutenant in *Persia*, to come and join him with the *Persian* forces; which at last, though with some reluctance, he did. After this junction, *Mus'ab* and *Al Moballeb* advanced at the head of their troops into the territory of *Cûfa*, forced *Al Mokhtar* to a general action, overthrew him with great slaughter, and obliged him to shut himself up in the castle of *Cûfa*. Thither *Mus'ab* pursued him, and laid siege to the place. *Al Mokhtar* for some time made a brave defence; but being at last killed, his men surrendered at discretion. They amounted

<sup>c</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBFL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Mokhtar Ebn Abou Obeidah*, p. 619. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. et MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 59, 60.



to about 7000 in all, and were, on account of the outrages they had committed, every one of them put by *Mus'ab* to the sword<sup>a</sup>.

A farther account of the great captain Al Mokhtar.

THIS blow, which for the present at least put an end to all their towering projects, was given the *Motazalites* in the month of *Ramadân*, and the 67th year of the *Hejra*. The immediate consequence of which was the submission of *Cûfa*, and its district, to *Mus'ab*; after which *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar* took the oath of fidelity to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. This he did at the invitation of *Mus'ab*, who, being now master of *Irâk*, had him absolutely in his power. After this important conquest, *Mus'ab* appointed *Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra* to preside over *Mawfel* upon the *Tigris*, together with the provinces of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*. As for *Al Mokhtar*, he was killed in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after he had worsted, in several engagements, the generals of *Yezid*, *Merwân*, and *Abd'almâlec*, and made himself master of the *Babylonian Irâk*, of which *Cûfa* was the capital. He never pardoned any one who had declared himself an enemy to the house of *Hâshem*, or who had been in any manner concerned in the murder of *Hosein*. He was surnamed *Al Thakîfi*, as being originally of the tribe of *Thakîf*, and boasted that he had destroyed 50,000 of the adherents of the house of *Ommiyah*, exclusive of those that were slain in the battles which he fought. He left several children behind him, some of whom so signalized themselves by their glorious actions, that a book was afterwards written by an oriental author, intitled, *Anwar alathâr fi fadhl banu Al Mokhtar*; which contained an accurate account of all the illustrious achievements of *Al Mokhtar* and his descendents. We must beg leave here to observe, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a great mistake, when he tells us, that *Al Mokhtar* was found under an elephant's feet at the battle, or in the war, of *Kbaiber*, and that this war happened in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*. For the expedition against *Kbaibar* was undertaken by the prophet himself, in the seventh year of the *Hejra*; and consequently our hero *Al Mokhtar* could not then have been above seven years of age<sup>b</sup>.

The Azarakites overthrown by Omar Ebn Abd'allah Al Temimi.

THE next year, the *Azarakites*, so denominated from *Nasî Ebn Al Azarak*, the author of their sect, assembled a considerable force in *Persia*, and made an irruption into *Irâk*. They advanced almost to the gates of *Cûfa*, and penetrated to *Al Madâyen*. As they acknowledged no established government, either temporal or spiritual, and were sworn enemies to the house of *Ommiyah*, they committed terrible ravages in the province of *Abwâz*, and in every other part of the *Moslem* territories through which they moved. They carried their excesses so far as to murder all the people they met with, to rip open women with child, and to exercise every species of cruelty upon the *Moslems* of all denominations, without distinction of sex or age. One of them being desirous of sparing a lady of transcendent piety, as well as beauty, another said to him, "What! thou enemy of God, thou art captivated with her beauty, and hast denied the faith!" and instantly killed her. The governor of *Mawfel* and *Mesopotamia*, being informed of these unparalleled outrages, marched against them with a body of select troops, came up with them at a place called *Sawlâk*, and carried on a brisk war against them, for the space of eight months, without intermission; during which interval many sharp engagements happened. In some part of this term, their leader *Nasî Ebn Al Azarak* died, and was succeeded by *Katri Ebn Al Fojât*; under whose conduct they continued their depredations. *Mus'ab* being not pleased with his lieutenant *Mahleb*, or *Al Mohalleb*, *Abusafra's* management of the war, recalled him, and substituted in his room *Omar Ebn Abd'allah Al Temimi*, who gave the *Azarakites* a great overthrow at *Naisabûr* in *Khorasân*, put many of them to the sword, and pursued the rest as far as *Ispahân* and the province of *Kermân*. Here having received a reinforcement, they returned into the province of *Abwâz*, and did incredible damage to the country through which they passed. But *Omar* advancing a second time against them, they retired at his approach to *Al Madâyen*, and plundered the district belonging to that city in a dreadful manner. However, *Omar* pursuing them hither also, they fled first into *Kermân*, and afterwards into *Khorasân*, where they gradually dispersed themselves. This year there was a grievous famine in *Syria*, which hindered all military operations. *Abd'almâlec*, however, incamped near *Botnân*, near the district of *Kinnisrîn*, tho' he was not a little incommoded by the heavy rains that fell there; and, in the spring returned to *Damascus*, where he soon finished his preparations for the ensuing campaign<sup>c</sup>.

Abd'almâlec reduces Amru.

IN the 69th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'almâlec* left *Damascus*, in order to march against *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, who was grown very formidable since the defeat of the *Azarakites*, and appointed *Amru Ebn Sa'id* governor of that city. But *Amru* seizing upon it for himself, the *Khalîf* was obliged to return thither, and lay aside for the present the intended expedition. Upon

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 160. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Mokhtar Ben Abou Obeidah*, p. 619

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Moham. c. xlv. p. 87—92. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL WAKED. AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. EBN. ISHAK, Aut. lib. MO'ALEM AL TANZIL, &c.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Azarcab*, p. 154. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 188—190.



- a *Abd'almâlec's* arrival at *Damascus*, several skirmishes happened between detachments of his troops and some of *Amru's* men; but, by the intervention of the women, a treaty was at last concluded between the contending parties, and the public tranquillity intirely restored. However, the *Khalif* not forgetting his competitor's attempt, three or four days after sent for him, ordered him to be disarmed of his sword, and fetter'd, and beat out two of his fore-teeth. Then he went to the evening prayers, and left the execution of *Amru* to his brother *Abd'alaziz*; who being so nearly related to him, and commiserating his unhappy situation, threw away his sword, and resolved not to be the instrument of his death. The *Khalif* returning from the performance of his devotions, to his great surprize, found *Amru* alive; whereupon he ordered him to be laid upon his back, and immediately killed him.
- b This action, however, so affected *Abd'almâlec*, that he was seized with a tremor, which, for some time after, quite disabled him; insomuch that his servants were obliged to take him up, and lay him upon his couch. The people observing, that *Amru* did not attend the *Khalif* to prayers, acquainted his brother *Yabya* with the affair; who instantly armed 1000 of *Amru's* slaves, and attacked *Abd'almâlec's* palace. After a warm dispute, they forced open the gates, killed several of the guards, and were upon the point of entering the palace, when the people within threw *Amru's* head amongst them. This so cooled their ardour, that they desisted from the attempt; and some money having been soon after distributed amongst them by *Abd'alaziz*, they retired to their respective habitations. But so great was *Abd'almâlec's* avarice, that, as we are told by an *Arab* author of good repute, when the commotion was appeased, he recalled the money bestowed upon them, and ordered it all to be again deposited in the public treasury. As for *Yabya*, who was the ringleader in the late riot, he was sentenced to die; but *Abd'alaziz* prevailed upon the *Khalif* to convert that punishment, on account of his being a member of the *Ommiyan* family, into a month's imprisonment, and then to banish him to *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*. The quarrel between *Amru* and *Abd'almâlec*, which proved so fatal to the former, is said to have been occasioned by an emulation excited between them by an old woman, whom they frequently visited, in their infancy, and which continued to subsist till the very day of *Amru's* tragical death. *Merwân* being sufficiently apprized of this, and fearing it might produce fatal effects after his death, obliged the *Syrians* to take the oath of fidelity to *Abd'almâlec* as his successor, in his life-time, and to swear likewise to elevate to the *Moslem* throne, if that *Khalif* died without issue, his younger son *Abd'alaziz*.
- c We find it intimated by one of the *Arab* historians, that *Abd'almâlec* could not make himself master of *Damascus*, after it had been seized by *Amru*, or, as he calls him, *Omar Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, without laying a formal siege to that city <sup>h</sup>.

- In the 70th year of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* made an incursion into *Syria*. *Abd'almâlec* The Khalif having then occasion for all his forces, in order to reduce to his obedience *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, in *Arabia*, and *Mus'ab*, his brother, in *Irâk*, was not able to march against them; concludes a treaty with the Greek emperor. and therefore agreed to pay the *Greek* emperor 1000 *dinârs* every week for a certain term, to induce that prince to withdraw his troops out of the *Moslem* territories. This year *Mus'ab* went to *Mecca*, with all the wealth, cattle, and rich furniture, he had amassed; which he distributed amongst the *Arabs*. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* himself also performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca* about the same time. We must beg leave to observe, that according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, *Abd'almâlec* concluded a treaty with the emperor, in the third or fourth year of his reign, by which he engaged himself to pay that prince annually 365,000 pieces of money, or *dinârs*, and to send him every year 365 slaves, as well as the same number of horses, of a generous breed; and the *Christian* potentate, on his part, promised to repress the course of the *Maronites*, who committed great disorders in the *Khalif's* dominions. About two years before this event, a pestilence, of a very malignant kind, made dreadful havock in *Syria*. In the aforesaid treaty, it was also stipulated, that the revenues of *Cyprus*, *Armenia*, and *Iberia*, should be equally divided between the contracting powers. *Theophanes* adds,   
f that, in the same year, *Abd'almâlec* sent *Ziyad* the brother of *Mauia*, *Obeid'allah* the son of *Ziyâd*, the brother of *Moâwiyah* I. he must mean, against the tyrant and impostor *Mouchar*, or *Mouktar*, into *Persia*, and that *Ziyad*, or rather *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, was slain by *Mouchar*. He likewise farther relates, that as soon as the news of this blow reached the *Khalif*, he set out for *Mesopotamia*; but was obliged to return to *Damascus* by the rebellion of *Sa'id*, that is, *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, whom he left behind him there. Which rebellion, however, according to him, *Abd'almâlec* soon extinguished; and, in violation of his promise, put *Sa'id* to death. All which particulars, huddled together in so abrupt a manner, tho' in some points agreeing with the *Arab* historians, may be considered as an additional proof of the confused and indistinct accounts this chronographer has handed down to us of the   
g *Moslem* affairs <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 60, 61. <sup>i</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300, 301, 302, 303. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 440. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 323.



Abd'almâ'ec  
invades Irâk.

AED'ALMALÊC, being resolved to undertake an expedition into *Irâk* against *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, put to death the principal accomplices of *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, and dispatched *Khâled Ebn Asid* privately to *Basra*, to form a party for him there. *Mus'ab* having received intelligence of *Ebn Asid*'s arrival, attempted to surprize him; but without effect: which he imputed to the care the *Basrans* had taken to conceal him; and therefore reproached the chief of them in very sharp terms for their conduct on this occasion. Some of them he upbraided with their mean extraction, others with infamous actions committed either by them or their relations; and, in fine, all of them with something that incensed them greatly against him. In the mean time, *Abd'almâlec* had sent letters to the leading men full of large promises; and, amongst the rest, one to *Ibrahim Ebn Al Ashtar*, who delivered it to *Mus'ab* sealed up as it came. That letter contained a promise to *Ibrahim* of the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, if he would declare in favour of the *Khalîf*. *Ibrahim* then assured *Mus'ab*, that he should persist in his fidelity to him; and advised him, as *Abd'almâlec* had undoubtedly written to the other principal persons in *Basra*, whom he thought he could confide in, to the same effect, to behead all those whom he had reason to suspect were in that prince's interest. But *Mus'ab* not approving of this expedient, as he imagined it would create in the people of *Irâk* an aversion to him; *Ibrahim* pressed him to put them under arrest, till his fate was determined: so that, if he should be defeated by *Abd'almâlec*, their heads might be cut off, upon the first arrival of the bad news at *Basra*; but, if he obtained the victory, he might make a compliment of them to their tribes. As for *Abd'almâlec*, his subjects did their utmost to prevail upon him to reduce *Irâk* by his generals, and not expose his person to the hazards of war; fearing lest their affairs should be embroiled, if any disaster should happen to him, as their government was not yet settled upon a solid foundation. But the *Syrian Khalîf* believing himself perfectly qualified to command his troops in this expedition, both by his abilities in war, and his personal courage, and that he was a better match for *Mus'ab* than any of his generals, would not be persuaded to stay at home, whilst his forces were in the field. Having, therefore, finished his military preparations, he began his march for *Irâk*, and at last arrived at *Masken*, where *Mus'ab* had drawn up his army in order of battle. *Masken*, which we find called *Sakan* by *Abu'l Faraj*, is a small town in the deserts either of *Al Shâm* or *Al Fazira*, between *Tadmor* and the town of *Tayba*, near the *Euphrates*, upon the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*. It derived its name from a fountain or spring of hot water, in *Arabic* denominated *Sukbn*, surrounded with palm-trees, at a small distance from it. This place is the *Sukana* of the maps, and the *Sakhna*, or *Sukbna*, of the oriental geographers<sup>k</sup>.

The battle of  
Masken.

AFTER several movements, the two armies came in sight of each other, and made the necessary dispositions for an engagement. The troops of *Irâk*, according to custom, were resolved to desert *Mus'ab*, and not expose their country, on his account, to the ravages of a *Syrian* army. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Ashtar* began the battle, by charging *Mohammed Ebn Harûn* with such fury, that he forced him to retire; tho', being sustained by a fresh body of troops, headed by the *Khalîf* himself, he soon returned to the charge, repulsed *Ibrahim* in his turn, and killed him upon the spot. *Mus'ab*'s general of the horse, either intimidated by the death and defeat of *Ibrahim*, or through treachery, soon after this, betook himself to flight; and many of the other *Irâkian* officers, who did not abandon their posts, refused to fight. Neither *Omar Ebn Abd'allah*, nor *Al Moballeb*, nor *Ibâd Ebn Hossam*, appeared in this engagement; of which *Abd'almâlec* being informed, he took occasion from thence to presage a certain victory to his troops. *Mus'ab*, being pressed on all sides, endeavoured to prevail upon his son *Isa* to make his escape to *Mecca*, and acquaint his uncle *Abd'allah* with the perfidy of the people of *Irâk*; but he could not by any means be induced to desert his father at that perilous conjuncture; declaring he would not survive him. On the contrary, he advised him to retreat first to *Basra*, and afterwards to *Mecca*, himself; but *Mus'ab* would not hear of such infamous conduct. Nay, he would not accept of quarter, when tendered him by the *Khalîf*, but persisted in his resolution of dying upon the field of battle. His son, therefore, who was determined not to forsake him, and he rushing into the midst of the enemy, fought like men animated by despair, destroyed several of the *Syrians*, and were at last both laid dead upon the spot. *Mus'ab* was first grievously wounded with arrows, then stabbed in several places, and had finally his head cut off by a man who carried it immediately to the *Khalîf*. *Abd'almâlec* offered the bearer 1000 *dinârs*; which he would not take; saying, that as he had slain *Mus'ab* purely to gratify his own private resentment, he had no manner of title to it. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that *Abd'almâlec* and *Mus'ab*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Merwân*, had contracted an intimate friendship; but that the latter afterwards marrying *Sekina*, the daughter of *Hosein*, and *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Telha*, became allied

<sup>k</sup> MS. Laud num. 161. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 199. ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Sachna*.



- a to two families that bore an implacable hatred to the house of *Ommiyah*. *Theophanes* relates; that about this time, whilst the *Arabs* were engaged in a civil war, the imperial forces, under the conduct of *Leontius*, drove them out of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Media*, and *Bulgacia*; with great slaughter, and re-annexed those provinces to the empire. He also informs us; that *Abd'almâlec*, whom he calls *Abimelec*, after *Mus'ab* had cut off *Mouk'ar*, killed and defeated that conqueror, and reduced *Persia*, or rather *Irâk*, under his dominion; which agrees tolerably well with what we find advanced in this point by the *Arab* historians. For, according to them, after the battle of *Masken*, *Cûfa* opened its gates to the *Syrian Khalîf*, and both the *Persian* and *Babylonian Irâk* submitted to him. The people of those provinces came in crowds; and, among the rest, *Yahya*, the brother of *Amru*, whom he had killed,
- b to take the oath of allegiance to him. After the conclusion of that ceremony, he ordered vast sums of money to be distributed amongst them, and gave a splendid entertainment to his new subjects, to which even the meanest of them were admitted. Neither the *Arab* nor the *Greek* writers have preserved many particulars of the battle of *Masken*, nor transmitted down to us on account of the number of *Moslems* killed and wounded on either side in that memorable action<sup>1</sup>.

- DURING the banquet prepared for the *Cûfans*, *Abd'almâlec* took great notice of *Amru Ebn* The Khalif *Al Hâreth*, an ancient *Makhzumite*, whom he placed by him on his *Sofa*. Amongst other takes great notice of an old Makhzumite. questions, he asked him what sort of food pleased him best? To which the old *Makhzumite* answered, "An ass's head season'd high and well roasted." "That is but an ordinary
- c "dish," replied the *Khalîf*; "what say you to a leg or a shoulder of a sucking lamb, well roasted and covered with butter and milk?" From whence we may infer, that the *Arabs*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, had at least some dishes similar to those made use of by their progenitors in *Abraham's* time. For, that *Abraham* entertained his divine guests with butter, milk, and a calf which he had dressed, is attested by the author of the *Pentateuch*; and that he was at no great distance from the borders of *Arabia*, when he gave that entertainment, we are certainly informed by the same sacred historian. When the supper was over, the *Makhzumite* diverted the *Khalîf* with a particular account of the antiquities of the castle; after which, *Mus'ab's* head, that had been just brought in, was exhibited to his view. One of the company seeing it, said to *Abd'almâlec*, "I saw *Hosein's*
- d "head in this same castle presented to *Obeid'allah*, *Obeid'allah's* to *Al Mokhtar*, *Al Mokhtar's* to *Mus'ab*, and now at last *Mus'ab's* to yourself." This observation greatly affected the *Khalîf*, who, in order to avert the ill omen, commanded the castle to be immediately demolished. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, having received the melancholy news of his brother's death, assembled the people in the mosque at *Mecca*, and made a speech to them from the pulpit suitable to the occasion. He also did his utmost to put his capital in a posture of defence, and render it capable of sustaining a siege; expecting a speedy visit from his formidable competitor, who now gave law to *Irâk*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, without controul<sup>m</sup>.

- THE *Separatists*, or *Azarakites*, in the neighbourhood of *Mawfel*, received advice of the The Motazalites apprize Al Mohalleb of the defeat at Masken. defeat at *Masken*, and of *Mus'ab's* death, which happened in the 71st year of the *Hejra*, before *Al Mohalleb*, the governor of that city, and its dependencies, with whom they were then at war, was apprized of those fatal events. Whereupon some of them asked certain of his men what they thought of *Mus'ab*? They replied, "He is a lawful *Imâm*." "He is then," said the sectaries, "your friend both in this world and that which is to come; and you are his friends both alive and dead." To which the others answered in the affirmative. "And what," demanded the *Separatists*, "is your opinion of *Abd'almâlec*, the son of *Merwân*?" "He is," said they, "the son of the accursed; we acknowledge him not, but hold it more lawful for us to shed his blood than yours?" "And you are," continued the *Separatists*, "his enemies both alive and dead?" "Yes," replied the others. "Very well,"
- f said the *Azarakites*, "*Abd'almâlec* has killed *Mus'ab*, your *Imâm*; and you will make him your *Imâm* to-morrow, tho' you wash your hands of him to-day, and curse his father." To which the others answered, "You lie, you enemies of God." However, being certainly informed the next day of what had happened, they changed their note, and took the oath of allegiance to *Abd'almâlec* without hesitation. For which being reproached by the *Azarakites* in very severe terms, they defended themselves, by saying, "We were pleased with the other as long as he presided over us; and now we approve of this, as we did before of him." "You are," replied the *Azarakites*, "brethren of the devils, companions of the wicked, and slaves to the present world." With regard to *Mus'ab*, he was,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univer. GREG ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 303, 304. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. 61. <sup>m</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GEN. xviii. 8. xiii. 18. xxiii. 19. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 13 13. MS. Huntingt. n. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Abd'almâlec*, p. 8. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 330, 331.



if we will believe an *Arab* author of good note, an officer of distinguished bravery, great generosity, and of a very comely agreeable person. Tho' he had a son that fell with him in the battle of *Masken*, as has been already observed, he was not above six and-thirty years of age when he met with his untimely fate <sup>a</sup>.

The Azarakites, or Separatists, defeated Abd'alaziz.

Soon after *Abd'almâlec's* arrival at *Damascus*, he conferred upon his brother, *Bashar Ebn Merwân*, the government of *Cûfa*, and upon *Khâled Ebn Abd'allah* that of *Basra*. The latter of these had no sooner taken possession of his post, than he appointed *Al Moballeb* supervisor of the tribute of *Basra*; which was a very indiscrete and impolitic step, as *Al Moballeb* was one of the most consummate generals of his age. To this imprudent measure was probably owing the disaster that immediately followed. The *Azarakites*, being apprized of *Al Moballeb's* dismissal from the command of the army destined to act against them, and that he was succeeded by *Abd'alaziz* in that important post, advanced against the latter with great alacrity, intirely defeated him, and took his wife prisoner. A debate arising amongst the victors about the value of that lady, which some fixed at 100,000 *dinârs*, one of them, in order to put an end to it, immediately struck off her head. *Khâled*, after the blow he had received, wrote a letter to the *Khalîf*, acquainting him with the loss the army had sustained, and desiring to know what step he was next to take. *Abd'almâlec*, in the answer he sent him, condemned *Khâled's* conduct, ordered him to remove *Abd'alaziz* from the command of the forces assigned him, to substitute *Al Moballeb*, whom he called *the son and the grandson of war*, in his room, to advance into the province of *Abwâz* with all the troops he could assemble, and, in fine, to do nothing without the privity and advice of *Al Moballeb*. This answer by no means pleased *Khâled*, tho' the *Khalîf* also promised him in it a speedy reinforcement; and, in consequence of that promise, sent a body of 5000 *Cûfans*, under the command of his brother *Bashar*, soon after to join him. *Bashar*, before his arrival, dispatched a courier to *Al Moballeb*, to give him notice of his approach; the good of the *Khalîf's* service at that time rendering it necessary to treat a person of that general's merit with great marks of distinction <sup>b</sup>.

The Azarakites are overthrown by Khâled and Al Moballeb.

THE *Khalîf's* generals receiving advice, that the *Azarakites*, or *Separatists*, were in motion, advanced at the head of the army as far as *Abwâz*, the metropolis of the province of the same name, and pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of that city. Soon after their arrival here, *Al Moballeb* advised *Khâled* to seize some ships that then appeared in the river on which *Abwâz* was situated; but they were burnt, before that design could be put in execution, by a party of the enemy's horse. *Al Moballeb* taking upon him one day to view all the posts of the camp, observed that an officer had not taken the precaution to intrench himself; who being asked by that general the reason of this, replied, that he valued the *Azarakites* no more than a camel's fart: but *Al Moballeb* told him, that he ought not to despise them, since they were the lions of the *Arabs*. In consequence of this notion, that commander ordered a line to be drawn round the camp; and the troops remained in their intrenchments about twenty days. After the expiration of which term, *Khâled* and *Al Moballeb* fell upon the enemy with such fury, that, after a most sharp and bloody engagement, they overthrew them, and took possession of their camp. Upon which, *Khâled* detached *David*, one of his officers, to pursue the fugitives with a body of horse, and dispatched an express to the *Khalîf* with a particular account of the victory they had gained. *Abd'almâlec* hereupon sent an order to *Bashar* to reinforce *David's* detachment with another body of 4000 horse, that he might be thereby enabled to push the *Azarakites* to the very centre of *Persia*. This was accordingly done, and those detachments of cavalry, after a long and fatiguing pursuit, in which most of their horses perished, returned in a very shattered condition to *Abwâz*. That city, denominated likewise by some of the eastern writers *Ebwâz*, seems to have been called in early times by the *Persians* the city of *Hormuz*, or *Hormuzd*, which answered to the *Diospolis* of the *Greeks*; *Hormuz*, *Hormuzd*, or *Ormuzd*, denoting *Jupiter* amongst the *Persians*, as we learn from *Plutarch*. The name of *Abwâz* is sometimes applied to the whole region of *Khûzestân*, or *Khûzistân*, of which the province of *Abwâz* is the best and most considerable part. The old metropolis of this province at present lies in ruins; so that very few traces, or remains, of that antient city are now to be seen <sup>c</sup>.

Abd'al'mâlec's forces invest Mecca.

ABD'ALMALEC having thus defeated and dispersed the *Azarakites*, in the 72d year of the *Hejra*, had no enemy left to contend with but *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who still was considered as *Khalîf* by the *Arabs*, and held his residence at *Mecca*. He, therefore, made great preparations for an invasion of *Hejâz*, and appointed *Al Hejâj Ebn Yusef Al Thakîfi*, one of the most warlike and eloquent captains of the age, to command the troops to be employed in this expedition. *Al Hejâj* having imagined in a dream that he had overcome *Abd'allah Ebn*

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 61.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. & AL MAKIN,

ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 39, 118. PLUT. de Iud. et Osirid. See SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. disc.



- a Zobeir, taken him prisoner, and flayed him, the Syrian *Khalif* considered this as a good omen; and therefore resolved to commit the management of the war to be carried on against the *Khalif* of Mecca to his care. Before he put his army in march for Mecca, he offered his protection to all the *Arabs* there that would accept of it, and take an oath of fidelity to him. *Abd'allah* being informed of *Al Hejaj's* approach, sent out several parties of horse to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. Betwixt these and some of *Al Hejaj's* advanced guards several skirmishes happened, in which *Abd'allah's* men had generally the worst. This encouraged *Al Hejaj* to send to his master for a farther reinforcement, his army, consisting of only 2000 men, not being strong enough to form the siege of Mecca; assuring him, that *Abd'allah's* fierceness was very much abated, and that his men deserted him daily. Upon which, *Abd'almalec* ordered *Tharik Ebn Amer* to march to his assistance with a body of 5000 men. In the mean time, *Al Hejaj* advanced to *Al Tayef*, a town about 60 miles east of Mecca, in the month of *Shaaban*, and was joined by *Tharik* with the forces under his command the new moon of the following *Dhul'hajja*; after which junction, he continued his route to Mecca, and immediately invested that place. We find it intimated by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Theodocus* and *Theodunus*, two very eminent physicians, were great favourites of this *Al Hejaj*; that *Theodunus* composed a large physical treatise, for the instruction of his son; and that some of *Theodocus's* scholars and followers flourished till the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbās* mounted the *Moslem* throne<sup>a</sup>.

- c IN the 73d year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah* offered the whole public revenues of *Khorasān* *Abd'almalec* for seven years to *Abd'almalec Ebn Hāzim*, if he would make his submission to him; which so incensed that commander, that he forced the *Khalif's* messenger to eat the letter he brought, and would have cut him to pieces upon the spot, had he not foreseen that such an action would have created a disturbance between two of the *Arab* tribes. *Abd'almalec*, therefore, in order to chastize him for his insolence, as well as his refusal to recognize his authority, sent one of his generals with a body of troops against him; who first defeated and dispersed his forces, and afterwards put him to death. Others say, that *Abd'almalec* made no overtures to *Abd'allah Ebn Hāzim*, till after the reduction of *Hejaz*; and that he sent *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's* head to *Ebn Hāzim*, imagining that the sight of this would have intimidated him into a submission. But, according to them, it produced a quite contrary effect. That general, continue they, swore, as soon as he saw it, that he would never obey *Abd'almalec's* orders as long as he lived, washed the head in a basin, embalmed it, wrapped it up in linen, prayed over it, and then sent it to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's* relations at Mecca. They also relate, that he obliged the messenger to eat the letter he brought, and told him, that if he had not been a messenger, he would instantly have ordered his head to have been struck off. But this relation, however it may be countenanced by Mr. *Ockley*, we are by no means disposed to admit; since the *Arab* authors in a manner unanimously agree, that *Abd'almalec* had subdued all his other competitors before *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* was destroyed<sup>b</sup>. Mecca taken

- d NOTWITHSTANDING the reinforcement *Al Hejaj* had received, for some time he had by *Al Hejaj*. made very little progress in the siege of Mecca. Whilst he battered the temple there with his military engines, it thundered and lightened so dreadfully, that the *Syrians* were struck with terror, and refused to play them any longer upon that edifice. Upon which, *Al Hejaj* stuck the corner of his vest into his girdle, and putting one of the stones that was to be discharged out of his catapults into it, flung it upon the town; and this occasioned the recommencement of the operations. The next morning, the *Syrians* were annoyed by several successive storms, that killed twelve of their men, and quite dispirited them. *Al Hejaj* seeing them in such a consternation, said, "O *Syrians*! let not this terrify you. I am a son of *Tebama*. e "This, therefore, is the storm of *Tebama*. Victory is at hand. Rejoice at the news of it, "especially since the rebels suffer as much as you." The day following, some of *Abd'allah's* men were killed by another storm, that was extremely violent, which gave *Al Hejaj* a farther opportunity of animating his troops. At last *Abd'allah*, having been deserted by most of his friends, 10,000 of the inhabitants of Mecca, and even his two sons *Hamza* and *Kho-beib*, desired to know his mother's sentiments as to the course he was to take. He represented to her, that he was almost intirely abandoned by his subjects and relations; that the few who persisted in their fidelity to him could scarce enable him to defend the city any longer; and that the *Syrian Khalif* would grant him any terms he should think fit to demand. She, f being a woman of inflexible resolution, and not able to bear the thoughts of seeing her son reduced to the condition of a private person, having herself been the grand-daughter, or rather, as has been already observed, the daughter, of *Abu Becr*, the first *Khalif*, advised him by no means to survive the sovereignty, of which he was upon the point of being deprived. This perfectly agreeing with his own sentiments, he resolved to die in the defence of the

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161, et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 200. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 366, 367. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage Ben Josef Al Thakefi*, p. 442.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 341, 342. ISM. ABU'LFED. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. et EUTYCH. ubi supra.



place; so that, to the great surprize of the besiegers, he maintained himself there ten days longer, tho' destitute of arms, troops, and fortifications. At last, having taken a final leave of his mother, and being animated by despair, he made a sally upon the enemy, destroyed a great number of them with his own hands, and was at length himself killed, fighting valiantly, upon the spot. We are told, that his mother obliged him to put off a coat of mail he had on when he made her his last visit, and which he wore that he might be the better able to defend her; pressing him, after the conference was over, to rush into the midst of the enemy, and die a martyr for the cause of truth. It is also said, that when he told her he was not so much afraid of dying, as of being exposed after death, she courageously replied, *When a sheep is once killed, it is not sensible of the pain of excoriation*; and that, in order to inspire him with a greater degree of fortitude in the article of death, she gave him a draught into which a pound of musk had been infused. The enemy not daring to approach him, pelted him with stones, and wounded him in several places, before they gave him the fatal stroke. When he felt the blood run down his face and beard, he repeated an *Arabic* verse, importing, that *the blood of our wounds does not fall down upon our heels, but upon our feet*. By which he implied, that he did not turn his back upon his enemies, however terrible they might appear. After his death, *Al Hejâj* ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be affixed to a cross in the city. Which body, being perfumed with the musk *Abd'allah* had drank, emitted a grateful odour for several days; and was afterwards interred in the burying place of the *Jews* at *Medina*. As to the duration of the siege of *Mecca*, authors are not perfectly agreed; some make it amount to seven months and a few days, and others to eight months and seventeen nights. According to the writers followed by *Al Makin*, *Abd'allah's* mother survived him only five days. The reduction of *Mecca* put *Abd'almâlec* in possession of the peninsula of the *Arabs*, and consequently rendered him sole and absolute master of the *Moslem* empire<sup>a</sup>.

Abd'allah  
Ebn Zobeir's  
character.

*ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR* presided over the *Arabs* nine years and twenty-two days, having been inaugurated immediately after the death of *Yezid*. He was a man of extraordinary courage, as was allowed even by *Abd'almâlec* and *Tbarik* themselves, and as sufficiently appeared from the whole tenor of his conduct, but more particularly from his noble defence of *Mecca*, tho' the place was in a manner void both of troops and fortifications. He has been represented likewise by some of the eastern writers as a person of exemplary piety, and so fixed and unmoved when employed in the performance of his devotion, that nothing could divert his attention from the object of them; of which they supply us with the following remarkable instance. When he was once at prayer, a pigeon lighted upon his head, and sat there a considerable time, without his being in the least sensible of it. And yet notwithstanding these amiable qualities, he is said to have been covetous to such a degree, that his avarice became a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that he wore a suit of cloaths forty years without ever putting them off his back; which is absolutely incredible. He was about seventy-two years of age at the time of his death, and of a family not very acute, according to some of the *Moslem* historians. His secretary's name was *Deyl Ebn Omar*, and his chamberlain's *Salem*. In the beginning of the siege of *Mecca*, he resided for the most part in the *Caaba*; but after *Al Hejâj* had beat down one part of that place by the stones he discharged upon it, and set fire to the other by some burning balls of pitch, which, by the assistance of his engines, he found means to communicate to it, he found himself obliged to retire to his own house. In fine, *Abd'allah* was killed, and *Mecca* taken, on the 18th day of the former *Jomâda*, in the 73d year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 692. About this time, *Abd'almâlec* ordered the poll-tax, or capitation, called *Taadil*, to be levied upon the *Christians* of *Syria*. The same year, *Mohammed Ebn Merwân* gained a victory over the *Greeks*, which was attended with the surrender of *Affasyah*; and *Othmân Ebn Walid* made an irruption into *Armenia* with a body of 4000 *Arabs*, and defeated likewise an army of the same nation that amounted to 60,000 men. The *Greek* writers only in general observe, that all civil wars ceasing at this time amongst the *Moslems*, they became reunited under one prince; and that *Abd'almâlec* being now firmly seated upon his throne, discovered an inclination to keep up a good understanding with all the neighbouring powers<sup>b</sup>.

Several sharp  
engagements  
in Armenia.

AFTER the late victory, *Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, who was then governor of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*, sustained a very great loss in the first of those countries, by the defeat and total destruction of an army of 100,000 men, sent against the *Hararians*, *Kha-*

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 61, 62. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 366—369. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 199. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, p. 7. <sup>b</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. hist. univer. vol. i. MS. Poc. num. 303. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 62. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simon. Asseman. in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino Vatican. tom. ii. p. 104. ut et ipse JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 304. GEO. CEDREN. historiæ compend. p. 441.



a *varians*, or rather *Khazarians*, there. Upon which *Mohammed*, at the head of another army of 40,000 men, who were all chosen troops, penetrated into the very heart of *Armenia*, defeated and dispersed a large body of the *Khazarians*, drove them into their temples, and reduced them to ashes there. *Moslem Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân* also, with another body of the *Moslem* forces, attacked an army of 80,000 *Khazarians*, at the *Iron*, or *Caspian*, *Gates*, and destroyed a great number of them. The rest were obliged by the victors to embrace the *Mohammedan* faith. Several other actions happened about the same time in that country, of which no clear and distinct account has been handed down to us either by the *Moslem* or *Christian* historians <sup>u</sup>.

b In the 74th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Hejâj* demolished the temple of *Mecca*, after it had <sup>Hejâj's</sup> been repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, rebuilt it, and restored it to the form it was in before <sup>cruelty.</sup> *Mohammed's* time, wherein it still remains. Having been appointed the governor of *Medina*, he exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the inhabitants of that city. He frequently quarrelled with them without any manner of provocation, and punished them where there was not the least appearance of any crime. It has been observed by some *Arab* writers, that there happened a very remarkable solar eclipse this year, on *Monday*, towards the close of the former *Jomâda*; in one part of the duration of which the stars very clearly appeared <sup>v</sup>.

c THE following year, *Abd'almâlec* made *Al Hejâj* his lieutenant of *Irâk*; of which post <sup>Hejâj appoint-</sup> that general took possession at *Cûfa*, escorted by a body of 12,000 horse. The *Khalîf* like- <sup>ed governor of</sup> wise constituted him governor of *Khorasân* and *Sijistân*, after the death of his brother *Bashar*. <sup>Irâk, Khorasân, and Si-</sup> *Al Hejâj* entered *Cûfa*, muffled up in his turban, and was soon surrounded by crowds of <sup>jistân.</sup> people, who pressed forwards to see him. He told them their curiosity should soon be gratified, as he would immediately discover himself to them. Then going directly to the mosque, he ascended the *membar*, or pulpit, where he treated them after a very coarse manner; swearing that he would make the wicked bear his own burden, and fit him with his own shoe. One day, after a short pause, in the pulpit, he said, *O people of Irâk, methinks I see the heads of men ripe and ready to be gathered, and turbans and beards sprinkled with blood.* The day after his arrival at *Cûfa*, he upbraided, in very sharp terms, the inhabitants of that city; swearing to them from the pulpit, that his punishments, in rigour and severity, d should exceed those of the most cruel of his predecessors, and be a pattern for his successors to the remotest periods of time. Those who had any hand in the murder of *Othmân* were the principal objects of his fury and resentment, both at *Cûfa* and *Basra*; to the latter of which places he went after a short stay at the other, and made the citizens there a speech conceived in much the same terms as that above-mentioned. And to give the *Basrans* a taste of his discipline, he caused one of them, who had been informed against as a rebel, to be beheaded upon the spot. In fine, his conduct so exasperated the people of *Irâk*, that they made an insurrection against him; but having defeated them in a pitched battle, and sent eighteen of their heads to *Al Moballeb*, he returned to *Basra*. Soon after which, he sent a body of troops, under the command of *Al Moballeb*, called by *Al Makin Al Moballeb Ebn* e *Abusafra*, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Mebnef*, against the *Azarakites*, who began again to be in motions. Those generals at first obtained several advantages over the rebels: but *Abd'alrahmân*, refusing to listen to the advice of *Al Moballeb*, and neglecting to intrench himself, was at last surprized, and cut to pieces, with all the troops he commanded; which proved a very considerable loss. What part of the *Moslem* territories was the theatre of this war, we are not told by the *Arab* writers; but, from several circumstances recorded by those writers, either the province of *Abwâz*, or some neighbouring district, seems to have been the scene of these commotions. The *Azarakites*, at this time, were probably posted f at no great distance from *Basra*, as the revolt, that happened there at this juncture, proved no small encouragement to those rebels, and animated them to attack the forces sent against them by *Al Hejâj*. However, they reaped no great advantage from that event; *Al Moballeb* soon afterwards putting them to flight, and driving them before him, as it should seem, into some of the remoter parts of *Persia*. We have already given our readers a description of the province and city of *Abwâz*, and shall therefore take no farther notice of it here <sup>x</sup>.

In the 76th year of the *Hejra*, *Saleb Ebn Marj*, a hot-headed sectary, and *Shebib Ebn* <sup>Saleb and</sup> *Zeid*, a *Khârejite*, took up arms against the *Khalîf*. They had both been on pilgrimage at *Mecca* the preceding year, when *Abd'almâlec* was there, and formed a conspiracy against <sup>Shebib rebel</sup> him. The *Khalîf*, being apprized of this, ordered *Al Hejâj* to seize them; but they eluded <sup>against the</sup> all his vigilance, and found means to make their escape. *Saleb* remained very secure a <sup>Khalîf.</sup>

<sup>u</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 62. D'HERBEL. p. 429, 1002, 1003.

<sup>v</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

AL JANNAB. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 63. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 368, 369.

<sup>x</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 63. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiræ*, p. 442, 443. GOLL not. ad Alfragan. p. 118.



month at *Cúfa*, and concerted the most proper measures with his friends there, to carry his design into execution. That branch of the *Khârejites*, that followed him, went under the name of *Safrians*, and appeared now for the first time in arms. He was a man much given to devotion, and had many followers in *Mawfel* and *Mesopotamia*, to whom he frequently read and expounded the *Korân*. He once delivered a discourse, which so pleased all his hearers, that they begged he would favour them with a copy of it. He granted their request; and by this means that discourse has been preserved to the present age; but as it is little better than enthusiastic cant, or rather a collection of crude exhortatory observations, adapted to the taste of those hot-headed illiterate enthusiasts, to whom it was directed, and intirely calculated to excite them to a rebellion; as it throws not the least light upon that part of the *Arab* history, in which we are now engaged, and consequently contains nothing that can render it in any degree either instructive or entertaining; an omission of it here will by no means prove unacceptable to our sagacious and intelligent readers<sup>y</sup>.

And are driven  
to Mawfel.

WHILST *Saleb* was haranguing his followers, in order to inspire them with sentiments of abhorrence both of the *Khalîf* and *Al Hejâj*, he received a letter from *Shebib*; wherein that incendiary reproved him for being so tardy in his motions. *Saleb*, in his answer, by way of recrimination, told him, that, had he himself not been so dilatory, hostilities would have commenced before that time against the wicked *Imâm*; that his delay had raised in them a suspicion of him; and that they waited only for his arrival, in order to enter upon action. This rousing *Shebib*, he immediately joined *Saleb* at *Dara'ljazira*, that is, *Dara*, or *Daras*, in *Mesopotamia*, of which *Mohammed Ebn Merwân* was at that time governor, with a small body of infantry, and saluted him emperor of the faithful there. After this junction, they seized some of *Mohammed's* horses in a neighbouring village, upon which they mounted their foot. The governor soon received intelligence of their motions; but despising their number, the whole force commanded by these enthusiasts not exceeding 120 men, he only ordered *Adi* to march against them with a detachment of 500 men. But *Adi* informing him, that this force was insufficient to reduce them, he reinforced him with 500 more; upon which, he advanced to *Daras*, near which place the *Safrians*, or *Khârejites*, had posted themselves. *Adi*, having no mind to fight, notwithstanding his vast superiority in point of numbers, gave *Saleb* to understand, that if he would quit *Mesopotamia*, and invade some other province, he would not oppose him; but this *Saleb* refused to do, except *Adi* would declare himself to be of the same religious and political sentiments with the *Safrians*, who acknowledged him for their chief. This proposal not being relished by *Adi*, nothing could then be concluded upon. *Adi*, soon after this first effort to prevail upon *Saleb* to depart out of *Mesopotamia* by amicable means proved ineffectual, not being sufficiently upon his guard, was surprized by the enemy; who attacked him whilst he was saying the noon-prayers, put him to the rout, and made themselves masters of his camp. *Mohammed*, receiving advice of this defeat, ordered *Khâled Ebn Al Jora* and *Al Hâreth*, each at the head of 1500 men, to advance against the *Separatists*; who coming up with them near *Amed*, or *Amida*, a fierce conflict ensued. The rebels behaved with great bravery on this occasion, and repulsed in such a manner the *Khalîf's* horse, that they were obliged to dismount, and fight on foot: after which, they warmly attacked the enemy. However, the *Safrians* defended themselves with unparalleled intrepidity, till the approach of the night put an end to the action; tho' finding themselves not able to cope with the *Khalîf's* forces, they soon after decamped, and retired with great precipitation to *Mawfel*. From thence they continued their route to *Dascara*, where they pitched their tents. We must not forget to observe, that, tho' the dispute near *Amida* was on both sides so obstinate, neither the *Khalîf's* troops, nor the *Safrians*, sustained any considerable loss; the former not having had many above 70, and the latter only 30 men killed in the action<sup>z</sup>.

Shebib defeats  
the Khalîf's  
forces, and  
takes Cúfa.

AL HEJAJ having been informed, that the *Safrians*, under the command of *Saleb* and *Shebib*, had taken post at *Dascara*, sent *Al Hâreth Al Hamadâni* to drive them from thence with a body of 5000 men. Whilst *Al Hâreth* was upon his march, he received advice, that *Saleb* had abandoned *Dascara*, and seemed to be moving towards *Jalouta* and *Katikin*; upon which, he pursued him with great expedition, endeavouring, by forced marches, to come up with him. At last, the two armies faced each other at *Modbaj*, a little town or village upon the *Tigris*, between *Mawfel* and *Jukhi*, and, after some previous motions, engaged. *Saleb's* forces were composed only of three companies, consisting of thirty men each which, not being able to make head against *Al Hâreth's* troops, were soon thrown into confusion, and *Saleb* himself killed upon the spot. *Shebib* was also beaten off his horse, obliged for some time to fight on foot, and at last made his retreat in excellent

<sup>y</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Shebib Ben Zeid*, p. 780.

<sup>z</sup> Ibidem ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 252, 235, 241, & alib. passim. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 352—362.



a order to a neighbouring castle. From thence, tho' surrounded by *Al Hâreth's* numerous forces, with his little army, or rather troop, he made a sally upon the enemy, penetrated about midnight to the very centre of their camp, cut many of them to pieces, wounded the general himself, who was with great difficulty carried off, and dispersed the most considerable part of the army he commanded. By this victory, *Shebib* animated his friends, and became terrible even to *Hejâj* himself, whom he worsted in several actions consequential to it. Nay, taking advantage of that general's absence, when at *Basra*, without any considerable opposition, he made himself master of *Cûfa*. About this time, *Al Moballeb Ebn Abusafra*, whom *Al Hejâj* had continued his lieutenant of *Khorasân*, departed this life. He was a person of an extraordinary character, both for his surprizing abilities, and his uncommon generosity of temper. When he was at the point of death, he gave his sons a bundle of arrows to break; which none of them being able to do, he asked them whether they could break those arrows singly? To which they answered in the affirmative. "Then," said he, "suppose yourselves to be like that bundle of arrows here exhibited to your view, and not to be represented by the disunited arrows;" intimating hereby, that as their union would render them invincible, so, the moment discord entered among them, they would begin to advance towards destruction <sup>a</sup>.

b AL HEJAJ, determined not to bear any longer the insults of *Shebib*, wrote to the *Khalîf* for a reinforcement; who sent him a strong detachment of the Syrian forces, to enable him to extirpate the *Safrians* under the command of that enthusiast. After he had been joined by these succours, he advanced against *Shebib*, whose army did not consist of above 4000 horse, or, as others say, 600, gave him battle in the plains of *Cûfa*, and intirely defeated him. *Shebib's* wife *Gazâla*, who had attended him in his first march to *Cûfa*, his brother, and a considerable number of his men, were killed in the action; and the rest pursued some parasangs by a body of the Syrian troops, who put to the sword only thirty of the *Safrians*, tho' they lost themselves above 100 men. This disaster obliged *Shebib* to abandon *Cûfa*, in order to provide for his own safety. Having therefore passed the *Tigris*, he advanced to *Fukhi*; from whence, repassing the same river at the place where *Wâset* was afterwards built, he retired with great precipitation to *Abwâz*, and from thence into *Kermân*, where he halted, and refreshed his men. In the mean time, *Al Hejâj* ordered *Gazâla's* head to be washed, and interred; and detached *Sofiân Ebn Al Abrad*, whom *Abd'almâlec* had sent to his assistance out of Syria, with a body of troops to march against *Shebib*, who had advanced a second time to *Abwâz*. *Sofiân* came up with the enemy at a bridge called *Dojail Al Abwâz*, where a sharp dispute ensued; in which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, *Shebib* several times repulsed the *Khalîf's* forces, but was at last himself put to flight. His horse, leaping upon a mare before him, loosened the stones of the bridge, whilst he was passing it, and forced his foot upon the edge of a boat: which threw him into the river, or arm of the sea, as we find intimated by *Al Makîn*, that a little farther discharges itself into the bay of *Basra*. Notwithstanding which, M. *D'Herbelot*, who seems to have followed chiefly the Persian historians, says, that *Shebib* was drowned in the *Sarsar*, a river of Syria. The first time he emerged, he said, *When God decrees a thing, it is done*; and the second, *This is the decree of the ALMIGHTY, the ALLWISE God*: upon which, the *Safrians*, being struck with terror, immediately cried out, *The emperor of the faithful is drowned*. His body being drawn up with a net, the head was cut off, and sent to *Al Hejâj*, who was not a little pleased at the sight of it. When the body was opened, the heart was taken out of it, and found to be prodigiously firm and hard, like a stone. His mother is said to have been a Christian, carried off as a prisoner, and consequently a slave, by *Yezid Ebn Naim*, after a victory obtained by the Moslems over the Greeks, in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*, and the 25th year of the *Hejra*. Proving with child of *Shebib* by her master, she grew extremely fond of him; and, in order to please him, embraced *Mohammedism*. *Shebib* was born on the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, the day on which the victims at *Mecca* are killed. Before his birth, his mother is reported to have seen in a dream a flame proceeding from her; that diffused itself over the face of the heavens, and extended to every quarter; after which, a coal dropt into a large water, and was quenched. From whence, continues our author, she inferred, that her son was to be a man of blood, elevated to an exalted station, and at last to perish in the water. Hence it came to pass, that being once informed of his having been killed, she gave no credit to the rumour; but that being told he was drowned, she immediately believed it, saying it was impossible for him to come to any other end. After *Shebib's* death, the *Azarakites*, or *Safrians*, quarrelled amongst themselves; the greatest part of them deserting their leader, *Katri Ebn Fojât*. This gave the *Khalîf's* troops an opportunity of attacking them to great advantage, putting 4000 of them to the sword, and driving the rest, with *Katri*, into *Taberistân*. Upon their arrival here, they were kindly received by

<sup>a</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161. & ISM, ABU'LFED. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 364.



*Asbid*, the king of *Taberistân*, who assigned them a part of his territories for their habitations. They had not been long settled here, before they insisted upon *Asbid*'s either embracing *Islamism*, or paying them an annual tribute; which he refusing to do, they drove him to *Ray*, or *Raya*, a populous city of *Al Jebâl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, where he implored the *Khalîf*'s protection. He afterwards conducted a body of the *Moslem* troops into *Taberistân*, where they fell upon the rebels with such fury, that they killed *Katri Ebn Fojât* himself upon the spot, cut a great number of his men in pieces, and took all the rest of them prisoners. All which operations an *Arab* author, followed by Mr. *Ockley*, places in the 77th year of the *Hejra*; as do also *Kbondemir* and another *Persian* writer; tho' the historians epitomized by *Al Makîn* assert them to have happened in the preceding year. And this seems to us the most probable opinion, as those historians affirm, that *Al Moballeb Ebn Abusafra*, who died in the 76th year of the aforesaid æra, commanded the *Moslem* forces in the last expedition. We must not forget to observe, that *Taberistân*, the scene of this expedition, is a mountainous tract, full of woods, limited in part by the region called *Deylam*, and the districts of *Ghilân* and *Cazbîn*, said by *Golius* pretty nearly to answer to the *Hyrcania* of the antients. But, for a more particular account of that remote country, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the copious description of it extracted by the last-mentioned author out of the oriental geographers <sup>b</sup>.

The Arabs  
begin to coin  
money.

THE same year, that is, the 76th of the *Hejra*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Abd'almâlec*, according to *Al Makîn*, or rather the authors he followed, *dinârs* and *dirhems* were first struck with *Arabic* inscriptions upon them. Before this time, the *dinârs*, or gold coins, had *Greek*, and the *dirhems*, or silver ones, *Persic* characters upon them. The first erection of a mint amongst the *Arabs* was occasioned by the following accident. *Abd'almâlec* frequently prefixed to the letters he wrote to the *Greek* emperor this short passage of the *Korân*, Say, God is one, or Say, there is one God; and then inserted the name of the prophet with the date of the letter, according to the *Hejra*, or the æra then in use amongst the *Arabs*. This giving the emperor great offence, he desired the *Khalîf* to alter that manner of writing; threatening otherwise to send some coins that should mention their prophet in terms not very agreeable to him. This incensed *Abd'almâlec*, who thereupon said, *A curse be upon their coins!* and, from that time, proposed setting up a mint in his own dominions. The first *Arabic* money seems to have been some *dirhems* stamped by *Al Hejâj*, with this inscription, Say, there is one God, or, according to *Al Makîn*, *Allah Samad, God is eternal*; which not a little displeased the *Moslems*, as they imagined that the sacred name of God would be thereby exposed to the touch of unclean persons of both sexes. *Somyor*, a *Jew*, regulated their coinage, which was very rude at first, but received afterwards several improvements in the times of *Omar Ebn Habira*, the governor of *Irâk*, *Khâled Al Karsbi*, *Yusef Ebn Omar*, the *Khalîfs* *Harûn Al Rashîd*, his son *Al Mamûn*, and *Al Wât bek*. In the days of *Khâled Al Karsbi*, there were three sorts of *dirhems*, a species of silver coin amongst the *Arabs* that we have already given our readers some account of in the life of *Mohammed*; the weight of every one of which has been handed down to us by *Al Makîn*. The metal at first was not very good, but received afterwards farther degrees of perfection in the aforesaid reigns. All the earliest coins struck by the *Khalîfs* seem to have had only legends and inscriptions upon them; however, those of a later date were sometimes adorned with the heads of the princes who struck them, or the figures of animals. Of the first sort we have one preserved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, which is perhaps the oldest *Arabic* coin extant; it having been struck at *Wâset* upon the *Tigris*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Walîd Ebn Abd'almâlec*, and the 88th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 707. The inscription on one side of this coin, as it has been translated by the reverend and learned Dr. *Hunt*, professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages in the university of *Oxford*, is, *There is only one God, who has no companion*; and round it the following words, *In the name of God, this dirhêm was struck at Wâset in the year of the Hejra 88*. On the reverse is a passage taken out of the 112th *sûra* of the *Korân*, to the following effect: God is one, eternal, neither begetting, nor begotten, nor is there any being like him; and, round it, another taken from the sixty-first *sûra* of the same book, couched in the following terms, *MOHAMMED is the apostle of God, who sent him with a direction and the religion of truth, that he might render this religion more conspicuous than any other; tho' it be opposed by the ASSOCIATORS*. The character here is the *Cûfic*, of which enough has been said in our antient history of the *Arabs*, and the coin is so well preserved, that it may seem to some not to be genuine. It consists of pretty good silver, and weighs one penny-weight and twenty grains. Another of these *dirhems* is to be seen in the very valuable collection of antient coins, bequeathed by the late archbishop *Wake* to *Christ-*

<sup>b</sup> MS. Laud. num. 161, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 63, 64. D'HERBEL. Eibloth. orient. in art. *Schebib Ben Zeid*, p. 780. KHONDEMIR & AUT. NICHARIATAN. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 193—197.



- a *Church* college in *Oxford*; and another in the small cabinet of the writer of this history; of both which our readers will meet with an explication in a proper place. Notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Al Makin*, we are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, who, in this point, seem to deserve some regard, that *Abd'almâlec* had begun to coin money of a new form, such as had never before been seen, in the sixth year of the emperor *Justinian II*'s reign, coincident with the year of *CHRIST* 690, or 691; and that then the emperor refused to receive the tribute sent him by the *Khalîf*, because it consisted intirely of the new *Arabic* money. Which if we admit, it must be allowed, that *Abd'almâlec* began to strike *dinârs* and *dirbêms* at least five or six years earlier than the time that has been fixed for the commencement of coinage amongst the *Moslems* by the *Arab* historians.
- b To what has been here observed, *Theophanes* seems to add, that the emperor made the *Khalîf*'s offer of his tribute in *Arabic* money one of his pretexts for coming to a rupture with that prince. Be that as it will, *Abd'almâlec*, if we will believe this writer, understanding that *Justinian* was determined to break the treaty lately concluded with the *Arabs*, raised a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals, named *Mohammed*; who, causing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of *Sebastopolis*, and engaged his army with unparalleled bravery. But notwithstanding this, *Mohammed* was obliged to give ground, and even retire to his camp; where he must have perished with hunger, or submitted to the emperor, had he not in the mean time gained over 20,000 *Sclavi*, with their commander,
- c in the emperor's service; whose unexpected desertion caused such a consternation in the *Greek* army, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight, being pursued with great slaughter by the *Arabs*. After which, *Mohammed* harrassed the imperial provinces in a most cruel manner, and made himself absolute master of *Armenia*; which, however, returned again to the emperor in a very short time. The same author also relates, that *Mohammed* bribed the general of the *Sclavi* to desert the emperor, by sending him, in the heat of the action, a quiver full of *dinârs*, and promising him a much larger sum. Some commotions likewise, according to him, happened about this time on the side of *Khorasân*, in which a great number of the *Arabs* lost their lives<sup>c</sup>.

- d In the 77th year of the *Hejra*, answering to the 696th of the *Christian* æra, one of *Abd'al-* *Lazica and*  
*mâlec*'s commanders, called by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* *Alid*, made an incursion into the *Barnucium*  
imperial territories, plundered them in a dreadful manner, and then retired with the *betrayed to*  
*Christian* prisoners he had taken into the *Khalîf*'s dominions. About the same time, *Sergius*, *the Arabs,*  
a patrician, who commanded the *Greek* troops in *Lazica* and *Barnucium*, rebelled against the new emperor *Leontius*, and delivered up both of those places to the *Moslems*. Besides which, nothing remarkable, as far as can be collected either from the *Greek* or *Arab* historians, happened this year<sup>d</sup>.

- e THE following year, that is, the 78th of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 697, the *Moslems* *The Arabs*  
invaded *Africa* with a very considerable force, made themselves masters of *Carthage*, and *reduce Africa*  
overran the whole country that, in the earlier ages, properly appertained to that city. But *Propria.*  
they were soon driven out by *John* the patrician, a man of great valour and experience in war, whom the emperor had sent against them. The *Arabs*, to repair the great losses they had sustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to *Africa*, obliged *John* to fly to the sea-coast, where he embarked with the troops under his command for *Constantinople*. Thus was *Africa*, or rather *Africa Propria*, in a manner without opposition, abandoned once more to the *Moslems*<sup>e</sup>.

- f IN the 79th year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 698, *Apfimar*, or *Tiberius*, who had been *Abd'alrah-*  
raised to the empire, sent his brother *Heraclius* into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of *mân rebels*  
the *Arabs*. This year, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, one *Abd'alrahmân*, an *Arab* *against the*  
governor, or commander, rebelled against the *Khalîf* in *Persia*, and drove the *Khâkbân* *Khalîf.*  
out of that country. We must here beg leave to observe, that *Khâkbân* was a general title made use of by all those princes who reigned in the *Transoxanian* provinces; amongst which we may reckon the *Khâns* of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*. The old church at *Edeffa* was thrown down this year by an earthquake, which did considerable damage in the neighbouring parts of *Mesopotamia*<sup>f</sup>.

THE following year, being the eightieth of the *Hejra*, and the 699th of the *Christian* *Heraclius*  
æra, the *Khalîf* sent a general, called *Mohammed*, with a powerful army, into *Per-* *destroys*  
*sia*; who, after he had been joined by the *Khâkbân*, overthrew *Abd'alrahmân* with very *200,000*  
great slaughter, killed him upon the spot, and reinstated the *Khâkbân* in the government of *Arabs.*

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 64, 65. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Poc. num. 137. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. cxii, lxi. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 69. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 304, 305, 306. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 441.

<sup>d</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 309. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 443.

PHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 310. GEORG. CEDREN. p. 444. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Khacan*, p. 983. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 104.

*Persia,*



*Perſia*. About the ſame time, *Heraclius*, one of *Tiberius*'s generals, taking advantage of the diviſions that now reigned amongſt the *Arabs*, penetrated into *Syria*, as far as *Samoſata*, waſted all the adjacent territory; and put to the ſword about 200,000 of the enemy. After which, he returned to *Cappadocia*; loaded with the immenſe booty he had acquired in this expedition <sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed  
Ebn Hanifi-  
yah dies.

In the 81ſt year of the *Hejra*, A. C. 700, died *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*; who, by ſeveral of his followers was conſidered, after *Hoſein*'s death, as lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Some of the *Shiites* look upon him as an illuſtrious prophet, taken and preſerved by God in mount *Redwa*, who ſhall hereafter appear, and fill the earth with piety and juſtice; though others of them utterly explode ſo ridiculous a notion. His father's name, or rather ſurname, according to the *Arab* poet *Al Hamiri*, one of his admirers; was *Seth*; after whoſe death, *Kawla*, his mother, and *Seth*'s widow, was married to *Ali*; ſo that he was not, properly ſpeaking, the ſon of that *Imâm*, nor deſcended from *Mohammed*, as *Haſan* and *Hoſein* were. He ſeveral times reſuſed the *Khalifat*, and was ſurnamed *Ebn Hanifiyah*, that, by this appellation, he might be diſtinguiſhed from the two laſt mentioned *Imâms*, who were truly and properly *Ali*'s ſons, by *Fâtema*, the daughter of the prophet. Which if, with M. *D'Herbelot*, we admit, Mr. *Ockley* muſt have been guilty of a miſtake (as indeed the ſurname *Ebn Hanifiyah* itſelf ſeems clearly enough to evince) when he makes this *Mohammed* to have been the real ſon of *Ali*. We are told by the *Greek* writers, that the *Arabs* made an irruption this year into the imperial territories, and laid ſiege to *Antaradus* in *Syria*; but not being able to maſter that place, they returned to *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia*, and left a garifon there. The text of *Theophanes*, in the paſſage referred to, exhibiting *Tarantum* for *Antaradus*, may be emended by that of *Cedrenus*, which has preſerved the true reading *Antaradus* here. One *Abd'allah*, according to thoſe authors, commanded the *Moslem* forces this campaign <sup>b</sup>.

Abd'alrah-  
mân deſcends  
Al Hejâj; but  
is at laſt over-  
thrown by that  
general.

THE expedition placed by the *Greek* writers in the 79th year of the *Hejra*, and ſaid by them to have been undertaken by *Abd'alrahmân* againſt the *Khâkbân*, really happened in the 82d year of that æra, according to the *Arab* hiſtorians. Whichſoever of theſe may be in the right as to the year, our curious readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here the following particulars, extracted from the oriental authors, relating to that expedition. *Al Hejâj*, hating *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Aſhab Al Kendi*, ordered him to advance againſt *Zentil*, king of the *Turks*, or the *Khâkbân*, and, with an inconfiderable force that he aſſigned him, to make an irruption into his dominions. This *Al Hejâj* did in order to deſtroy him; of which being ſecretly informed, he took care to acquaint the troops under his command with the motive to this expedition. The ſoldiers finding that they were to be ſacrificed to *Al Hejâj*'s malice againſt their general, reſolved to be revenged of the governor for his barbarity; and therefore unanimouſly took an oath to ſupport *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mohammed*. *Abd'alrahmân* hereupon concluded a peace with the *Turk*, returned into *Irâk*, and marched directly againſt *Al Hejâj*; who, having received advice of what had happened, had ſent to the *Khalif* for a reinforcement of the *Syrian* troops. After the arrival of theſe ſuccours, *Al Hejâj* attacked *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Aſhab Al Kendi*; but, being overthrown, *Abd'alrahmân* carried his victorious arms to *Baſra*, and was joined by a great number of the inhabitants of that place, who took the oath of allegiance to him. Then intrenching himſelf on one ſide of the city, he found an opportunity of attacking, to great advantage, *Al Hejâj*, in his turn, and gained a ſecond victory over him. From the ſcene of action he moved to *Cûſa*, and was received with open arms by the people of that city. In the mean time, *Al Hejâj* aſſembled all the forces he was able, and led them againſt *Abd'alrahmân*; whoſe army, by the acceſſion of the *Baſrans*, who had conceived an invincible averſion to *Al Hejâj*, on account of his enormous cruelty, amounted to 100,000 men. *Al Hejâj* incamped at a place called *Dairkorrah*, and *Abd'alrahmân* at another denominated *Dairaljamajim*, at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy; and, in the ſpace of an hundred days, theſe two commanders are ſaid to have fought eighty-one battles. At laſt, *Al Hejâj* put *Abd'alrahmân* to flight, and cut off 4000 of his men; after which, the latter retreated to *Sabân*, where he was ſeized by *Al Hejâj*'s lieutenant, and reſcued by *Zentil*, the *Turk*, his friend and ally. *Al Hejâj*, receiving intelligence of this, ſent *Yezid Ebn Al Mobolleb* againſt *Zentil*, in order to force him to deliver up *Abd'alrahmân* into his hands. *Zentil* made the proper diſpoſitions for his defence, and engaged *Yezid* with an army of 60,000 men; but he was ſoon overthrown, had many of his men killed, and a great number of them taken priſoners; amongſt whom was *Abd'alrahmân* himſelf. With regard to the manner of that general's death, the *Arab* writers are not perfectly agreed; but, according to ſome of the beſt of them, he threw himſelf headlong from the top of an high houſe, in order to avoid

<sup>a</sup> THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi ſup. <sup>b</sup> D. HAMIR, apud Al Makîn, ubi ſup. p. 65. ut & ipſe AL MAKIN. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi ſup. MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. D'HERBEEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. Hanifah, p. 428, 429. OCKLEY'S hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 80, 272, 370. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 310, 311. CEDREN. ubi ſup.



a falling into the hands of his most implacable enemy. What became of *Hasan Al Basri*, *Saï'd Ebn Hosein*, *Nadi Ebn Abuleil*, and others of his principal accomplices, we are not told by the *Moslem* historians. Some of those writers assert, that *Al Moballeb Ebn Abusafra*, *Al Hejāj's* lieutenant of *Khorasān*, died this year; that he was succeeded by his son *Yezid* in that post; and that, upon *Yezid's* removal some time after from thence, *Fadl*, another of *Al Moballeb's* sons, was substituted in his room. The *Greek* writers relate, that *Baanes*, surnamed *Heptadæmon*, from the seven devils with which he was supposed to have been possessed, betrayed this year likewise *Armenia* to the *Arabs*, for which he doubtless received a very considerable reward<sup>1</sup>.

b THE following year, being the 83d of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 702, *Al Hejāj* built a city upon the *Tigris*, which he called *Wāset*. That name signifies the middle in the *Arabic* language, because this city stood in the mid-way between *Basra* and *Cūfa*. The eastern authors, however, a little differ about the year of its foundation; *Ebn Shohnah* making this to have been the 83d, and *Khondemir* the 84th of the *Moslem* æra. The *Arabs* call the circumjacent tract *Al Abār*, the wells, as it abounds with wells; and near the city there is a place bearing the name of *Al Abār Al Arab*, the wells of the *Arabs*. *Wāset*, according to the *Arab* tables, is situated in *Chaldæa*, or *Babylonian Irāk*, in long. 81° 30', and lat. 32° 20' N. The *Persian* geographer says, that it is seated upon the *Tigris*, at an equal distance from *Baghdād Cūfa*, *Basra*, and *Abwāz*; that is, about fifty parasangs from every one of those cities. This year the nobility of *Armenia* drove the *Arabs* out of their country, and sent to *Apfimar*, or *Tiberius*, for assistance. But, in the mean time, *Mohammed*, one of the *Khalif's* generals, entering *Armenia* with a powerful army, recovered that province; and, having got the authors of the revolt into his hands, burnt them all alive. Encouraged with this success, the *Moslems* invaded *Cilicia* once more under the conduct of *Azar*; but were, to the number of 10,000, either cut in pieces by *Heraclius*, or taken prisoners, and sent in chains to *Constantinople*. That *Wāset* was founded this year, as *Ebn Shohnah* affirms, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Khondemir*, may be inferred from *Abu'l-Faraj*<sup>2</sup>.

d In the 84th year of the *Hejra*, or of the *Christian* æra 703, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, the *Khalif* sent *Azib*, or *Azid*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, with an army into *Cilicia*, in order to make himself master of that country. Meeting with no enemy at first to oppose him, he laid siege to *Sisium*; took it, and levelled it with the ground. But *Heraclius*, the imperial general, soon after appearing at the head of the *Christian* forces, brought him to a general action; in which he cut off 12,000 of the *Arabs*, and probably defeated *Azib*; tho' this has not been expressly asserted by any of the *Greek* historians. As we hear no more of *Azib* after this action, we may naturally suppose, that he soon abandoned *Cilicia*, and retired with the shatter'd remains of his army into the *Khalif's* dominions<sup>3</sup>.

e THE following year, being the 85th year of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 704, if we will believe *Theophanes*, the *Khalif Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân* departed this life. Some other *Christian* writers affirm, that he died the preceding year. But none of them, in this point, are to be depended upon, as running counter to the express testimony of the best and most authentic *Moslem* historians. The *Arabs* seem to have enjoyed this year an uninterrupted repose, as no account of any achievements, or military operations, performed by them in it has been handed down to us by any of the *Greek* or *Moslem* writers<sup>4</sup>.

f THE next year, the 86th of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 705, *Abd'alaziz Ebn Merwân*, the *Khalif's* brother, died at *Al Fostât* in *Egypt*, and was buried there on Monday, the 12th day of the former *Jomâda*. He governed *Egypt* above twenty years, having been constituted lieutenant of that country by his father *Merwân*. Being infected with the leprosy, the physicians advised him to retire to *Holwân*, as the most proper place for him to reside in. Here he made a large fish-pond, or reservoir, which he took care to supply constantly with water from the springs, or fountains, on mount *Al Mokattam*, by means of certain arches, or vaults, which he caused to be built, that kept open a communication between them; upon which, according to *Eutychius*, he erected a throne of glass. Upon these and other works at *Holwân*, where he first planted dates, he is said to have laid out 1,000,000 *dinârs*. He rode every *Thursday* from *Holwân* to *Al Fostât*; and the next day, after the morning prayer was over, returned to the former place. He likewise built a *Mikeas*, or measuring pillar, in order to form an estimate of the increase of the *Nile*. His two chamberlains were *Christians* of the *Melchite* sect, whom he gave leave to erect the church of *St. John* at *Holwân*, death, and character.

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiazge Ben Josef. Al Thakefi*, p. 442. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 311. CEDREN. ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 200. EBN SHOHNAH, MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABAD. in *Kâm*. KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Vasseth*, p. 910. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup.

<sup>3</sup> THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. <sup>4</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 312, 313. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 105. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 67.



for those of their own communion. He likewise obliged the *Egyptians* to pay part of their tribute every *Friday*, that he might be the better enabled to supply the exigencies of the state, till the death of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and the perfect settlement of his brother upon the *Moslem* throne. He constructed a bridge upon the *Khalij Amir Al Mumenin*, or the river of the emperor of the faithful, the *Amnis Trajanus* of the antients, and the *Khalis* of the moderns; and had an intention to remove the bridge at *Al Fostât* to *Holwân*, a pleasant village about two parasangs distant from that city, on the eastern bank of the *Nile*. He likewise designed to transfer the port, the merchants, and the exchange, from *Al Fostât* to *Holwân*; but did not live long enough to put this design in execution. One *Athanasius*, a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* persuasion, was his secretary, whom he permitted to build the church of *St. George* in *Kasril Shamaa*, and that of *Abukir* in the citadel near *Asbabol Rabiât*.  
 We are told by some of the *Christian* writers, that he was the first who fixed upon the *Egyptian* monks a capitation, obliging every one of them to pay annually a *dinâr*. An author cited by *Al Makin* relates, that *Abd'alaziz*, entering into a monastery at *Holwân* the day before his death, saw there an image of the virgin *Mary* with *CHRIST* in her arms; which he spat upon; and that the night following our Saviour appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to be killed; upon which, he imagined himself to be immediately run through with a lance. This struck him with such terror that he instantly awaked, and expired the same night. His son, according to the same author, survived him only forty days. After *Abd'alaziz's* death, the *Khalif* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon his son *Abd'allah*, who rendered himself more disagreeable to the *Egyptians* than any of his predecessors. In this post he continued till his father *Abd'almâlec's* death, which happened about the middle of the month *Shawâl*, in the 86th year of the *Hejra*. The disease he died of seems to have been a dropsy, since the physicians had absolutely prohibited him the use of all kinds of liquors. Notwithstanding which, being tortured with extreme thirst, he commanded his son *Al Walid* to give him some water to drink; which he refusing to do, he ordered his daughter *Fâtema* to bring some to him. But *Al Walid*, desirous of keeping his father alive as long as possible, would not suffer her to approach him; which so exasperated the *Khalif*, that he threatened to disinherit him. *Fâtema*, therefore, gave him water, which he greedily drank, and soon after expired. He was always apprehensive that the month *Ramadân* would prove fatal to him; as he was born, weaned, learned the *Korân* by heart, and was saluted *Khalif* in that month. He sat upon the *Moslem* throne above twenty-one years; and was either sixty or sixty-two, or, as others say, fifty-seven years old at the time of his death. He was buried at *Damascus*, without the little gate, and his son *Al Walid* said the funeral service at the time of his interment. As to his person, *Abd'almâlec* was of a middle stature, and a fair, or, as others will have it, a swarthy complexion; having a large gaping mouth, a long beard, and a prominent belly. With regard to his disposition, he was so extremely covetous, that some of his subjects, by way of derision, called him the sweat of a stone. However, according to *Abu'lfeda*, as well as the authors followed by *Al Makin*, he was a man of a very good capacity, being exceeded by few of his subjects in judgment and penetration. He was also courageous, learned, and wise; but did not make so amiable a figure after his elevation to the *Khalifat* as before. He had such stinking breath, that the flies lighting on his lips were almost instantly struck dead with it; for which reason he received from some the appellation of *father of flies*. He one night dreamed, that he made water in the most sacred part of the temple of *Mecca*; and this dream was repeated four times successively; which greatly affecting him, he consulted *Sa'id Ebn Mosabbib*, a person very expert in the interpretation of dreams, about the signification of so ominous a vision. *Sa'id* told him, that he had no reason to look upon it in so disagreeable a light, as it undoubtedly portended the exaltation of four of his sons, all of whom should be advanced to the *Khalifat* after their father's death. Which nocturnal prediction was exactly verified, *Al Walid*, *Soliman*, *Yezid*, and *Heshâm*, four of his sons, afterwards actually ascended the *Moslem* throne. He left sixteen sons behind him, the eldest of which was *Al Walid*, who succeeded him. His first secretary was *Rûb Ebn Riba'*, and his second *Kabida Ebn Dawib*; his principal *Kadi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Holwâni*, who was succeeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Kais*; his chamberlain *Yusef*, who was likewise succeeded by several others of his servants, one of whom was *Abu'l Rogairaga*; the first captain of his guards *Yezid Ebn Abu Habsa Al Sakfâki*, and the second *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid Al Hakemi*. The inscription of his seal was, *I believe in God our Saviour*. He was much more powerful than any of his predecessors; having subdued *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and annexed *Arabia* to his dominions; reduced to his obedience the sectaries of all denominations that appeared in arms against him; conquered *India*, or at least a considerable part of that vast region in the east; and, in the west, penetrated with his victorious troops as far as *Spain*. The first day of his reign was *Wednesday*, and the last *Thursday*. He was so implacable an enemy to the house of *Ali*, that



- a that he would not suffer the celebrated poet *Ferozduk*, in his works, to praise any of the descendants of that illustrious *Imâm* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 66—69. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 368—373. ISM. ABU'LFRED. in hist. univ. & in descript. Ægypt. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'almâlec*, p. 8. KHORDEMIR, BINA KITI, EBN SHOHNAN, HAFEDH ABRU, alique Scriptor. orient. pass. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 148—157. & SHAW'S geograph. observat. in *Egypt, Arab. Petr. &c.* p. 340, 433—442.

## S E C T. XII.

- b **A**L WALID, the son of *Abd'almâlec*, was proclaimed *Khalîf* the same day his father died. His mother was *Walada*, the daughter of *Abbâs Ebn Harbi Ebn Hâreth*. He was surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs*, and continued all his father's lieutenants of provinces in their respective governments. At his inauguration, his principal subjects took the usual oath of allegiance to him. *Korrah Ebn Shebal*, or, according to others, *Korrah Ebn Sharik*, of the house of *Abbâs*, his governor of *Egypt*, at the *Khalîf*'s command, demolished the principal mosque at *Mesr*, and either built or beautified another, deaurating the tops or heads of its pillars; which rendered that governor extremely disagreeable to the *Egyptians*. *Al Walid* also is said to have adorned the temple at *Jerusalem* with some additional buildings; soon after his accession; and, after the example of his father *Abd'almâlec*, to have ordered his subjects to go on pilgrimage thither. His troops made a very successful irruption into the imperial territories; under the command of his brother *Moslem Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who carried off a very considerable number of the emperor's subjects prisoners. This *Arab* general seems to have been called by *Theophanes Masalmas*. That writer places the expedition here hinted at in the fourth year of *Al Walid*'s reign. In the 88th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 707, money was coined in the new mint lately erected at *Wâset*; as appears from a *dirhém* explained by the learned Dr. *Hunt*, and now preserved in the cabinet of medals belonging to the university of *Oxford* <sup>c</sup>.

- ABOUT the same time, or rather in the very same year, according to the author of *Leb Tarikh* and *Khondemir*, this *Khalîf* rebuilt the temple of *Medina*, where *Mohammed* and the first *Khalîfs* lay interred. This was a much more superb and magnificent structure than the former; and, in order to render it the more grand, *Al Walid* commanded *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, his governor in *Arabia*, to demolish the houses set apart for the habitations of the prophet's wives. This gave great offence to the inhabitants of *Medina*; who reproached the *Khalîf* with having deprived the *Moslems*, coming thither from different parts of the world, of the finest monument of *Mohammed*'s modesty, in having assigned his wives, for their habitations, such low and small cottages as those, that then remained. About this time, *Walid* also ordered the construction of a most stately and famous mosque at *Damascus*; to which he joined the superb church of *St. John Baptist*, that had been enriched with many invaluable ornaments by the *Greek* emperors, for several ages. He would first have purchased this church of the *Christians* for a sum of money, with which they might have built them a church in some other part of the city, amounting to about 40,000 *dinârs*. But they shewing him the instrument signed by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, confirming to them the possession of that church, and refusing to part with it at any rate, he took it from them by force. He employed 12,000 workmen in the erection of his mosque, but did not live to see it finished; the last hand having not been put to it before the beginning of his brother *Soliman*'s reign. This year *Katiba Ebn Moslem* penetrated into the *Transoxanian* provinces; and having passed the *Jihân*, or the *Oxus*, without any loss, defeated a numerous army that had kept him blocked up for four months together, and reduced him to very great straits. That army was composed of *Turks* and *Tartars*, of whom *Khatiba* slew a very great number. After this victory he laid siege to *Bokhâra*, the metropolis of *Bukharia* properly so called, and took it. From thence he marched to *Samarkand*, which in a short time surrendered to him. In fine, he reduced *Sogd*, or *Sogdiana*, *Bagrafa*, *Shâsh*, *Fargâna*, and the whole immense tract going under the name of *Mawara'nahr*. After he had concluded a peace with, or rather conquered, the *Khân* of *Khovarazm*, he erected a mosque in his capital; where he officiated every *Friday*, and destroyed all the idols he met with in that city. These idols were fixed to the places where they stood by golden nails, that weighed 50,000 *Methkals*, or *Arabic drachms*; all which *Khatiba* carried off with him. The principal article of the treaty concluded with the *Khân* of *Khovarazm* was, that he should pay an annual tribute of 2,000,000 *dinârs* to the *Khalîf*. *Mohammed Ebn Kasem Al Thakifi*, another of *Al Walid*'s generals, at or near the same time, also invaded *India*, or *Al Hind*, and subjugated a considerable

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 70. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 200. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 372, 373. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 315. Two dissertat. on the meaning of the word *Kesitab*, &c. and on the signification of the word *Hermes*, &c. p. 33, 34, 35. Oxford, 1750.



part of that country. He likewise made himself master of the kingdom of *Sindia*, or *Al Sind*,<sup>a</sup> bounded by *Kermân*, or rather the region of *Makran*, the desert of *Sijistân*, and *Indiâ*, some parts of which vast continent it likewise comprehends, whose king *Dabar* he defeated, killed him in battle, and cut off his head. The *Greek* writers mention few particulars relating to the *Moslem* affairs, during the three first years of *Al Walid*'s reign. However, *Theophanes* observes, that he mounted the *Moslem* throne the same year his father *Abd'almâlec* died; and that he deprived the *Christians* of their great church at *Damascus*, in his second year. We are told by an eastern writer, that a dreadful pestilence raged about two years before this time in *Mesopotamia*, and made terrible havock in the territory of *Sarug*; no less than seventy-two persons dying in the monastery of *St. Silas* there<sup>p</sup>.

The building of  
the mosque at  
Damascus  
continued.

THE following year, being the 89th of the *Hejra*, and of *CHRIST* 708, no remarkable<sup>b</sup> occurrences happened in the *Moslem* empire, an account of which has been handed down to us by any historian, except the continuation of the building of *Al Walid*'s famous mosque at *Damascus*; the expence of which is said to have amounted to 400 chests, or purses, every one of which contained 14,000 *dinârs*. The golden chains for the lamps there, in number 600, were so bright, says an *Arab* author, that they disturbed, or rather hindered, the devotions of the *Moslems* who came thither to pray. They were afterwards blackened by the smoke of the lamps, and remained in that condition till they were removed into the public treasury by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, who substituted iron chains in their room. One of the historians followed by *Al Makin* relates, that when the workmen were digging for the foundations of this mosque, they found a stone with an inscription upon it, importing, that<sup>c</sup> the temple, or edifice, to which it belonged, was built by *Mahab Al Khair*, in the fourth year of *Al Astowâna*. This year, *Theodorus* was constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and lived, after his promotion to that high dignity, thirty-five years<sup>q</sup>.

His forces  
make an ir-  
ruption into  
Cappadocia.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that *Al Walid* appointed, *Korrah Ebn Sharik* governor of *Egypt* in the 90th year of the *Hejra*; though *Eutychius*, who, in this point, has probability on his side, seems to place that event three or four years higher, in the beginning of this *Khalif*'s reign, as has been already observed. Be that as it will, this *Korrah* was most certainly a very impious and abandoned person; taking with him frequently a company of catamites, players, and buffoons, into the cathedral at *Mesr*, and placing them upon the seats belonging to the priests, in time of divine service, there. At this time, *Masalmas*, *Mossema*, or<sup>d</sup> *Moslem*, and *Abbâs*, two *Arab* commanders, according to *Theophanes*, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and formed the siege of *Tyana*. The emperor, being apprized of this, sent an army under the conduct of *Theodorus Carteruca* and *Theophylactus Saliba*, two of his generals, to force them to raise the siege. But this army, being made up of raw undisciplined troops, assembled in haste, was easily routed by the *Arabs*, who killed a great number of the *Christians* upon the spot, took most of the rest prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. The besieged, being now destitute of all hopes of relief, and reduced to the last extremity, surrendered the place to the *Moslems*, who had been so straitened in their camp for want of provisions, before the late action, that they had entertained thoughts of abandoning the siege, and took on in the *Khalif*'s service. However, the *Arabs*<sup>e</sup> are said to have violated their agreement with the *Tyaneans*, by sending many of them into remote deserts, and making the greatest part of the remainder slaves. A synod was held in the monastery of *St. Silas*, at *Sarug* in *Mesopotamia*, over which the patriarch *Julian*, *Thomas* the bishop of *Amida*, and *James* the bishop of *Edessa*, presided, about the beginning of the second year of *Al Walid*'s reign<sup>r</sup>.

Abbâs makes  
an incursion  
into the impe-  
rial territo-  
ries.

IN the 91st year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 710, *Abbâs* one of the *Khalif*'s generals, made an incursion into the imperial territories, and carried off with him a vast number of that prince's subjects prisoners, who of course were by the *Arabs* made made slaves. The same commander founded a city near *Heliopolis* this year; but neither the precise situation of that city, nor the time when it was finished, has been told us by any good author<sup>s</sup>.<sup>f</sup>

Othmân pen-  
etrates into Ci-  
licia.

THE following year, *Othmân*, an *Arab* general, penetrated into the very heart of *Cilicia*, and obliged several cities, seated in that province, to surrender to him. Others he likewise made himself master of by treachery and surprize; though it does not appear, that he long kept possession of his conquests there. With regard to the new mosque at *Damascus*, the building of which went on this year, we must beg leave to observe, that *Al Walid* was the first who erected there those elevated towers, or steeples, called by the *Arabs* *Menârats*, and by the *Turks* *Minârets*, from whence the *Mueddhins*, or *criers*, give public notice of the

<sup>p</sup> KHONDEMIR, Aut. LEB TARIKH, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 70, 71. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 201. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 374, 375. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 312, 313. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 105. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Walid*, p. 907. <sup>q</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 70, 71. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 374—377. <sup>r</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 315. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 105. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. <sup>s</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup.



a times of prayer. The *Persian* geographer, to whom we are obliged for this article, also relates, in agreement with what we have already extracted from some of the *Arab* historians, that *Al Walid* adorned, with several additional buildings, the mosque erected at *Jerusalem* by the *Khalif Omar*<sup>1</sup>.

In the 93d year of the *Hejra*, answering to the year of our LORD 712, *Tarik Ebn Zarka* Tarik Ebn Zarka conquered part of Spain. made a descent in *Spain* with a body of the *Moslem* troops, defeated *Roderic*, the last king of the *Goths* there, reduced the city of *Toledo*, and over-ran a considerable part of that kingdom. *Tarik* was sent to *Spain* by *Mûsa Ebn Okair*, or *Okail*, who seems to have commanded the *Khalif's* forces in the western parts of *Africa*, and to have been the person who projected this expedition. *Mûsa*, being informed of *Tarik's* success, soon followed him with a body of auxiliary troops, composed of *Arabs* and *Africans*; and, after the junction of these two *Moslem* generals, the *Arabs* made themselves masters of a great number of fortresses in *Spain*; subjugating in a manner the whole country, and obliging it to become tributary to the *Khalif*. The *Moslems* acquired spoils of immense value in these expeditions, and, amongst other things, an exceeding rich table, called by the *Arab* writers *the table of Solomon, the son of David*. Those writers pretend, that this table consisted intirely of silver and gold, and was adorned with three borders of pearls; but *Roderick* of *Toledo* represents it as consisting of one intire stone, of a green colour, and an immense size, having no less than 365 feet. He also relates, that it was found in a certain village, or town, denominated from it *the city of the table*, near the mountain called in his days *Jibel Solimân*, mount Solomon, or the mountain of Solomon. *Roderic* is, however, inconsistent with himself, when he asserts, that *Mûsa* had first the possession of this famous table, and yet, almost in the same breath, is pleased immediately after to affirm, that *Tarik* made a present of it, with many other valuable effects, to *Mûsa*. It will, therefore, be more safe to adhere, in this point, to the testimony of the *Arab* historians; who relate, that *Tarik* either brought it, or took care to have it conveyed, to *Al Walid* himself. After *Mûsa* and *Tarik* had committed dreadful devastations in *Spain*, they were recalled from thence by the *Khalif*. However, *Mûsa* sent his son *Abd'alaziz* into that country, who fixed his residence at *Seville*, and afterwards married *Egebo*, or *Egibon*, king *Roderic's* widow; but, being persuaded by his wife to wear the diadem after the *Gothic* manner, he was assassinated by the *Arabs*, who from thence concluded that he had become a convert to *Christianity*, whilst he was performing his devotions. *Abd'alaziz*, after a reign of three years, was succeeded by *Ayub Ebn Halib*, by whose advice his predecessor had been murdered, and who was looked upon by the *Arabs* as the most prudent *Moslem* in *Spain*. *Ayub* is said to have built a city, called *Calatayub*, and to have transferred the royal seat from *Seville* to *Corduba*. Some authors relate, that the two sons of *Vitiza*, *Roderic's* predecessor, and count *Julian*, whose daughter *Roderic* had ravished, applied this year to *Mûsa* for a body of troops, which they offered to conduct into *Spain*, and put that kingdom into the hands of the *Khalif*. But *Al Walid*, say they, suspecting treachery in this affair, ordered *Mûsa* to send over first with *Julian*, and the two princes attending him, only a small detachment of his forces, and to form a notion of that count's sincerity from the reception those *Arabs* should meet with in *Spain*. Upon which, continue they, he assigned *Julian* only a body of 400 foot and 100 horse, under the command, as should seem, of *Tarik*, or, as he is called by the *Spanish* historians, *Tarif*, who passed the straits of *Hercules*, now known by the name of the straits of *Gibraltar*, was joined by a good number of *Julian's* friends, and ravaged the maritime coast of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. Soon after which, the *Arabs* returned loaded with spoil and plunder to *Africa*. The *Moslems* also this year extended their conquests in other parts; *Masalamas*, *Moslema*, or *Moslem*, one of their generals, reducing the city of *Amasia*, and seizing upon a considerable part of *Pontus* and *Armenia*<sup>2</sup>.

f THE next year, being the 94th of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 713, the city of *Antioch* He undertakes a second expedition into that country. was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, the shocks of which were extremely violent, and continued, tho' with intermission, forty days together. The same year died *Zein Alabaddin Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Taleb*, who was pious, devout, and held in great veneration amongst many of the *Moslems*. He performed every day a thousand genuflexions, or ingenuculations. He left behind him two sons, *Zeid* and *Mohammed Abu Jaafar*, who were highly esteemed by those of the *Shiite* persuasion. This year likewise *Tarik*, or *Tarif*, assembled a body of twelve thousand men, which he put privately on board some merchant-men, collected for that purpose by count *Julian*, and transported them to the rock or mountain *Calpe*, denominated afterwards from this general *Jibel Tarif*, that is, *the rock* or *mountain of Tarif*; from whence the word *Gibraltar*, the name of a city erected at the foot

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. D'HERBEEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Valid*, p. 906, 907. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 201. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 372, 373.

<sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. RODERIC TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. ix. p. 8, 9. ISIDOR. PACENS. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 320.



of this rock since that event, has been formed. *Tarif*, soon after his arrival in *Spain*, made himself master of an ancient city, that stood at no great distance, in a western direction, from the spot on which *Gibraltar* was afterwards built, and from him received the name of *Tarifa*, or *Tariffa*, by which it is also at present known. This town was undoubtedly the *Julia Traducta* of the old geographers, and neither the *Mallaria* nor the *Carteia* of the antients, as some of the *Spanish* historians pretend. After the reduction of this place, the *Moslem* general marched to *Seville*, which he easily possessed himself of, as it was not in a state of defence. Many other towns of considerable note likewise surrendered to him; which enabled him to plunder the whole province of *Extica*, and a very considerable part of *Lusitania*. *Roderic*, receiving advice of these depredations, sent his cousin-german *Linco*, *Enecon*, or *Inach*, called by some writers *Sanctius*, with a raw undisciplined rabble of an army, drawn together in haste, against the *Arabs*. But the *Goths* were soon put to flight, and left a great number of their men dead upon the field of battle. This so animated *Tarif*, that he resolved not to lay down his victorious arms till he had made an absolute conquest of *Spain*. Some of the *Christian* writers pretend, that *Al Walid* died this year; but this, as running counter to the concurrent testimony of all the best *Arab* historians, we must by no means admit. About the same time that *Tarif* made so rapid a progress in *Spain*, *Abbás*, another *Moslem* general, fell into *Pisidia*, with a powerful army, took the city of *Antioch* there, and, after he had ravaged the whole province, retired into the *Khalif's* territories with very inconsiderable loss <sup>w</sup>.

Al Hejaj's death, and extreme severity. THE *Arab* authors of best repute place the death of *Al Hejáj Ebn Yusuf Al Thakáfi* in the month of *Ramadán*, and the 95th year of the *Hejra*, answering to the year of our LORD 714. When he died, he was fifty-four years of age, and had presided over *Irák* about twenty years. He is said to have killed 120,000 men, and to have suffered 50,000 men, and 30,000 women, to perish in prison. In order to excuse his extreme severity, or rather cruelty, he used frequently to say, that a severe, or even violent, government is better than a weak and too indulgent, or rather indolent, administration; because the former hurts only some particular persons, whereas the latter injures the whole body of the people. He did not scruple to say, that the obedience due to princes is more absolute than that which men owe even to God himself; since they are enjoined by the *Korán* only to obey God as far as they are able, whereas that book requires of them an unconditional and unlimited obedience to all earthly rulers. Some persons, once hearing him talk after this extravagant manner, told him, that nothing could equal either his envy or ambition, as he assumed to himself such a monstrous degree of authority. To which he replied, *that man is still more envious and ambitious than me, who says to God, Give me, O LORD, such a state of life as no person can enjoy after my death*. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Al Hejáj* destroyed 120,000 persons of rank and distinction, besides those that fell in war through his means, and others of a lower degree; as also, that he was only fifty-three years old at the time of his death, and had then presided over *Hejáz*, as well as *Irák*, about twenty years <sup>x</sup>.

A remarkable story of Al Hejáj. AL HEJAJ, being one day in the country, met an *Arab* of the desert, who was a perfect stranger to him, and asked him what sort of a man this *Al Hejáj* was, of whom people talked so much? The *Arab* answered, that he was a very wicked man. *Don't you know me, then?* said *Al Hejáj*. *No*, replied the *Arab*. *I am*, said the other, *Al Hejáj, of whom you give so bad a character*. Upon which, the *Arab*, without the least emotion or concern, demanded of *Al Hejáj*, in his turn, whether he knew him? *No*, answered the other. *I am*, said the *Arab*, *a member of the family of Zobeir, whose posterity all become fools three days in the year, and this is one of them*. *Al Hejáj* could not forbear laughing at, and admiring, so ingenious an evasion; so that, notwithstanding his natural fierceness, he pardoned the *Arab*, whom he esteemed for his wit and courage. As he was a man of fine parts and great eloquence, as well as a military genius, and not much advanced in years at his death, he was both a judge and an admirer of every thing that appeared smart and brilliant in others, even to the very last. He is said to have expired in the 95th year of the *Hejra* not only by the best *Arab*, but likewise by some of the *Persian*, historians <sup>y</sup>.

Another. It has been already observed, that *Al Hejáj* at last intirely defeated *Abd'alrahmán*, and killed 4000 of his men. To which we must here beg leave to add, that he took a great number of officers prisoners in that decisive action; all which he resolved to put to the sword. One of them, going to the place of execution, said, he had a piece of justice to demand of *Al Hejáj*; as he had reproved his general *Abd'alrahmán* for speaking with great acrimony against him. *Al Hejáj* asked him whether he could produce any one to attest this

<sup>w</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. LUCAS TUDENS. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Philosoph. Transact. n. 359. p. 903. & JONES's abridgm. of the Philosoph. Transact. vol. v. par. ii. p. 83—95. Lond. 1721. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 105. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. <sup>x</sup> AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hagiage Ebn Yusuf Al Thakafi*, p. 442. <sup>y</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MIRKHONB.



a point of conduct? To which he replied, that one of his comrades, now condemned to die as well as himself, heard every thing that passed between him and *Abd'almalec* on this occasion, *Al Hejâj*, being satisfied with the truth of the fact, asked the other why he did not behave in the same manner? This undaunted man answered him fiercely, *I did not do it, because you are my enemy*. Upon which, *Al Hejâj* gave both of them their lives; the one, in order to acknowledge the obligation he was under to him, and the other, for having confessed the truth with so much frankness and courage. Hence it may seem to appear, that *Al Hejâj* was not quite void of generous sentiments, and that what some of the *Arabs* termed in him enormous cruelties were, in reality, to be considered only as wholesome severities, adapted to the nature of the people he governed. This may possibly be farther evinced by an extemporary speech he once made to the *Moslems* under his inspection, after he had been taxed with barbarity by them; which was to the following effect: God, said he, *has at present given me the power over you; and, if I exercise it with some severity, don't imagine that you will find yourselves in a better situation after my decease. You will always hereafter meet with at least as ill treatment from my successors, as you have hitherto experienced from me. When I shall be dead, God will send you another of his servants, who may possibly execute his commands against you with greater severity than I have done. Would you have a prince sweet and moderate? Follow justice, and obey his orders. Your own conduct will be the principle and source of the good or ill treatment you will receive at your governor's hands. The prince, or his lieutenant, may justly be compared to a mirror: all that you see in the glass is only the return of the objects you present to it*. Nor can any piece be drawn more to the life than the portrait here given of the people of *Irâk* by *Al Hejâj*, as sufficiently appears from the best *Arab* authors, who have already been cited on this head in the preceding part of this history<sup>a</sup>.

THIS general, as he was hunting, being once separated from his retinue, found himself very thirsty in a solitary place, where an *Arab* was feeding his camels. As soon as *Al Hejâj* appeared, those animals were scared away; which made the *Arab*, then attentive to something else, lift up his head in a great passion, and say, *Who is this with his fine cloaths that comes here into the desert to fright my camels? the curse of God light upon him!* *Al Hejâj*, without taking notice of what he had said, made up to him, saluted him very civilly, and, after the *Arab* manner, wished him peace. But the other, instead of returning his salutation in proper terms, answered him roughly; telling him, that he neither wished him peace, nor any blessing of God. *Al Hejâj* seemed not to understand him, and begged of him, with great humility, a little water to drink. The *Arab* told him, that he might alight and help himself, for he was neither his companion nor his servant. *Al Hejâj* did as he bade him; and, after he had drunk, asked him whom he took to be the most noble and excellent of all men? *The prophet sent by God, burst you!* answered the *Arab*. And what think you of *Ali*? added *Al Hejâj*. *His excellency cannot be sufficiently expressed by words*, replied the other. *Al Hejâj*, continuing his discourse, then asked him what an opinion he entertained of *Abd'almalec*? To which at first he made no answer; but, being pressed, he at last dropped some words which seemed to imply, that he believed him to be a bad prince. *Why so?* answered *Al Hejâj*. *Because*, replied the *Arab*, *he has sent us for a governor the most wicked man under the heavens*. The words were scarce out of his mouth, when a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time a sort of noise, which the *Arab* had no sooner heard, than he looked stedfastly upon *Al Hejâj*, and demanded of him who he was? *Al Hejâj*, not chusing to give him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. *Because*, said the *Arab*, *this bird assured me, that a company of people draws near, and that you probably are the chief of them*. *Al Hejâj's* attendants then came up, and, by his order, carried the *Arab* along with him; who, the next day, was admitted to *Al Hejâj's* table, and commanded by him to eat. The *Arab* then said his usual grace, *God grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the beginning*. Whilst they were eating, *Al Hejâj* asked him if he remembered the discourse that had passed between them the day before. The *Arab* answered him immediately, *God prosper you in every thing; but as for yesterday's secret, take care you do not divulge it to-day. That I most certainly shall*, replied *Al Hejâj*; *but you must chuse one of these two things, either to acknowledge me your master, and then I will retain you in my service; or else to be sent to the Khalîf Abd'almalec Ebn Merwân, to whom I shall give an account of all that you have said of him*. The *Arab*, having heard *Al Hejâj's* proposal, answered him instantly, *There is a third way you may take, which seems to me to be much better. What is that?* said *Al Hejâj*. *Send me home*, replied the *Arab*, *and let I and you never see one another more*. Upon which, *Al Hejâj*, not a little pleased to hear the poor man talk with so much spirit and vivacity, made him a present of ten thousand *dirhems*, and dismissed him, according to his desire. With regard to the language of birds, such as that mentioned here, the *Arabs* pretend, that several of their nation have all along understood this, even from *Solomon's*

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EBN AL ATHIR, MSS. Pocock. num. 137. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GRÆC. ABU'LFAR, pass. &c.



time. They affirm, that this science has been known amongst them ever since the reign of that prince, when *Balkis*, the queen of *Sheba*, or *Saba*, had a bird called *Hudud*, that is, the hoop or lapwing, which she dispatched to *Solomon* on several occasions, and which was the messenger of their amours. We are told by *Jallal'oddin*, that *Solomon*, having notice of the embassy designed to be sent him by *Balkis*, by means of the lapwing, even before the persons that composed it set out, ordered a large square to be inclosed with a wall built of gold and silver bricks, wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them <sup>a</sup>.

*Kumeil saved by his wit.* KUMEIL, the son of *Ziyâd*, was a man of fine wit. He lived in the time of *Al Hejâj*, and did by no means approve of his conduct. One day that governor ordered him to be brought before him, and reproached him, because, in a certain garden, before some persons that he named, he had uttered several imprecations against him, some of which were to the following effect: *The Lord blacken his face! that is, fill him with shame and confusion; and may his neck be cut off, and his blood shed!* To which *Kumeil*, who had an exceeding ready wit, answered instantly, *'Tis true, I did speak these words in the garden you mention; but then I was under a vine-arbour, looking upon a bunch of grapes not yet ripe, and I wished that they would turn black soon, that they might be cut off, and made wine of.* This ingenious explication so pleased *Al Hejâj*, that he sent *Kumeil* home, and re-established him in his favour <sup>b</sup>.

*Ebn Korrah's evasion.* ABU AYAS EBN KORRAH AL BASRI, a person celebrated for his piety and learning, whose father had been one of the COMPANIONS, being once with *Al Hejâj*, the porter told them, that a secretary was at the gate; upon which *Ebn Korrah* said, *These secretaries are the worst of all sorts of people.* However, the secretary was introduced, and well received by *Al Hejâj*; who, after he had dismissed him, assured *Ebn Korrah*, that, had not the title of *Companion of the prophet* been in his family, he would have ordered his head to be struck off, because the *Korân* says, *Honour the writers.* *Ebn Korrah*, finding what imminent danger he was in, answered immediately, *I spoke of the secretaries of the Divân, and not of the angels that are called writers in the Korân.* To which he likewise thought fit to add, that the latter merited the appellation given them in that book, because they write down the actions of men, in order to produce them at the general judgment. This *Ebn Korrah* was the master of *Kotâdah*, *Shabab*, and *Aimash*, and made a very considerable figure amongst the *Moslems* <sup>c</sup>.

*A religious Moslem's prayer for Al Hejâj.* SADI relates, that *Al Hejâj* once recommended himself to the prayers of a religious *Moslem*; upon which, he instantly prayed that God would please to kill him quickly; for nothing, said he, can be more advantageous either to himself or the people. By which it in some measure appears, that the *Khalif's* subjects he was sent to govern entertained a very disagreeable, and even shocking, idea of him <sup>d</sup>.

*Al Hejâj, before his death, orders his astrologer to be dispatched.* MIRKHOND writes, that, when he was upon his death-bed, he consulted his astrologer, to know of him, if he had not found in his *Ephemerides*, that some great captain was near the end of his days. The astrologer answered him, that a certain great lord, named *Kolaib*, was threatened with speedy death, according to his observations. *Al Hejâj* replied, *that is the very name my mother gave me when I was a child.* Then, said the astrologer, with great imprudence, *you must certainly die; there is no room to doubt of it.* *Al Hejâj*, offended at this discourse, said instantly to him, *If that be the case, and you are so dexterous in your predictions, I will send you before me into the other world, that I may make use of you there;* and at the same time gave an order to have him dispatched. We must here beg leave to remark, that the word *Kolaib*, in *Arabic*, signifies a little dog; and that we meet with an account of this astrologer's fate, similar to that handed down to us by *Mirkbond*, in *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>e</sup>.

*Some farther particulars relating to him.* THE former of those writers also relates, that this general was born shut up at the bottom; so that his parents found it necessary to have him opened with surgeons instruments, lest a stop should be put by this natural impediment to the exercise of the animal functions. The latter of them inform us, that he fell sick by eating dirt; which he afterwards abstained from, by the advice of *Theodunus*, an eminent physician, who was cotemporary with him. The same author adds, that he died of a phthisis, or consumption, which, for a considerable time, deprived him of his natural rest. The dirt mentioned by this historian was a sort of medicinal clay, called by the *Latins* *Terra Lemnia*, and by the *Arabs* *Thîn*, and *Thîn Mekhtown*, *Lutum*, *Lutum sigillatum*, & *Terra sigillata*, being prescribed in several cases by the most eminent physicians. We are told by a writer of some note, that *Al Hejâj* was extremely magnificent in his entertainments; insomuch that he furnished, on some occasions, no less than a thousand tables. He also, according to the same author, sometimes made very valuable presents to his friends; it having been known, that certain of them received of him 1,000,000 *dirhems* at once. *Al Hejâj* left behind him a son, who erected a little principality, consisting of only seven small towns in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*; which

<sup>a</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage Ebn Yusef Al Thakefi*, p. 442, 443, & in art. *Balkis*, p. 182. JALLALO'DDIN.

<sup>b</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 443.

<sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Korrah*, p. 272.

<sup>d</sup> SADI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 443.

<sup>e</sup> MIRKHOND. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 200, 201. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZADAD. in *Kam*.



- a gradually going to decay, a city was at last formed out of them all, called *Kom*. This town stands at almost an equal distance from *Ispahân* and *Cazbîn*, and about twenty-one parasangs from *Raya*. Between this last place and *Kom* there is a frightful desert, in which there was formerly a very large and strong castle, called *Gerdesbîr*; a particular description of which we meet with in *Nâkût*. This city was raised out of the ruins of the seven others, in the 203d year of the *Hejra*. *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of *Al Hejâj*, having been defeated by his enemies, and his country ruined, the inhabitants of the seven original towns gradually deserted them, and their descendants built the city of *Kom*; which was divided into seven parts, that retained the names of those towns. The principal of these was called *Kommedan*, a name apparently formed of *Kom*. The city of *Kom* is at this day justly celebrated for its manufactures of silk, called in the *Turkish* and *Persian* languages *Komash*, in the same manner as velvet is denominated in the east *Karîfab*, from the town of *Karîf*, situated in the province of *Babrein*, on the *Persian* gulf, about two days journey from *Aksâ*, where it is made. *Abd'almogni Ali*, a famous astrologer, who left behind him an astrological treatise, intitled, *Ekbîarat*, was a native of *Kom*, and from thence surnamed *Al Komi*, or *Al Kommi*. *Abu Obeidab Mâmer Ebn Al Mothâni* writ the life of *Al Hejâj*, under the title of *Al Akbâr Hejâj*. That author was a native of *Baghdâd*, and died in the 209th year of the *Hejra* <sup>f</sup>.
- b
- c THE same year in which *Al Hejâj* died, that is, the 95th of the *Hejra*, *Al Walid Ebn Abd'almalék* banished *Ali Ebn Abd'allab Ebn Al Abbâs* from *Damascus* to *Honein*, a valley which lies about three miles from *Mecca*, towards *Al Tâyes*, where he begot twenty sons. The *Khalîf* also ordered this *Ali* to receive seventy stripes, for meditating the murder of *Salit*. The *Arabs* gained this year a complete victory over the *Goths* in *Spain*, which paved the way to the absolute conquest of most of the provinces of that kingdom. *Roderic*, being informed, that the *Moslems* had landed a powerful army in *Spain*, and made terrible havock in several parts of his dominions, assembled his whole force, and resolved to bring the enemy to a general action, that should determine his fate as well as that of his subjects. Coming up with them, therefore, at *Affidona*, he attacked them with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the *Goths* had been enervated by a long peace, the victory hung in suspense for eight whole days. The king himself, dressed in his royal robes, with a golden crown upon his head, in an ivory chariot, after the manner of the *Gothic* princes, appeared at the head of his army, and so animated his troops by his presence and valiant behaviour, that they really performed wonders; though at last the *Arabs*, being continually reinforced with fresh troops, forced them to give way, and even betake themselves to a precipitate flight. To this the sons of *Vitiza*, according to some writers, not a little contributed. For, *Roderic* committing to their conduct the wings of the army, though they had already manifested their sinister intentions towards him, they went over to the enemy in the heat of the action; upon which, a total rout immediately ensued. The *Arabs* pursued the flying *Goths* with so much ardour, that the greatest part of them were killed either in the battle or the pursuit. In this fatal engagement, which ended on *Sunday* the fifth day of *July*, according to some of the best *Spanish* historians, all the *Gothic* nobility were slain; so that all the *Spaniards*, except the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, who were the last that submitted to the *Romans*, were obliged, within a short time, gradually to receive the *Moslem* yoke. As for *Roderic* himself, it is not certainly known whether he was killed in the action, or survived the destruction of his army. Some affirm, that he fell in the battle; but others deny this. However, we are told for certain, that this horse *Orelia*, and ensigns of royalty, were found in a miry place, frequented by swine and other filthy animals, though the enemy sought for his body in vain. With regard to count *Julian*, he is said to have soon met with the proper reward of his villainy; the *Arabs*, according to a proverb received amongst us, loving the treason, but hating the traitor. His wife they stoned to death, threw his son headlong from the top of the castle of *Ceuta*, and stript him of all his possessions. After which, according to some, he miserably expired in irons in a fort or citadel belonging to the territory of *Osta*; tho' others, it must be owned, are of a different opinion. Be this, however, as it will, the *Arabs*, who lost sixteen thousand men in the battle of *Affidona*, reduced the whole kingdom of *Spain*, except the provinces occupied by the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, as has been already observed, within the space of eight months, or, according to others, fourteen months, or, lastly, as others will have it, about two years. Nay, there are not wanting those who assert, that the *Arabs* spent five years in the conquest and intire reduction of the most considerable part of this region. *Tarif*, who now commanded in *Spain*, acquired an immense treasure, during this successful campaign; which not only enriched him, but likewise
- d
- e
- f
- g

<sup>f</sup> MIRKHOND & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. Aut. Lib. AOVAIL; YAKUT, EBN HAWKAI, HAMDALLA, ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 218—220. & alib. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 263, 264, 271. 443, 444.



enabled him to reward all his officers, and even the troops themselves, for their bravery in this war. Nor did the *Moslem* commanders fail afterwards of amassing prodigious riches, with which they were supplied by this most opulent country; tho' these, if we will believe a certain historian, soon occasioned such dissensions amongst them, and so incensed them one against another, that several of them came to violent deaths, insomuch that, within the space of twenty years, there were no less than fifteen *Moslem* princes, or governors, in *Spain*. The *Arabs* were this year likewise formidable in the eastern parts of the world. *Masalmes*, *Moslema*, or *Moslem*, an *Arab* general that we have formerly mentioned, made several incursions into the imperial territories, and ravaged the whole province of *Galatia*, carrying off with him many rich spoils, and a great number of prisoners, when he retired into the *Khalif's* dominions. The *Greek* emperor, being informed, that *Al Walid* was making vast preparations to attack him both by sea and land, sent some of his nobles, and, amongst the rest, *Daniel Sinopensis*, to treat of a peace with that prince. Amongst other instructions with which *Daniel* was charged, the emperor ordered him to procure as exact an account as possible of the force with which *Al Walid* proposed to invade the *Greek* empire. Upon his return from the *Moslem* court, that nobleman represented both the naval and military preparations of the *Arabs* against the *Christians*, and particularly the capital city of the empire, as so stupendous, that it would be next to impossible to oppose them. The emperor therefore finding, that the *Khalif* intended to lay siege to *Constantinople*, he caused a very large number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and, having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years to depart the city. He likewise added some new works to the place on the sea-side, and disposed his military engines on the towers in such a manner as might enable him to give the enemy a proper reception, whenever they should think fit to appear. In the mean time, *Al Walid* continued his warlike preparations with the utmost vigour, being determined to make himself master of *Constantinople*, if possible, in one campaign <sup>a</sup>.

The death and  
character of  
Al Walid.

IN the 96th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 715, *Korrah Ebn Sharik*, *Al Walid's* governor of *Egypt*, died at *Mesr*, where he had erected a large and stately mosque, about three years before his death. He was succeeded by *Abd'almalec Ebn Refa'a*, who presided over the *Egyptians* till the accession of *Solimān Ebn Abd'almalec Ebn Merwān* to the *Moslem* throne. As for the *Khalif Al Walid*, he died this year, about the middle of the latter *Jomāda*, and was buried at *Damascus*. He reigned about nine years and eight months; being at the time of his death, according to some, forty-eight, or, as others will have it, forty-three, years of age. He was very tall, swarthy, flat-nosed, and pitted with the small-pox. He had a large beard, with some grey hairs in it, was of a strong robust constitution, and a choleric temper. He was subject to intemperate sallies of passion, being by no means capable of bridling his anger. According to *Al Makin*, he married sixty-three wives, the greatest part of whom he divorced; which, as that author says, was attended with a very considerable expence. He laid out large sums of money upon public buildings, such as the magnificent mosques at *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, and *Medina*; all which were either erected or enlarged and beautified in his reign. This *Khalif* appointed *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* his commandant of *Medina*, and was the first of the successors of *Mohammed* who founded an hospital for sick people, and a *Caravanserai*, or public house of entertainment, for poor travellers and strangers. His secretaries, who succeeded one another in the order they are mentioned here, were *Korrah Ebn Yezid*, *Kabida Ebn Dawib*, *Dahak Ebn Zerik*, *Yezid Ebn Abikefba*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mālec*; his chamberlains, *Kbāled* and *Saad*, the first his servant, and the other his freed-man; and the captain of his guards *Caab Ebn Hazem Al Abāsi*. The inscription of his seal was, O AL WALID! you are to die, and to give an account of your actions. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Friday*, and the last *Saturday*. He is said to have had some skill in architecture, but to have been a very indifferent linguist. The accounts of the public treasury he ordered the clerks, or secretaries, to write in *Arabic*, and not in *Greek*, as was the custom before his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Al Walid*, as has been already observed, was more powerful than any of his predecessors; having subjugated, according to the eastern writers, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, the vast province of *Marwarā'lnahr*, *Little Bukhāria*, or the kingdom of *Kashgar*, and *Turkestan*. He likewise, if we will believe those authors, rendered that part of *India* on this side the *Ganges* tributary to him. The greatest part of the *Moslem* historians differ widely from those of *Syria* in their accounts of this prince. The latter represent him as the greatest *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*; whereas the former have transmitted him down to posterity as naturally cruel and violent, of much the same disposition with *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*, called also *Al Walid* by some of the eastern writers. *Kbondemir*, one of the principal of the *Persian* historians, tells <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. ISM. ABU'LFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. liv. p. 112. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ANTONIUS A GUEVARA, in epistola ad Alfons. Burg. Episc. FERDINAND. NUN. PINCIAN. ISIDOR. PACENS. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. p. 696, 697. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 321, 322.



a us, that *Katiba Ebn Moslem*, *Al Walid's* governor of *Khorasân*, after he had passed the *Jihûn*, advanced to *Samarkand*, where *Magourek*, the king, or *Khân*, of *Mawarâ'lnahr*, was shut up, and laid siege to that place; that, after having sustained several very vigorous attacks, it surrendered to him by capitulation; the principal article of which was, that *Magourek* should pay the *Khalîf* annually, by way of tribute, 2,000,000 *dinârs*, and at the same time make him a present of 3000 slaves; and that, after he had possessed himself of the place, he ordered all the idols therein to be destroyed, and constructed in it one of the most superb mosques to be met with in all the *Moslem* empire <sup>b</sup>.

## S E C T. XIII.

b **S**OLIMAN EBN ABD'ALMALEC, surnamed *Abu Ayub*, succeeded his brother *Al Walid*, and <sup>He is succeeded by his brother Solimân.</sup> was inaugurated the very day on which that *Khalîf* died. His mother was *Waladah*, the daughter of *Al Abbâs Ebn Harbi Al Abbâsi*. He was a prince of fine parts and surprizing eloquence, having been educated amongst his mother's relations in the desert. He redressed all grievances that had happened before his accession, put an end to all disorders, encouraged trade, and released all the prisoners in his extensive dominions, except such as had been incarcerated for capital crimes. In the 96th year of the *Hejra*, or the first of his reign, *Katiba Ebn Moslem*, the governor of *Khorasân*, rebelled against him; but the people of that country were so far from joining with him in his defection, that they rushed upon him with one accord, cut him to pieces, and elected for their leader one *Wâkî Ebn Abu Sawid*, who  
c presided over them till *Solimân* appointed *Yezid Ebn Mohalleb Ebn Abu Saфра* his lieutenant of *Khorasân*. *Yezid* greatly extended the *Moslem* conquests on that side, reducing *Taberistân* and *Jurjân*, *Georgiana*, or *Giurgiana*, under the dominion of the *Khalîf*. In this war he gained many glorious victories, ravaged the enemies territories, killed a vast number of the infidels, and imposed an annual tribute upon the rest. Soon after, *Solimân* began to make the necessary dispositions for putting his troops in march against *Constantinople*, and appointed his brother *Moslema* to command in that expedition. *Asamah Ebn Zeid Al Tannukhi* collected the tribute at this time for *Solimân* in *Egypt*. Nothing very material passed this year in *Spain*. However, the *Arabs*, by the assistance of the *Jews*, surprized the city of *Toledo* on *Palm-Sunday*, which had returned from them to the enemy. *Mûsa* also, the prefect of  
d *Africa*, hearing of the great success of *Tarif*, and of the immense riches he had acquired, landed again with a large body of the *Moslem* troops in *Spain*, assumed to himself the spoils taken by that general from the *Goths*, and then in conjunction with him, notwithstanding the mutual hatred and animosities that subsisted between them, reduced *Cæsaraugusta*, known at this time by the name of *Saragosa*, or *Saragossa*, and several other towns. The inhabitants of those places the *Arabs* treated with cruelty enough; plundering and pillaging them all without distinction, and even putting many of them to the sword <sup>i</sup>.

THE following year, being the 97th of the *Hejra*, beginning September 5th, 715, *Solimân* <sup>A Mikeas built by Solimân.</sup> ordered a *Mikeas*, *Nilescope*, or pillar to measure the increase of the *Nile*, to be erected on an island between *Geeza*, or *Al Jiza*, the antient *Memphis*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, and *Al*

e *Fostât*; he having been before informed by *Asamah Ebn Zeid Al Tannukhi*, his collector of the tribute and customs in *Egypt*, that the *Mikeas* built at *Holwân* by *Abd'alaziz Ebn Merwân* was become intirely useless. This *Nilescope* may possibly be still remaining, as that seen and described by the learned Dr. *Shaw* stands upon the point of an island that lies between *Kairo* and *Geeza*; which situation exactly corresponds with that assigned *Solimân's Nilometer* by *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*. For a full and ample description of this column, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Shaw's* observations in *Egypt*; where they will meet with the best and most entertaining account of it, that has hitherto been communicated to the world <sup>k</sup>.

f THIS year, the *Arabs* rather lost than gained ground in *Spain*. *Pelagius*, or, as the *Spaniards* call him, *Pelayo*, the son of *Fafila*, or *Favila*, duke of *Cantabria*, was proclaimed king of *Asturians*; and *Garfias Ximenius*, known amongst the *Spaniards* by the name of *Gar-*<sup>for Constantinople;</sup>  
*cia Ximenes*, or *Gothic* extraction, founded a kingdom in the *Pyrenean* mountains, whither many of the *Christians* had fled from *Saragosa* and other towns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, when they were taken by the *Arabs*. Nor could the *Khalîf's* forces in *Spain* reduce these two new princes. The army sent against *Pelayo* returned, without having effected any

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 73. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 201, 202. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 376, 377. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. in art. *Valid*, p. 907. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 314. KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univers. Aut. LEB TARIKH, MIRAT CAINAT, EBN SHOHNAH, aliosque scriptor. orient. plur.

<sup>i</sup> AL MAKIN ubi sup. p. 73, 74. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 202. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 376, 377. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 190—197. Fortalit. Fid. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. p. 627.

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN & EUTYCH. ubi sup. SHAW's physie. and miscellan. observat. in Egypt. p. 433—439.



thing, to *Corduba*; and that destined to act against *Ximenes*, who distinguished himself in several sharp actions with only a body of 600 horse, was not able to seize upon any part of his territories. On the contrary, the latter of these *Christian* monarchs advanced his frontiers into the enemy's country, and died after a reign of forty-two years. The first of them likewise reigned about nineteen years, as our readers will find more particularly related in the modern history of *Spain*. About this time, *Moslema*, who is called by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus Masalmas*, begun his march for *Constantinople*, with an army of 120,000 men, advanced first to *Amorium* in *Phrygia*, and afterwards to *Pergamus* in *Myſia*, which he surprized; and then took up his winter-quarters in the *Leſſer Aſia*. *Theophanes* ſeems to intimate, that either *Solimán* himſelf, or a general of the ſame name, commanded a body of the *Moslem* forces in this expedition; though not the leaſt foundation for ſuch a notion is to be met with in the oriental hiſtorians. *Ebn Shobnah* writes, that this prince was at *Ramla*, or *Rama*, when his brother died, from whence he went to *Damaſcus* as ſoon as he had received advice of that event, in order to take poſſeſſion of the *Khalifat*; and that, after a ſhort reſidence there, he commanded his troops to advance to *Marj Dabek*, near *Aleppo*, from whence his brother *Moslema* marched directly to *Constantinople*, that he might form the ſiege of that important place. Theſe are the moſt material tranſactions of the 97th year of the *Hejra*, both according to the *Chriſtian* and the *Moslem* hiſtorians<sup>1</sup>.

and begins  
that capital.

THE next year, this is, the 98th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Auguſt* 25th, 716, ſeveral remarkable events happened in thoſe parts of the world, that were the theatres of the war between the *Chriſtians* and the *Moslems*. The *Chriſtians* of *Spain*, who ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*, and choſe to reſide in the *Moslem* territories, were not diſturbed either in the poſſeſſion of their properties, or the free exerciſe of their religion. As they were intermixed, and in a manner incorporated, with the *Arabs*, they obtained on that account the name of *Mozarabes*; and the miſſal then in uſe amongſt them, drawn up by *St. Leander* and *St. Iſidore*, and which was followed by all the *Chriſtians* of *Spain* till the time of *Alphonſus VI.* was called the *Mozarabic* miſſal. This year, *Múſa* and *Tariſ* were recalled by *Solimán*, and not *Al Walíd*, as we find aſſerted by ſome of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians, to give an account of their conduct. *Múſa* left his ſon *Abd'alaziz* behind him, to govern *Spain* in his abſence, who married *Egibon*, *Egilon*, or *Egilona*, *Roderic's* wife, and fixed his reſidence at *Seville*, as has been already obſerved. As for *Tariſ*, before his departure, he appointed *Al Khamán*, an excellent officer, to command the *Moslem* forces deſtined to act againſt *Pelagius*, whom he thought it a ſcandal to him not to have reduced. *Al Khamán*, before he proceeded directly to hoſtilities, ſent *Oppa*, or *Oppas*, the archbiſhop of *Seville*, to prevail upon him, if poſſible, to take the oath of allegiance to the *Khalif*. This *Oppa* attempted, and had a conference with *Pelagius*, who had taken poſt with 1000 choſen men in a cave on mount *Auſena*, having diſpoſed his other troops, on which he could not ſo much depend, to the beſt advantage, upon the precipices of that mountain; but without effect, that prince being ſtill determined to aſſert his independency againſt the *Arabs*. *Al Khamán*, therefore, finding pacific meaſures ineffectual, marched againſt him with a powerful army, but could not meet with an opportunity of attacking him before the following year. In the mean time, *Moslema*, having in vain waited for *Leo's* performance of certain engagements he had laſt year entered into with him, when he perſuaded him to aſſume the purple, and promiſed to ſupport him, left his winter-quarters in the *Leſſer Aſia*, and reſumed his march for *Constantinople*. Upon his arrival at *Abydus*, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for paſſing the *Hellſpont*, and transporting his forces into *Thrace*; which having done, and ſent orders to *Solimán*, the *Khalif's* admiral, to appear with the fleet, he defeated the imperial army that covered *Constantinople*, made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, and cauſed the city to be inveſted on the 15th day of *Auguſt*. *Moslema*, or, as the *Greek* writers call him, *Masalmas*, having ſoon after opened the trenches in form before the city, and drawn a line of circumvallation round his camp, pushed on the ſiege with great vigour. On the 1ſt of *September*, *Solimán*, according to *Theophanes*, in purſuance of the orders he had received, appeared, with the *Arab* fleet, conſiſting of men of war of a monſtrous ſize, beſides merchant-men and light veſſels, amounting in all to about 1800 ſhips, before the town, in order to block it up by ſea, and forward the operations of the land-forces. Twenty of the merchant-men, or transports, that, by reaſon of their heavy lading, failed ſlower than the reſt, arriving a few days after the grand fleet, were ſet on fire by ſome fire-ſhips ſent againſt them from the citadel, and reduced it to aſhes; which proved a very conſiderable loſs to the *Arabs*, as every one of them had 100 ſoldiers on board, armed with coats of mail; all which were either conſumed by the flames, or ſwallowed up by the waves. This greatly animated the gariſon, and ſtruck the enemy with terror and conſternation. It likewiſe prevented an attack on the ſea-ſide of the city, which the enemy propoſed to have made with a great part of

<sup>1</sup> JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi ſup. p. 697, 698. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 325, 326, 327. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi ſup. p. 449, 450. EBN SHOHNAH. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. in art. *Solimán Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 821.



a their forces the very day on which this action happened. The following winter was so severe in *Thrace*, that the ground was covered with the snow frozen upon it an hundred days; infomuch that almost all the enemy's horses, camels, and other beasts of burden, perished with the cold. They lost likewise a vast number of men by the inclemency of the season, and were reduced to great straits for want of provisions. They found themselves, therefore, incapable of making any considerable progress in the siege before the return of the spring; when two fleets, one of 800 ships, with a vast quantity of corn on board from *Egypt*, under the command of *Sofian*, and another of 360 merchant-men, or transports, laden with arms, baggage, and provisions, from *Africa*, under the conduct of *Yezid*, approached to their relief. But both those admirals having received intelligence of the fatal effects of the liquid or sea-fire, so called because it burnt under water, being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, that had destroyed the twenty transports above-mentioned, they were obliged for some time to stand off to sea. However, at last they ventured to draw nearer the city; but were soon, for the most part, consumed by the artificial fire discharged upon them from certain swift vessels and biremes, on board of which a proper quantity of it had been lodged for that purpose. All the land as well as the naval forces brought by those fleets, to reinforce the *Moslem* army incamped before *Constantinople*, and enable it to carry on the siege of that capital with more vigour, were either drowned or reduced to ashes in this action; and the *Greeks* carried off with them all the enemy's baggage, money, and provisions, that had escaped the flames, triumphantly into the town. About the same time, a detachment of the imperial forces cut to pieces a body of the *Arab* troops, commanded by one *Merdasan*, that had ravaged the coast as far as *Nicea* and *Nicomedia*; which cleared the opposite shore of the enemy's parties, and enabled the emperor's subjects to supply the besieged with necessaries from thence; the communication between *Thrace* and the neighbouring parts of *Asia* being now as open as before the commencement of the siege. The fishing vessels likewise followed their occupation in the *Bosphorus* and the *Propontis*, without any disturbance from the *Moslems*; so that the city, at this juncture, enjoyed a plenty of every thing that was necessary for the support of human life. The *Arabs*, on the other hand, were so grievously distressed for want of provisions, that a famine ensued amongst them; which obliged them to feed upon horses, asses, and other unclean animals, that died of themselves; nay, upon human excrements, and even at last upon one another. This introduced the plague amongst them, which swept away an infinite number of men; and, to crown all their misfortunes, the *Bulgarians* attacked their camp, and put 22,000 of them to the sword. However, the people of *Constantinople*, according to some of the *Arab* historians, were reduced to such straits, that they offered *Moslema* a large sum of money, if he would retire. They also intimate, that *Leo* outwitted *Moslema*, and deprived him, by one of not the most refined stratagems, both of his ships and provisions. Notwithstanding which, that general, expecting a reinforcement from *Solimân*, then at *Mari Dabek*, near *Kinnisrin* and *Aleppo*, obstinately persisted in his resolution to continue the siege<sup>m</sup>.

SOME authors affirm, that *Solimân* began to build the city of *Ramla*, or *Rama*, in the *Solimân's son* 98th year of the *Hejra*; but this runs counter to what has been advanced by *Ebn Shobnah*, *Ayub dies*. who relates, that he was there at his brother's death, as we have already observed. It seems more probable, that he only fortified this city, in order to secure it from the insults of the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, who at this time made frequent incursions into *Palestine*. However, *Solimân* is said by the *Arab* writers to have been the first who adorned *Ramla* with a fine palace, a stately mosque, a proper number of aqueducts, and other public buildings; which might not improbably have induced some to think, that he was the founder of that city. This year died his son *Ayub*, whom he had obliged the *Moslems* to acknowledge the heir apparent to the crown; after which, he nominated *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, a prince of exemplary piety, to succeed him. But this last event is more properly to be ranked amongst the transactions of the following year<sup>n</sup>.

THE 99th year of the *Hejra*, part of the 717th and 718th of the *Christian* æra, proved very unsuccessful to the *Moslems*. *Al Khamân* ascended mount *Ausena* at the head of a powerful army, and attacked the cave on the summit of that mountain, where *Pelagius* had posted himself with 1000 men, being the flower of his troops; but was repulsed with the loss of 20,000 men, according to some of the *Spanish* historians. This so animated the *Christians* under *Pelagius*, that they sallied out of the cave, fell upon the *Arabs* in their turn, and overthrew them with very great slaughter. *Al Khamân* himself was killed in the action, and *Oppa* taken prisoner; though it is not certainly known what afterwards became of him. As

<sup>m</sup> JUAN. VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 698, 699, 700. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 329—333. CEDREN, ubi sup. p. 451. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 74. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 202, 203. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 821. <sup>n</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 74. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 204. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Solimân Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 821. ISM. ABU'LFED. in Palest. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Ramala*.



for the *Arabs*, who escaped the carnage on this occasion, they were either obliged to throw <sup>a</sup> themselves down headlong from the precipices of the mountains, or fell into the hands of the *Christians*, who put them immediately to the sword. In the mean time, *Tarif*, arriving first at the *Khalif's* court, accused *Músa* of such enormous crimes, and supported with such convincing proofs his accusation, that the latter was not only ill received by *Solimán*, but likewise fined by him in a very large sum of money; which so affected him, that he soon after pined away with grief. One of the crimes laid to *Músa's* charge was, that he had secreted most of the riches acquired in *Spain* for his own use, and reserved but a small part of them for the *Khalif*; upon which, he was not only deprived of the honourable post to which he had been advanced, but likewise obliged him to pay down 2,000,000 *dirbems*. And because *Avúb*, of whom we have spoken above, was related to *Músa*, the *Khalif* recalled <sup>b</sup> him from *Spain*, and substituted *Alabor*, or *Alabor*, *Ebn Abd'alrahmán* in his room. All which events are placed by the *Spanish* writers in the 97th year of the *Hejra*; whereas, in truth and reality, they happened in the 99th of that æra; and consequently in the *Khalifat* of *Solimán*, and not of *Al Walid*, as those writers pretend. *Alabor*, upon his arrival in *Spain*, being informed of the terrible havock made amongst the *Arab* troops by *Pelagius*, imputed this to the treachery of *Julian*, and the sons of *Vitiza*; whose effects he therefore confiscated, and afterwards put them all three to death. Others, however, affirm, that those traitors met with this fate before *Músa's* departure out of *Spain*. Be that as it will, the *Moslem* throne was occupied by *Solimán*, the brother of *Al Walid*, the 97th, 98th, and part of the 99th, years of the *Hejra*, as we certainly learn from the best of the *Arab* historians <sup>c</sup>.

Moslema  
raises the siege  
of Constanti-  
nople, and re-  
turns home.

THE *Khalif's* forces before *Constantinople* having been so weakened by sickness, desertion, the attack of the *Bulgarians*, the various assaults they had made, and the sallies of the garison, that they despaired of taking the city either by storm or capitulation; *Moslema*, the *Arab* general, found himself at last obliged to raise the siege. The army, therefore, by his order, decamped, and returned into the *Lesser Asia*, in the 99th year of the *Hejra*, after having sustained an incredible loss. The soldiers, for a considerable time, were forced to live upon hides, the roots and leaves of trees, the most noisome animals, their own excrements, and even some of their own dead bodies, as has been already observed, before they abandoned the enterprize in which they had been so long embarked. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* relate, that the *Arab* fleet, with the shatter'd remains of the land-forces on board, set <sup>d</sup> sail for the coast of *Asia*, on the 15th of *August*, the present year; and that, on this very day, that fleet was almost totally destroyed by a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, and the artificial fire of the *Greeks*, ten ships only escaping the common destruction: in which, however, those writers are not supported by the concurrent testimony of any *Moslem* historian. The calamities suffered by the inhabitants during the siege, which continued, according to some, thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years, or, lastly, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, two years and an half, are not to be described; 30,000 of them having perished with hunger, and the like number been swept away by the plague. As for the *Arab* troops, scarce any of them returned home, tho' the general himself seems to have arrived safe at the *Moslem* court; so that the *Khalif* must have lost <sup>e</sup> near 120,000 men in this fatal expedition <sup>f</sup>.

Solimán's  
death and  
character.

THE same year, *Solimán Ebn Abd'almâlec*, emperor of the faithful, on the 21st day of the month *Safar*, departed this life at *Marj Dabek*, in the district of *Kinnisrin*, to the inexpressible regret of his subjects. He had so endeared himself to them, by releasing from their confinement all the prisoners in his dominions, and other acts of clemency, that they gave him the surname of *Mestab Al Kbaïr*, or *the key of goodness*; by which it plainly appeared what a high regard they had for him. When he was on his death-bed, he sent for *Raja*, his *Wazîr*, or *Vizir*, and ordered him to write down on a piece of paper, that he had nominated *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, his cousin-german, to succeed him, on condition, nevertheless, that *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, his brother, should, after that prince's decease, <sup>f</sup> be called to the succession. This writing having been signed and sealed in form, *Raja*, by his command, assembled all the nobles and grandees of his court, and made them take an oath to recognize the authority of the person named *Khalif* therein after his death. The *Moslem* lords then, in pursuance of another order, came all to *Solimán's* bed's head, and confirmed in his presence, by word of mouth, what they had before obliged themselves by their own hand-writing, as well as by oath, to perform. *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, one of them, soon after meeting *Raja*, desired him to inform him who the *Khalif* designed for his successor; telling him he might safely do this, as he knew himself to be excluded from the succession, as he was perfectly easy in that matter, and as he should sincerely congratulate

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC. TOLETAN. *hisor. Arab.* c. x. RASES, IUDOR. PACENS. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 700, 701. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in *hisl. univ.* EBN SHUNNAH, AUT. LEE TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, &c. <sup>b</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 334. GREG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 451, 452. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 204. EBN AMID, KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HLEBEL. ubi sup.



- a the new *Khalif* upon his nomination. But *Raja*, being a man of great prudence and discretion, begged to be excused from revealing that secret, reassembled the noblesse, as soon as the breath was out of *Solimân's* body, and made them all, without exception, repeat the oath they had formerly taken: after the conclusion of which ceremony, he opened the paper wherein the successor's name was written, by *Solimân's* order, and immediately proclaimed *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* emperor of the faithful. *Solimân* was forty-five, or, as others say, thirty-nine, years old at the time of his death, and reigned two years and eight months, wanting only five days. As to his person, he was tall, of a fair complexion, had a black beard, and seemed to tread upon his heels. With regard to his disposition, he was mild and merciful, as appears from what has been already observed of him, and a great lover of
- b women. He died, according to some, of a pain in his side, or, as others will have it, of an indigestion. Nor is this to be wondered at, if what some of the *Arab* writers relate of him to be true, viz. that he could eat three lambs roasted for breakfast, and afterwards dine very heartily in public; or if, according to others, he used to devour no less than an hundred pounds weight of meat every day. However, an historian, followed by *Al Makin*, seems to intimate, that he lost his life by drinking a draught of milk, into which some poison had been infused, given him by an *Arab*, sent by his brother *Yezid* out of *Palestine* for that purpose. Which, if it be true, seems to imply, that this prince knew, or at least suspected, and was displeased with, *Solimân's* manner of settling the succession; as taking himself to have an incontestable right to the *Khalifat*, after his brother's decease. We are told
- c by some of the eastern historians, that *Jaasar Al Barmeki*, one of *Solimân's* principal counsellors, advised him to coin money of a better alloy, and a higher standard, than that struck in the reign of his father *Abd'almâlek*; so that the finer gold and silver money, ever current amongst the *Moslems* after this event, from this *Jaasar* received the name of *Jaasarian*. In confirmation of which article, it may be observed, that the writer of this history has a *dirhém*, consisting of silver, sufficiently fine, struck at *Cûsa* in the 134th year of the *Hejra*, being the 3d of *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, of which we shall give our readers hereafter a more particular account. That article will, however, perhaps, render suspicious the antiquity of the *dirhém* above-mentioned, belonging to the university of *Oxford*, supposed to have been coined at *Wâset* upon the *Tigris* about
- d nine or ten years before the elevation of *Solimân* to the *Moslem* throne (that also exhibits another mark of a later date) the silver of which is likewise sufficiently fine <sup>9</sup>.

THE *Arab* writers inform us, that *Solimân* had many wives; and that one of these pre- dicted his death not long before it happened. *Yezid Ebn Moballeb*, *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al* *Hâreth Ebn Al Hakem*, and *Fadl Ebn Moballeb*, served that prince in the capacity of secre- taries of state; *Mohammed Ebn Haram* in that of *Kâdi*, or judge; *Caab Ebn Khâled Al Abâsi* in that of captain of the guards; and *Abu Obeidah*, his freed-man, in that of chamberlain. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Sunday*, and the last *Friday*. His successor, *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, said the funeral prayers over him, at the time of his interment. The inscription of his seal was, *I believe in God our Saviour*. Many particulars relating to him may

e be met with in the *Persian* writers, that have been wholly omitted by all the *Arab* historians <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 74, 75. GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. & alib. & COSTARD's two dissertations on the signification of the words *Kesitab* and *Hermes*, p. 33, 34, 35. Oxford, 1750. <sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN ubi sup. p. 75. EUTYCH. ubi sup. Aut. LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, &c. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. & alib.

#### S E C T. XIV.

- f I N obedience to *Solimân's* will, *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* was proclaimed *Khalif* the day on which his predecessor died, that is, the 20th, or 21st, of the month *Safar*, in the 99th year of the *Hejra*, answering to the month of *February*, in the year of CHRIST 718. The *Greek* writers likewise make this event to have happened about the same time; so that their authority, in the present case, supports the concurrent testimony of *Al Makin*, *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, *Abu'lfeda*, *Abu'l Faraj*, *Ebn Arrabe*, *Euty chius*, and all the other best *Arab* historians. His mother *Omm Afem* was the daughter of *As*, the son of the *Khalif* *Omar*. He suppressed the solemn malediction pronounced by the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, after the conclusion of divine service, from the accession of *Moâwiyah I.* to the death of *Solimân*, against the name of *Ali*, and that of all his family; every member of which was
- g cursed and excommunicated, during that interval, in all the mosques throughout the empire. *Omar*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, made a speech to the people from the pulpit, which he ascended immediately after his inauguration, on this occasion; wherein he endeavoured to inspire them with sentiments of piety and moderation; telling them he bore not the least



ill-will to any *Moslem*; and that the wicked only had reason to be apprehensive of meeting a with any severity from him. After which, he gave the robe he had on to the poor, and came down from the pulpit. But the abolition of this custom, however right in itself, by no means pleased many of his subjects; who, after the dismissal of the assembly, cried out, *The law is neglected! the law is neglected!* He likewise caused fruits of various kinds to be distributed amongst his servants, being afraid of an assassination. We are told by *Khondemir*, that, as soon as *Omar* was saluted *Khalif*, the most beautiful and finest horses were brought him out of his predecessor's stables; all which he refused; and that, mounting the horse he usually rode upon, when a private person, he went directly to his own house; being unwilling to incommode, in any respect, the last *Khalif*'s family, which then resided in the palace. Nor could he, according to that author, be prevailed upon to take possession of any of the apartments assigned him as *Khalif*, till *Solimân*'s domestics and relations, shamed by his superior modesty, had withdrawn themselves from thence. However, notwithstanding his virtuous disposition, if we will believe the *Greek* historians, he persecuted the *Christians* this and the following year; putting to death those who persisted in the profession of their religion, and remitting the tribute of those who became converts to *Mohammedism*. He is also said to have written, about the same time, a letter to the emperor *Leo*, containing an exposition of his faith, in order to make a proselyte of that prince. About this time, that is, the 100th year of the *Hejra*, *Alabor*, or, as *Roderic* of *Toledo* calls him, *Alabor*, sent a body of troops to ravage *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the hither part of *Spain*, into which great numbers of the *Christians* had retired, where they committed dreadful devastations; and, according to the last-mentioned author, imposed an annual tribute upon those provinces, as well as some other parts of *Spain* that had not yet been plundered by the *Arabs*. *Alabor* also treated with extreme severity the *Christians* settled at *Corduba*, and even the *Moslems* themselves that first came into *Spain*; whom he oppressed with famine, imprisoned, and put to various kinds of tortures, to compel them to discover the treasures they were supposed to have concealed. *Abd'alaziz*, the son of *Mûsa*, who married *Roderic*'s widow, and fixed his residence at *Seville*, is also said to have been assassinated this year. It is likewise intimated by some of the *Spanish* historians, that, before the conclusion of it, there happened a very remarkable solar eclipse, which continued three hours, and was visible all over *Spain*; during a considerable part of which, the stars, as in the night, very clearly appeared.

Who discovered on several occasions a great affection for the family of Ali.

Tho' *Omar* did not distinguish himself in a military capacity, he discovered a most humane and benevolent disposition, and a remarkable affection for the house of *Ali*, on several occasions. The suppression of the solemn malediction above-mentioned was the first incontestable proof of this. The principal circumstances preparatory to, and attending, that unexpected event, have been related in the following manner by *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian. *Omar*, having some conversation with a *Jew*, said to him, amongst other things, *Ask of me one day or other in public my daughter in marriage.* This the *Jew* did, and was answered by the *Khalif*, *How can such a thing be, since you and I are of different religions.* To this the *Jew* replied, *Did not Mohammed give his daughter in marriage to Ali? The case there, said Omar, was quite different: for Ali was a Moslem, and has been the commander of the faithful.* Why then, returned the *Jew*, *do you curse him publicly in your mosques?* Upon which, the *Khalif*, turning his face towards the principal of his courtiers then present, said to them, *Answer this Jew.* But finding them greatly embarrassed, and that they had no answer to make, he declared, that for the future, that malediction should be suppressed; and that, in the room of it, there should be pronounced the following verse of the *Korân*: "Forgive us, LORD, our sins; pardon likewise all our brethren, who make profession of the same faith that we do ourselves." *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that the verse substituted in the room of the malediction was, "God commands us to observe justice, and do good." Which formula, however, according to that author, did not fully take place before the 100th year of the *Hejra*. That year likewise *Omar* constituted *Ayub Ebn Serjabil* governor of *Egypt*. This *Khalif* also, about the same time, as a mark of his regard for the race of *Ali*, ordered restitution to be made to his descendents of the territory of *Fidak*, given *Ali* by *Mohammed*, when he bestowed his daughter upon him in marriage; and appointed a particular receiver to collect the revenues of that district, and distribute them amongst those that deduced their origin from the children *Ali* had by *Fâtema*, from time to time, by equal portions. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that many of the *Moslems*, at this juncture, should have declared openly, that the house of *Al Abbâs* had more right to the *Khalifat* than that of

\* THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 334. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 452. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 75, 76. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 204. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. EBN ARRAHEB, apud Jos. Sim. Assen. ubi sup. p. 105. ut & ipse JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Omar Ben Abd'alaziz*, p. 689. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. x. RASES, JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hist. chron. p. 701.



- a *Ommiyah*; as being descended in a direct line from *Abd'almotaleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, as well as that of *Ali* himself, which had no other advantage over them, than that their great progenitor had espoused *Fâtema*, the daughter of the prophet. For, that the subjects of the *Moslem* empire began actually to talk after this manner, in the 100th year of the *Hejra*, we learn from some of the best oriental historians<sup>1</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 101st year of the *Hejra*, and commencing July 24th, 719, one *Shûzib* having revolted against *Omar*, under divers religious pretexts, the *Khalif* wrote to him, that, if his intention was only to reform religion and the state, whose interests he took to be inseparable, he might come to court, where they would concert together the most proper measures for settling all points according to his desire. Soon after *Shûzib* received the *Khalif*'s letter, he sent two deputies to represent to him, that he had no subject of complaint against his person, as he could not but acknowledge him to be a very just and equitable prince; but that since, by his own conduct, he had visibly condemned that of the *Khalifs* of his house and family, he ought to cause them to be cursed publicly in the mosques, as they had done to *Ali* and his posterity, during their respective reigns. The deputies having executed their master's orders, *Omar* answered them in the following terms: "As what you require of me relates to another world, and not to this, I should think myself guilty of a very great sin, if I complied with your request. For, we do not find, that God has commanded his prophet to curse any one; nor are we authorized by his word to treat a person in that manner, on account of his wicked life; since *Pharaoh* himself, who, with so much impudence arrogated to himself divine honours, was never formally cursed for his enormous crimes. Much less can I order a solemn malediction to be publicly pronounced against the house of *Ommiyah*, my relations, who pray constantly at the usual times, observe the stated fasts, and perform all the other religious duties of the *Moslems*." The deputies, not being able to make any reply to so obvious a truth, opened to him another of their griefs, and said, "But, Sir, ought so just and equitable a prince, as your majesty is, to leave his crown to an impious and abandoned successor?" The *Khalif* told them, that such a case as this might possibly happen, and perhaps not; and that therefore they ought to leave to Providence the disposal of future events. To which they instantly replied, that "they knew *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who had been declared his successor, to be possessed of all the bad qualities that could be inherent in the most flagitious prince." At these words, *Omar* could not forbear shedding tears, and desired three days time to think of a proper answer to what on this occasion they had suggested to him. The members of the house of *Ommiyah*, having been apprized of the particulars of this conference between *Omar* and *Shûzib*'s deputies, were afraid lest the *Khalif* should change the order of succession, and transfer the *Khalifat* to another family. For this reason, they resolved to dispatch him; and therefore bribed a slave to poison him; which villainous design was carried into execution this present year. He died the 25th of *Rajeb*, after a short reign of two years five months and fourteen days, being then either 33, 37, 39, or 40, years of age, and was interred in the monastery of *St. Simeon*, situated near the little town of *Mabarât*, one of the dependencies of *Hems*; tho' his sepulchre was in the monastery of *The Cow*, at *Maarra Noomani*, according to the common opinion. We must here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Maarra Noomani*, or *Maarra Al Nooman*, was a very large city of *Syria*, between *Hamath* and *Aleppo*, in the province of *Hems*, that derived its name from *Al Nooman Ebn Bafbir Al Sakabi*, and had annexed to it a territory of a very considerable extent. This district abounded with olives, figs, pistachos, and various other kinds of fruits. It stood near to the river *Kowaik*, that washes the suburbs of *Aleppo*; and a little to the south of it there was formerly a sepulchre, in which some of the *Syrian Arabs* ridiculously imagined the remains of *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, to have been deposited; which might possibly have occasioned the vulgar error mentioned by *Al Makin*, relating to the situation of the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*'s tomb. But, for a particular description of *Maarra Al Nooman*, or *Maarra Noomani*, and its territory, we must refer our curious readers to the oriental geographers, who, in this point, will give them full and ample satisfaction<sup>2</sup>.

THE *Christians* of *Damascus* being perfectly well acquainted with the mild and equitable disposition of this *Khalif*, complained to him of the violence offered them by his predecessor *Al Walid*, when he took from them by force the church of *St. John* in that city; and at the same time shewed him the instrument signed by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, when *Damascus* was taken; by which the free exercise of their religion, and the possession of all their churches,

Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz's death.

A dispute between the Christians and Moslems at Damascus.

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, p. 689, 690. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in Syr. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 276. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Maarra*. Lugd. Batavor. 1732.



was to be effectually secured to them and their posterity. They, therefore, humbly petitioned *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, that the said church of *St. John* might, in consequence of that writing, be then restored to them. But the *Khalif*, apprehending that such a restitution might excite commotions amongst the *Moslems*, begged, that, in lieu of their church, they would accept of the sum of money that had been offered them by *Al Walid* on the same occasion, namely, 40,000 *dinârs*, and with it build a new church in some other part of the town. The *Christians* absolutely refusing this, they were told by *Abu Edris Al Holwâni*, that, by virtue of the instrument mentioned, they were, indeed, intitled to the possession of all their churches in that part of the city, which was taken by capitulation; but that all those in the other part, which was carried by storm, by right of conquest, belonged to the *Moslems*. In order, therefore, to settle this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, he proposed, that the church of *St. John*, which the *Khalif* had ordered to be restored to them, upon their refusal of the money offered, should be ceded by the *Christians* to the *Moslems*; and that, upon this condition, the former should remain in possession of all the churches in that part of the town, and the territory belonging to it, laid claim to by the latter. This, after much wrangling and altercation, was agreed to on both sides, and confirmed by *Omar*, who wrote out an instrument, or schedule, with his own hand, to prevent any future incroachments. But, notwithstanding the uprightness and integrity of the *Khalif*, this must be allowed to have been an iniquitous decision. For, as *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who took one part of *Damascus* sword in hand, granted by the aforesaid schedule, that he signed, and which was the result of the *Khalif*'s own particular decision, the possession of all the churches in that quarter to the *Christians*, and their posterity, through every future period of time; so the validity of this schedule ought not to have been denied, nor even called in question by any succeeding *Khalif*, or *Moslem* power, whatsoever <sup>a</sup>.

His behaviour  
in his last  
sickness.

WE are told by *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandshab*, that when the poison taken by *Omar* began to operate upon him, and he was very ill in bed, his friends represented to him, that he ought to make use of some remedy for the recovery of his health. But he told them, that he was so perfectly resigned to the will of God, and so firmly persuaded of the fatal and inevitable term of human life, that he would not so much as rub the tip of his ear with a little oil, in order to be cured of his present indisposition. The same author adds, that he was so extremely frugal, that he took no more than two *dinârs* a day out of the royal treasury, for the subsistence of himself and his domestics; that he never wore any rich or sumptuous apparel; and that his *Divan* was generally held in a place but little illuminated, where he sat always upon the ground <sup>b</sup>.

A farther in-  
stance of his  
great humility  
and frugality.

As a farther instance of this *Khalif*'s great humility, it has been observed by *Abu'l Faraj*, that when he was visited by *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, in his last sickness, he lay upon a bed made of palm-tree leaves, supported by a pillow formed of beasts skins, and covered with a common ordinary garment. His lips appeared flaccid and of a livid colour, and he had on a dirty shirt. *Moslema* could not forbear blaming his sister *Fâtema*, who was *Omar*'s wife, for suffering the emperor of the faithful to be exhibited to any person's view in so mean and sordid a condition. But, in order to justify her own conduct on this occasion, she assured *Moslema*, that the *Khalif* had never another shirt to put on; which, after thanks had been returned to God, for enduing so great a prince with such a meek and humble disposition, drew tears from that general. This writer has farther remarked, that the daily expence of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* did not amount to above two *dirhems* <sup>c</sup>.

Majûshûn's  
vision.

ONE of the principal *Moslem* doctors, named *Majûshûn*, falling into a trance, and being looked upon as dead by all the people about him, was accosted by an angel, that carried his soul to the gate of the first heaven; which was immediately opened to them. From thence they continued their journey to the seventh heaven, where *Mohammed* is supposed to reside. Upon their entrance, the angel, that conducted *Majûshûn*'s soul thither, being asked who he had brought with him? answered, *Majûshûn*. He is not, said another angel, to be admitted into this place, before the expiration of a certain period of time. The *Moslem* doctor, therefore, was reconducted to the planet from whence he came by his celestial guide. However, *Majûshûn* informed his friends, (for he himself, it seems, published this account of his pretended vision) that he had a transient view of the inhabitants of the seventh heaven, and particularly of *Mohammed*, who had on each side of him *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, and held *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* in his bosom, and between his arms. *Majûshûn*, being surprized that the latter should have a more honourable situation assigned him in heaven than the former, asked the reason of this, and received for answer, that *Abu Becr* and *Omar* had been eminent for their justice and good works at a time when the *Moslems* were distinguished by their <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, p. 77. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 378—383. AL WAKED.  
KHOANDSHAH

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 205.

<sup>c</sup> MOHAMMED EBN EMIR



a piety and zeal for the true religion; but that *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* surpassed them in this, that he possessed all their virtues in an age of injustice and corruption <sup>2</sup>.

WITH regard to his person, *Omar* was swarthy, as most of the *Arabs* are, lean, had a *Omar's* handsome face, and in it the scar of a wound he had received from a wild beast in his *character*. younger years. Notwithstanding his youth, he had a considerable number of grey hairs, which probably made him appear something older than he really was. As to his disposition, he was extremely just, religious, and devout; and had fixed his mind, in a manner from his infancy, intirely upon the other world. He seems to have been the brightest ornament of the *Moslems* in that wicked and degenerate age. After his death, the house to which he used frequently to retire, being then shut up, was opened; the *Arabs* hoping to discover a considerable treasure in it: but, upon examination, they found only there a close thick riding vest, that he sometimes wore, and a sort of rope or cord hung up, with which he now-and-then amused himself, after his spirits had been exhausted by long and fervent prayer. His secretaries of state were *Raja Ebn Yakya Al Kendi*, *Solimân's* visir, and *Ebn Abi Rakia*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Abd'allâh Ebn Sa'id Al Ansâli*; the captain of his guards, *Rawab Ebn Yezid Al Saksâki*; and his chamberlains, *Hobaisb* and *Raja*, his servants. The inscription of his seal was, *OMAR the son of ABD'ALAZIZ believes in GOD*. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Saturday*, and the last *Friday*. The reason why *Solimân* preferred him to his own children was, because they were too young to ascend the *Moslem* throne, as may be inferred from *Abu'l Faraj*. The authors followed by *Al Makin* make his mother to have been the daughter of the second *Khalif Omar*, who, they say, before his death, declared, that his daughter should bring forth a son, who would fill the world with justice. We have a particular history of the life and actions of this *Khalif*, composed by *Mohammed Ebn Hosein Al Ajari*, a writer of considerable note, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 360 <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AUT. RABI AL AKYAR.

KHONDEMIR, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup:

<sup>2</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR: AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L FAR.

## S E C T. XV.

d **A**S *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, by his brother *Solimân's* late settlement of the succession; *Yezid Ebn* was to ascend the *Moslem* throne after the death of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, he was *Abd'almâlec* saluted *Khalif* the same day that his predecessor died. His mother *Atecab* was the daughter *succeeds Omar*. of *Yezid Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, and the surname usually applied to him *Abu Khâled*. 'Tis worthy observation, that the *Arab* historians have transmitted down to posterity the names of their emperors mothers, in the same manner as some of the sacred writers have done those of the mothers of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. Nor is this to be wondered at; the customs of the *Arabs*, as well as their phrases, proverbs, and manner of expression, having all along, in most particulars, agreed with those of the *Hebrews*, who flourished even in some of the earliest periods of the world <sup>b</sup>.

e As soon as *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec* came to the crown, he removed all the governors of *Moslema re-* provinces, who had been promoted to their respective posts by his predecessor *Omar*; which *duces the rebel* undoubtedly excited several commotions in the empire. These, however, were probably *Yezid, and* soon extinguished, as we scarce find any mention made of them in history. But the rebel- *drives the* lion of *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra*, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* *Turks out of* 101, created a good deal of trouble to the *Khalif*. *Yezid*, knowing that this prince, by his ill qualities, had rendered himself extremely disagreeable to the *Moslems*, renounced his allegiance to him; and, having drawn together a strong body of troops at *Basra*, advanced to *Cûfa*, the capital of the *Arabian Irâk*, where he met with a considerable reinforcement. *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, being informed of *Ebn Al Mohalleb's* defection, sent his brother *Moslema* and *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Walid* against him, at the head of a powerful army; who, coming up with the rebels, fell upon them with such fury, that they slew a great number of them upon the spot, and put the rest to flight. *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb* himself having been killed in the action, *Moslema* ordered his head to be cut off, and sent it immediately to the *Khalif*. However, *Ebn Al Mohalleb's* son *Moâwiyah*, with some of his father's troops, made his escape to *Hormûz*, where the rebel *Yezid* had before built a fortress, that was deemed impregnable, in order to serve him for a retreat, in case any misfortunes should happen to him. But his governor there refusing to open the gates to *Moâwiyah*, he was pursued by the *Khalif's* generals, after several other successive defeats, as far as the *Indus*.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 78. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 205. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 382, 383. 2 KING. xxi. 1. xxii. 1. xxiii. 31. xxiv. 8. 2 CHRON. xxii. 2. xxiv. 1. xxv. 1. xxvi. 3. & alib. pass. Univ. Hist. vol. vii. part. i. p. 232, 244, 245, 253—255.



The writers followed by *Al Makin*, however, give us a different account of *Moâwiyah's* motions. After his father had been overthrown, according to them, he fled with great precipitation to *Wâset*, where he found *Adi Ebn Artab*, the *Khalif's* governor of *Basra*, whom he ordered, with thirty-two of his men, to be put to the sword. From *Wâset*, if we will believe these authors, *Moâwiyah* and his troops made the best of their way to *Basra*, and afterwards endeavoured to reach *Sindia*; but, being overtaken by a body of the *Khalif's* forces, under the command of *Halal Ebn Akbûr Al Mazâni*, sent in pursuit of them by *Moslema*, they were all either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the latter being conducted to *Damascus* by the general's order, *Yezid* caused them all to be put to death. *Moslema*, for his eminent services, was appointed by the *Khalif* governor of *Irâk*, and had the lieutenancy of *Khorasân* also conferred upon him: but, upon some disgust, as it should seem, he was soon deprived of both those posts, and succeeded in them by *Omar Ebn Habira Al Fozari*; tho', according to *Abu'l Faraj*, *Omar* presided over *Khorasân*, as well as both the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâk*, before the extinction of the late rebellion. Nor does it appear from that author, that *Moslema* had ever the direction or management of affairs in any of those provinces. *Omar*, being settled in his government, sent a body of the *Moslem* troops, under the conduct of *Al Farab Ebn Abd'allab*, either to make an irruption into the *Turkish* territories, or to force the *Turks* to abandon the *Moslem* provinces. *Al Farab* executed his orders with great bravery, made himself master of a fortress called *Meltabar*, or *Meltahara*, placed in *Al Turk*, or *Turkestan*, by *Al Makin*, and drove *Ebn Hâf*, the *Turkish Khân*, or *Kbâkân*, before him from place to place. But notwithstanding this, the *Khân*, having received a reinforcement, waited for *Al Farab* at *Ardebil*, in the province of *Aderbijân*, engaged him there, and, after a vigorous action, intirely defeated him, putting both him and the greatest part of the troops he commanded to the sword. However, *Moslema*, in a short time, advancing against *Ebn Hâf* with another *Arab* army, at last came up with him, overthrew him in a pitched battle, and forced the enemy to abandon not only the province of *Aderbijân*, but every other part of the *Khalif's* dominions. About the same time, *Yezid* deprived *Ayub Ebn Serjabil* of the government of *Egypt*, to which honourable post he had been advanced by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, and substituted in his room *Basbar Ebn Safwân Al Calbi*; who was afterwards sent to *Africa*, and succeeded by his brother, *Handalah Ebn Safwân*, in *Egypt*. But, upon his being deposed in the 104th year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, by the *Khalif's* appointment, assumed to himself the lieutenancy of that country. All which events, according to the eastern historians, were some of the transactions of the 101st, 102d, 103d, and 104th, years of the *Hejra*.

Little said of this Khalif by the Greek writers.

WE find little said of this *Khalif* by the *Greek* writers. *Theophanes* only observes, that *Izid*, the name he gives *Yezid*, succeeded *Umar*, or *Omar*, who reigned but two years and four months; that this *Izid*, at the instigation of a *Jew* of *Laodicea*, who promised him a reign of forty years, as a reward for his impiety, published an edict against images, injoining his subjects to destroy all those erected by the *Christians* in their churches throughout the *Moslem* empire; that he slew *Izid*, the son of *Mualab*, that is, *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb*, who had rebelled against him, and reduced the provinces he had seized upon to his obedience; and, lastly, that he died, after he had sat upon the *Moslem* throne about four years, before his infernal edict, relating to the destruction of images, could either be sufficiently promulged, or put in execution. *Cedrenus* speaks of him in much the same terms. *Dionysius Telmarenensis* relates, that this *Khalif* commanded his subjects to exterminate white dogs, white pigeons, white cocks, and, in short, all other animals of the same colour; and that he issued the decree relating to this extermination in the year of our LORD 725. He also raised a persecution against the *Christians*, forbade a *Christian* to be admitted an evidence against a *Moslem*, and fixed the value or price of the latter at double that of the former, according to this author, the same year.

Account of the Moslem affairs in Spain during this Khalif's reign.

ABOUT the time of *Yezid Ebn Mohalleb's* defection in *Irâk*, one *Zama* had the command of the *Moslem* forces in *Spain*. He introduced some innovations, relating to the disposition of the tribute exacted of the *Christians* in that country, which probably rendered him more unacceptable to many of the *Arabs* there than even the worst of his predecessors. *Zama*, having received orders to extend the *Moslem* conquests in those western parts of the world, passed the *Pyrenees* with a powerful army, took the city of *Narbonne*, the capital of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and laid siege to *Tolosa*, at present known by the name of *Tbolouse*, or *Toulouse*.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 78, 79. EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119. YAKUT, ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN HAWKAL, NASSIR AL TUSI, sive NASSIR ETTUSÆUS, op. & stud. Johan. Grav. Oxon. 1711. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid Ben Abd'almalek*, p. 486.

<sup>d</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 336, 337, 338. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 453. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 105. Romæ, 1721



- a But here he was deserted by the good fortune that had hitherto attended him. *Eudo*, called by some of the *French* writers count *Eudes*, general of the *Franks*, or the *French*, came to the relief of the besieged, attacked *Zama* in his camp, killed him and a great number of his men upon the spot, and forced the rest to abandon the siege. Not content with this victory, he marched afterwards to *Narbonne*, retook that place, and of course obliged the enemy to retire out of the province to which it belonged. *Yezid*, having received advice of what had happened, sent *Azam*, or *Adham*, *Ebn Malec*, with a body of troops, into *Spain*, to protect the *Arab* conquests there from the insults of the *French*, and enable the *Moslems* to repair the loss they had sustained. He reduced several fortified places in *Spain*, that had
- b not before submitted to the *Arabs*, extended the tribute to be paid into the *Khalif's* coffers, built the famous bridge at *Corduba*, in the 102d year of the *Hejra*, and was at last assassinated by his own people at *Tortosa*. Some of the *Spanish* writers make *Zama* and *Azam* to have been the same person; nor does such a notion appear to us at all improbable. Be that as it will, after the defeat and death of *Zama*, the *Arabs* chose one *Abd'alrahman* for their leader, who presided over them in *Spain* till the arrival of a new governor from the *Moslem* court. The *Khalif* being informed of the murder of *Azam*, constituted one *Ambiza* his lieutenant in *Spain*, about the year of the *Hejra* 103; who made several incursions upon the territories of the *French*; tho' he rather meditated, than was directly engaged in, a war against that people. Towards the conclusion of his government, he proposed to invade
- c that part of the enemy's country bordering upon the frontiers of *Spain*: but soon after he had begun his march, in what manner we have not been told by any of the *Spanish* writers, a period was put to his days; and, before his death, he resigned to one *Odra* the command of the *Moslem* army destined to act against the *French*, which, after that unexpected event, immediately returned home. We must not forget to observe, that, during this interval, *Pelagius* wrested the city of *Leon* out of the hands of the *Arabs*, and gained several other very important advantages over them. This prince is said to have been the first who took for his coat of arms a red lion in a white field, in which he was afterwards followed by his successors in the kingdom of *Leon*. Some of the *Spanish* writers inform us, that, at this time, there were several *Arab* princes, or *Emirs*, in *Spain*; and that the chief of these,
- d who was properly the *Khalif's* governor, or viceroy, had the title of the king of *Corduba*. But those writers have by no means given us, in their relations of what happened during the period immediately following the first settlement of the *Arabs* in *Spain*, a clear and distinct account either of their own or the *Moslem* affairs\*.

- As *Yezid Ebn Abd'almalec* was much addicted to pleasure, even in the *Khalifat* of his brother *Solimân*, he then bought a singing girl, named *Hababah*, of whom he was passionately fond, for 4000 *dinârs*; but *Solimân*, thinking this a disgrace to him, obliged him to part with her, and she was afterwards purchased by an *Egyptian*. *Saada*, *Yezid's* wife, being desirous of ingratiating herself in a more particular manner with her husband, once asked him, when he was *Khalif*, whether there was any thing in the world that he yet desired, after
- e his elevation to the *Moslem* throne? He answered, *Yes*, *Hababah*. Upon which, *Saada* procured her for him; which wonderfully conciliated his affections to her. He had likewise another concubine called *Salamah*, that he tenderly loved. Being in that part of *Palastine*, called *Belad al Arden*, or *Belad al Ordonna*, that is, the country, or plain of *Jordan*, and diverting himself in a garden with *Hababah*, whom he loved to distraction, there; he was served at his collation with some of the most excellent fruits of that charming country. During this little repast, he threw a grape at her, which she immediately took up, and put to her mouth, in order to eat it; but being too large, and passing across her throat, it stuck in the passage without a possibility of being removed; so that she lost her breath and was suffocated in an instant. So we find this matter related by *Kbondemir*. But the grape stuck
- f some time in her gullet, and only occasioned a disorder that at last terminated in her death, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. Be that as it will, this melancholy accident so affected *Yezid*, that he fell into an excess of grief, and was inconsolable for the loss of so amiable an object. Nay, the transport of his love and of his sorrow carried him so far on this occasion, that he would not suffer the body of his deceased mistress to be interred for a week, according to *Kbondemir*, or three days if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*. Nor would he have permitted it then to be inhumed, had it not been for the repeated instances of his domestics, who could no longer bear the intolerable stink of the dead carcase. However, the sepulchre itself was not able to cure his frenzy. He ordered that to be opened, and the body to be exposed once more to his view. In fine, being incapable of moderating his grief, he survived his dear *Hababah*
- g only fifteen days; and, before he expired, he ordered his remains to be deposited in a grave near her tomb. This sorrowful event happened in the 105th year of the *Hejra*, after

\* RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xi. RASES, Chron. reg. Alfonsi. JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hispan. chronie. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid Ben Abd'almalek*, p. 486, 487.



he had reigned a little above four years. With regard to his person, he was a man of a fair complexion, had good features, and a round face. As for his character, he was extremely indolent, squandered away vast sums of money upon his wives, concubines, and diversions of various kinds, and was a slave to his passions; as in some measure appears from what has been already observed, and might be farther confirmed by other stories related of him, were it in any manner necessary. His secretaries were successively *Omar Ebn Habira*, *Ibrahim Ebn Habla*, and *Asama Ebn Zeid Al Sclibi*; his judges, or *Kâdis*, *Abd'abrahmân Al Hasbâbâsh* and *Sa'id Ebn Abu Wafâd*; the captain of his guards, *Caab Ebn Khâled Al Abâsi*; and his chamberlains, *Sa'id*, his servant, and *Khâled*, his freedman. He died, according to some of the eastern writers, in *Palestine*; or, as others will have it, at *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*, on the 23d day of the month *Shaaban*; being then about 29, 31, 33, or 37, (for so much do authors differ amongst themselves) years of age. Nay, some historians write, that he died of a consumption, after he had declared his brother *Heshâm Ebn Abd'al-mâlec* his successor, when he was about forty years of age. *Yezid*, a little before his death, sent one *Yabya Ebn Solimân* to take upon him the command of the *Moslem* forces in *Spain*. This *Yabya* was a person of great sagacity, discernment, and penetration; but had something of cruelty in his temper. However he was a lover of justice, and obliged the *Arabs* to restore to the *Christians* all the effects of which they had unjustly deprived them in time of peace. It may not be improper to remark, that the name, or surname, *Miramolin*, or *Amiramomen*, frequently applied by the *Spanish* writers to the *Khalîfs*, is only a corruption of the words *Amiro'l Mumenin*, *Amiro'lmumenin*, or *Amir Al Mumenin*, emperor of the believers. The most exact of the *Moslem* authors inform us, that the first day of *Yezid's* reign was *Saturday*, tho' in this they are not perfectly consistent with themselves, and the last *Tuesday*; and that the duration of his *Khalîfat* was precisely four years and twenty-nine days<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 77, 78, 79. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 205, 206. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 382—385. KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. JOANNES VASÆUS, &c. ubi sup.

## S E C T. XVI.

*Heshâm succeeds Yezid.*

**H**ESHAM EBN ABD'ALMALEC, upon his brother *Yezid's* decease, was elevated to the *Khalîfat*, towards the close of the month *Shaabân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 105. He was surnamed *Abu'l Walid*, and his mother was *Fâtema*, surnamed *Omm Hâshem*, the daughter of *Hâshem Ebn Ismael Ebn Hâshem Ebn Al Walid Al Makhzumi*. His uncle *Yezid* nominated *Heshâm* his successor a little before his death, on condition that his own son *Al Walid*, after the demise of that prince, should be called to the succession. When *Yezid* died, *Heshâm* was at *Rusâfa*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*; but as soon as he received advice of his advancement to the *Khalîfat*, he mounted his horse, and came directly to *Damascus*. Soon after his promotion, he appointed *Khâled Ebn Abd'allah Al Karli* his lieutenant of *Irâk*, and removed his brother, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al-mâlec*, from his government of *Egypt*; substituted in his room his cousin, *Hasan Ebn Yusuf Ebn Yabya*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who continued in that post till the year of the *Hejra* 108. Nothing very material happened in the *Moslem* empire, an account of which has been handed down to us by the *Arab* historians, during the first year of *Heshâm's* reign<sup>e</sup>.

*Heshâm's arms not attended with success against the Greeks.*

It seems, however, to be intimated by *Theophanes*, that *Heshâm* planted gardens and orchards, cultivated the fruitful parts of his territories contiguous to the emperor's dominions, and built palaces in several of the provinces subjugated by the *Arabs*, in the 105th and the 106th years of the *Hejra*. This writer likewise gives us to understand, that, about the same time, he undertook an expedition against the *Greeks*; but was obliged to retire with shame, after he had lost a great number of men, into *Syria*. *Cedrenus* is silent as to the *Arab* affairs, during the 106th year of the *Moslem* æra. *Dionysius Telmarenensis* only observes, that *Heshâm* succeeded *Yezid*; and that the following year, or the 106th of the *Hejra*, *Abib*, bishop of *Edeffa*, whose successor was named *Constantine*, departed this life. Nor does it appear, from the *Spanish* historians, that any thing remarkable, during the latter of those years, happened in *Spain*<sup>h</sup>.

*Some dirhems struck at Rusâfa, in the year of the Hejra 105.*

HOWEVER, before we conclude our account of the events of the year 105, it may not be improper to observe, that some *dirhems* were coined in the mint that had been set up either at *Rusâfa*, or *Rufaka*, this year; as may be inferred from one of those *dirhems* found at *Stegen*, a village near *Dantzick*, the 2d day of *June*, 1722. On the reverse of this piece is exhibited

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384. 385. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 206. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Heshâm Ben Abd'al-malek*, p. 450. <sup>h</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 338. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 105, 106. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

the



- a the following inscription, in the *Câfic* character, *MOHAMMED is the apostle of God, he is the perfect gift*; and on the other side, these words, *Ber Refukata*, or *Rusafata*, the letters of which the second word here is composed being but indifferently preserved, *chamsan wameaten*; i. e. *at Rufaka, or Rusâfa, in the year 105*. By which we are informed, that this *dirbêm* was struck either at *Rufaka*, or *Rusâfa*, in the 105th year of the *Hejra*, and, as it should seem, the first of the *Khalîf Heshâm*. This we learn from M. *Kehr*, who, tho' he is not able precisely to determine in which of those places the piece was coined, is inclined to think, that it must have been sent out of the mint erected in the latter of them, as such a notion is not only countenanced by the letters themselves, but likewise by that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon, which informs us, that *Heshâm* was proclaimed *Khalîf* at *Rusâfa* the very year in which this *dirbêm* was struck. To what has been advanced on this occasion by M. *Kehr*, we must beg leave to add, that the piece in view could not have been coined at *Rufaka*, or, as 'tis called by *Goli*us, *Rafika*; because that city was founded by *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who did not mount the *Moslem* throne till the 136th year of the *Hejra*, and consequently did not exist 31 years before M. *Kehr* must, therefore, have been mistaken when he supposes, that the *dirbêm* might have been struck at *Rufaka*, as well as *Rusâfa*, in the year of the *Hejra* 106; and that it is something difficult to determine to which of those cities it belongs. *Rusâfa* and *Rufaka* were both of them cities of *Mesopotamia*, seated at a small distance from *Rakka*, upon the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. The former of them seems to be the *Rhescipha* of *Ptolemy*, (Ῥεσκιφα) and is frequently mentioned by the
- b *Syriac* writers <sup>h</sup>.

In the 107th year of the *Hejra*, beginning May 19th, 725, *Moslema*, or *Masalmas*, as *The Arabs* he is called by the *Greek* writers, took *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; and *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm*, make several another of the *Arab* generals, made an irruption into the *Christian* territories, doing irreparable damage in the provinces through which he moved. This year likewise, *Aner* one of the *Moslem* commanders invaded *Nicea* in *Bithynia* with a body of 15,000 men; after which, *Moâwiyah*, coming up with an army of 85,000 men, formed the siege of that city. The *Arabs* battered the walls with such fury, that they levelled a great part of them with the ground, and made several general assaults; but were every time beaten off with incredible loss, and at last forced to abandon the siege. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* relates, that *Moslema*, or *Masalmas*, made himself master of *Neocæsarea* this year, and carried away all the inhabitants with him prisoners, except the *Jews*, who betrayed the place into his hands. The *Spanish* writers make no mention of any military operations this year in *Spain*; but only inform us, that *Heshâm* permitted both the *Arabs* and *Christians* in that country to enjoy the sweets of peace, and sent one *Ibabea*, or *Tabya*, an *Arab* of note, to govern his subjects there <sup>i</sup>.

The following year, being the 108th of the *Hejra*, commencing May 8th, 726, the *Heshâm Arabs*, under the conduct of *Moâwiyah*, invaded the imperial territories, carried a fortress there by assault, and then returned home. About the same time, *Hafas Ebn Al Walid*, upon the abdication of *Hasan Ebn Yusuf*, was appointed governor of *Egypt*. Nothing material passed this year in *Spain*; the *Moslem* commanders there being wholly employed in amassing treasures for *Heshâm*, who was richer, as well as more covetous, than any of his predecessors. According to *Eutychius*, one *Constantine* was constituted patriarch of *Constantinople* either this or the preceding year <sup>k</sup>.

The next year, being the 109th of the *Hejra*, beginning April 28th, 727, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec* attacked the *Turks*, or, as they are called by some of the eastern writers, the *Huns*, that is, the subjects of the *Khâkân*, who had made an irruption into *Armenia*, and forced them to conclude a treaty of peace with him. He also penetrated the same year to the defile called the *Portæ Caspiæ* by the ancients, not far from the *Caspian* sea; which had served as a sort of barrier to the *Moslem* empire on that side, before the late irruption; the *Turks*, or *Huns*, having been long shut up by it in the country that properly appertained to them. This affair is, however, differently related by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that the son of the *Khâkân* invaded *Armenia* and *Aderbijan* with a powerful army, overthrew *Garach*, or *Al Jarah*, the *Arab* general, who pretended to oppose him, committed dreadful devastations in that province, and then returned home. But *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, to whom we are indebted for the former relation, living at no great distance from the scene of action, not much above forty years after this campaign, and agreeing better with what we find recorded of the reign of *Heshâm* by the *Arab* historians than the *Greek* writers, we shall not scruple to prefer his authority to

<sup>h</sup> GEORG. JAC. KEHR, in monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 21. Lipsiæ, 1724. GOLII not. Alfragan. p. 253, 254. PLOT. geograph. lib. v. c. 18. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. diff. de Monophys. ubi sup. p. 338, 339, 340. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 106. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. in hist. Arab. c. xii. ISIDOR. PACENS. Chron. reg. Alphonf. JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hispan. illustrat. p. 701. Francof. 1603. <sup>k</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 340. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384, 385.



that of *Theophanes*, whose inaccuracy with regard to the *Moslem* affairs has already been a touched upon, in the point before us <sup>1</sup>.

The Arabs  
invade  
France ;

SOME of the *French* and *Spanish* authors maintain, that *Eudo*, duke of *Aquitain*, called by the later *French* writers count *Eudes*, being about this time defeated and put to flight by *Charles Martel*, demanded assistance of the *Arabs*, who had possessed themselves of *Spain*, against that conqueror. The *Moslems*, continue the same authors, accepting of this invitation, passed the *Pyrenees*, and advanced into *Gascoign*, to the number of 400,000 souls, women, children, and slaves, included, under the command of one *Abd'alrahmán* ; imagining, that they should make themselves masters of that province without striking a stroke. They committed dreadful ravages in their march ; pillaging every place, both sacred and profane, without distinction, through which they moved. This expedition is, however, b placed some years later by *Roderic of Toledo*, who seems to have reason on his side. He also gives us to understand, that, about the year we are now upon, this prince's avarice occasioned commotions in several parts of the empire ; which were not without great difficulty, and a very copious effusion of human blood, appeased <sup>m</sup>.

and are de-  
feated by  
Charles Mar-  
tel.

IN the 110th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 17th, 728, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almálec* advanced with a body of *Arab* troops to the coast of the *Caspian* sea, restored the fortifications of the afore said defile that had been destroyed by the *Turks* in their late irruption into *Armenia*, seized upon *Derbent* at the foot of mount *Caucasus*, together with the district belonging to it, and obliged the *Turks* to take an oath never to pass their own frontiers, in order to disturb the repose of the *Moslem* territories. But they soon violating that oath, and c invading *Armenia*, he attacked them with such bravery, that he forced them to retire into their own dominions. After which, he appointed *Merwán Ebn Mohammed* governor of *Armenia*, and then returned into *Syria*. *Theophanes*, therefore, deserves little regard, when he intimates, that *Moslema* was worsted this year by the *Turks* in a general action, and, after having sustained a very great loss, obliged to fly into the *Khalif's* territories with the utmost precipitation. About this time, *Abd'almálec Ebn Refa'a* succeeded *Hafas Ebn Al Walid Al Hadrami* in the government of *Egypt*. Some of the *French* and *Spanish* writers relate, that *Eudo*, being vastly terrified at the approach of such a multitude of *Arabs*, as that above-mentioned, who laid waste the country through which they marched, joined *Charles Martel* with all his forces, and, in conjunction with him, attacked the infidels this year near d *Tours* with so much courage, that they were overthrown with incredible slaughter ; no less than 375,000 of them, amongst whom were *Abd'alrahmán*, the *Arab* general himself, and almost all the officers and persons of distinction that served under him, having been killed in the action. Of the *Christians* no more than 1500 are said to have been missing, after the end of the engagement. This blow, however, was not given the *Moslems*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, so early as the 110th year of the *Hejra*. That author scruples not to affirm, that not only *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gascoign*, but likewise *Calabria* and part of *Apulia*, if not *Sicily* itself, about this time, tho' before the overthrow at *Tours*, acknowledged the sovereignty of the *Khalif*.

The Jacobites  
dispossessed of  
their churches  
in Egypt.

THE following year, being the 111th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 6th, 729, one e *Cosmas*, of the *Melchite* persuasion, was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria* ; who, if we will believe *Eutychius*, could neither write nor read. Be that as it will, upon his arrival at *Damascus*, he met with a gracious reception from *Heshám*, who after he had a conference with him, wrote to *Abd'allab Ebn Al Jibán Al Sakwi*, his lieutenant of *Egypt*, to put the *Melchites*, under *Cosmas's* government and direction, in possession of all the churches that had been occupied by the *Jacobites* in *Alexandria* for the space of ninety-seven years ; that is, from the third year of *Omar Ebn Al Khattáb* to the seventh of the *Khalif Heshám* ; during which interval, the *Jacobites* had remained masters of all the *Christian* churches in *Egypt*, except that of *St. Saba* at *Alexandria*, and that of *St. Michael* in *Kafr Al Shama'*, to which the *Melchites* had been confined. Nor did the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria* only supply f *Egypt* with bishops for so long a term, but he likewise sent many others into *Nubia* ; the people of which kingdom, till the seventh year of *Heshám*, were almost intirely of the *Jacobite* persuasion. This uncommon favour was, however, not granted *Cosmas* by the *Khalif* without the interposition of several learned men, and even many valuable presents, which he brought with him to *Damascus*, to facilitate the execution of his project, according to *Al Makín*. That historian, nevertheless, seems to this advance last particular without pro-

<sup>1</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup ut et ipse Jos. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR, AL MAKIN. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 341. STRAB. lib. xi. ARRIAN. lib. iii. DIONYS. perieg. vers. 1039. ISIDORUS CHARACENUS, p. 6. de urb. Charac. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 15. <sup>m</sup> Annal. Francor. JACOBUS MEYERUS, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. Jezid Ben Abd'almalek, p. 456. JOANNES VASZEUS, g ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xii, xiii, xiv. <sup>n</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. Heshám Ben Abd'almalek, p. 451. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 341, 342. JACOBUS MEYERUS, JOANNES VASZEUS, et RODERICUS TOLETANUS, ubi sup.



- a per authority to support it, as not the least mention has been made of it by *Eutychius*, the author followed by him on this occasion, tho' he represents *Cosmas* as a master of needless before his elevation to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and altogether illiterate; and seems to imply, that either a rich present, or a good round sum of money, was necessary to influence the *Khalif* in his favour. Be that as it will, the former author is most certainly mistaken, when he affirms this event to have happened in the third year of the *Khalifat* of *Heshâm*; since the latter, whom he pretends to have transcribed on this occasion, asserts, in express terms, that *Cosmas* was advanced to the patriarchial dignity in the seventh year of that prince's reign. As this point of conduct in the *Khalif*, whatever was the motive to it, produced a sort of ecclesiastical revolution amongst the *Christians* in *Egypt*, we could not prevail upon
- b ourselves to omit inserting an account of so remarkable a transaction, tho' not immediately relating to the history of the *Arabs*, here °.

ABOUT the same time, as we are told by the eastern writers, *Heshâm* ordered several towns The Moslems and villages to be built on the river *Zaitun*, which seems to have derived its name from invade Cap- *Zaita*, or *Zeita*, a town about sixty stadia, or furlongs, from *Karkisia*, or *Kirkisia*, the *Cer-* padocia.

- c *cusium*, or *Circesium*, of the antients, in that part of *Mesopotamia* called by the *Arabs* *Diyar Rabia*, or rather *Diyar Moder*, according to *Golius*. This place has been taken notice of by *Zesimus*, the historian. *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khalif's* brother, and general, is also said to have erected at this time some towns and castles on the river *Beth-Calas*; but with what view or design the *Arabs* built any forts there, we are not told by any author.
- c That general afterwards, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and reduced there a fortress of considerable strength. This year the *Khalif's* governor of *Africa* sent a new lieutenant, named *Odoysâ*, into *Spain*; who, being a person of great levity and inexperience, by no means proved acceptable to the *Arabs* there. Him, therefore, *Heshâm* thought fit soon to remove from that post, and to substitute *Yaman Ebn Abinaza*, in his room. *Yaman* continued in his government about five months, and, after the expiration of that short term, was succeeded by one *Autuman*, or *Othmân*, of whom we scarce find any thing said by the *Arab* historians; so that nothing remarkable, through the whole course of this year, seems to have happened in *Spain* °.

- d THE next year, being the 112th year of the *Hejra*, the first day of which was *March* The Moslem 26th, 730, *Moslema*, according to *Theophanes*, undertook an expedition against the *Turks*, affairs in and penetrated to the coast of the *Caspian* sea; but, being intimidated by the forces of the Spain, during *Khâkan*, returned home, without effecting any thing. That this was really the case, we are the year of the more inclined to believe, from the silence of the *Moslem* writers in relation to any advantage gained by the *Khalif's* army this year in those parts, than from the authority of *Theophanes*, which, in such points as this, is frequently not to be depended upon. *Autuman*, or *Othmân*, *Heshâm's* lieutenant in *Spain*, was displaced, after he had remained at *Corduba* about four months, and succeeded by *Al Hatam Ebn Obeid*. Against this new governor a conspiracy was soon formed; several of the principal *Arabs* holding private cabals, in order to discover a proper method of deposing him. But they being seized, before they could carry their design
- e into execution, he ordered some of them to be publicly whipt, and others to be beheaded. Amongst the former there was one *Zath*, or *Zeid*, an *Arab* of great eloquence and noble extraction; who after he had been treated in a very ignominious manner, made his escape out of *Spain*, and took a journey to *Damascus*, where he and one *Mahimen*, another *Moslem* of distinction, gave the *Khalif* a full account of everything that had happened. They also desired, that *Al Haytam* might be recalled, and *Abd'alrahmân* appointed king of *Corduba*, or governor of *Spain*, in his room; which *Heshâm* readily granted. Upon their arrival in *Spain*, *Mahimen*, who had been invested with full power and authority by the *Khalif* for that purpose, ordered *Al Haytam* to be publicly whipped, carried with his hands bound behind his back, and loaded with irons, upon an ass, through the streets of *Corduba*, and then to be imprisoned for life. As for *Abd'alrahmân*, he not being then to be found, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'al-*
- f *lab* was constituted governor of *Spain*, and acted in that capacity about two months; at the end of which term, *Abd'alrahmân* himself appeared. The *French* annals, according to *Joannes Vascus*, pretend, that, about this time, the *Arabs*, at the instigation of *Hunold* and *Waisar*, *Ludo's* sons, made another irruption into *France*, and penetrated as far as *Burgundy* with a numerous army, laying waste all the country through which they moved; but were driven again by *Charles Martel* into their own dominions, after they had lost a very considerable part of their troops. In the mean time, *Pelagius* still maintained himself in the possession of all the posts he had so long occupied upon the *Moslem* frontiers; nor could he be dislodged from thence by all the efforts of the enemy °.

° EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384—389. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 83, 84. ° DIONYS, TELMARENS. ubi sup. ZOZIM. lib. iii. c. 17. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 255, 256. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 343. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 457. RODERIC. TOLLTAN. ubi sup. c. xii. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 702. ° THEOPHAN. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLLTAN. ubi Arab. c. xii, xiii. ANNAL. FRANCOI. apud Joannem Vascum, ubi sup.



Heshâm's  
troops gain  
some advan-  
tages over the  
Christians.

IN the 113th year of the *Hejra*, *Moslema* marched at the head of a powerful army <sup>a</sup> against the *Khâkân*, took several of that prince's towns, and carried off a great number of his subjects into slavery, together with an immense quantity of plunder. *Makkyab*, the *Khalîf*'s son, also penetrated into *Paphlagonia*, took many of the *Christians* in that province prisoners, and returned home loaded with the spoils he acquired in this expedition. *Solimân*, another of *Heshâm*'s sons, advanced with a body of troops into another of the imperial provinces, reduced the castle of *Pelczonium*, laid waste the neighbouring tract, defeated a *Greek* army that pretended to make head against him, and then returned home with inconsiderable loss. Some of the *Arab* writers affirm, that the *Greek* emperor himself, whom they call *Constantine*, was present in the action, and fell into the hands of *Solimân*; but, as *Leo Isaurus*, or *Isauricus*, sat then upon the imperial throne, and was prob- <sup>b</sup> ably at *Constantinople* when that engagement happened, this last article merits not the least attention <sup>c</sup>.

Abd'alrah-  
mân constitu-  
ted governor  
of Spain.

ABD'ALRAHMAN, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, was this year constituted the *Khalîf*'s lieutenant in *Spain*; but was scarce settled in his government, when one *Muniz* assembled a body of troops in order to depose him. *Muniz*, however, not being able to take the field against *Abd'alrahmân*, was obliged to shut himself up in the principal city of the *Cerretani*, where he was straitly besieged by the governor's forces. At last, finding himself incapable of defending the place any longer, he endeavoured to make his escape; but, being closely pursued by one of *Abd'alrahmân*'s detachments, he was forced to throw him- <sup>c</sup> self headlong from off a precipice, and miserably perished. His wife, who was count *Eudo*'s daughter, and one of the most celebrated beauties of the age, fell into the hands of the victors, and was sent by *Abd'alrahmân* to *Damascus*, as a present to the *Khalîf*. The death of *Muniz*, whose head was cut off, and brought to the governor, proved the total extinction of this rebellion; which, had *Muniz* been reinforced by a body of *French* troops, *Eudo* at first seeming to favour him, might have been attended with fatal consequences, both to *Abd'alrahmân* and all the *Khalîf*'s other subjects in *Spain*. It seems to be intimated by some of the *Spanish* writers, that the famous *Pelagius*, who had so signalized himself in his wars against the *Arabs*, died either this or the following year <sup>d</sup>.

The Arabs  
overthrown  
by the Greeks.

THE next year, being the 114th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* penetrated, with an army of 90,000 men, into the imperial territories. He advanced as far as *Tyana* in *Cappa-* <sup>d</sup> *docia*, and had four generals to serve under him in this expedition. *Mûlec Ebn Shabib* and *Abd'allah Ebn Batal*, two of those generals, being arrived at *Synnada* in *Phrygia*, with 50,000 men, were met and engaged there by an imperial army, under the conduct of the emperor *Leo* himself, and his son *Constantine Copronymus*, according to *Theophanes*, which gave them so complete an overthrow, that they had above 45,000 of their men killed upon the spot, and the rest with great difficulty made their escape. That author affirms this glorious event to have happened in the 23d year of *Leo*'s reign, about the 122d of the *Hejra*; but *Dionysius Telmarenensis* seems to place it in or near the present year; and him we chuse to follow, for the reasons above assigned <sup>e</sup>.

An impostor  
appears in  
Syria.

ABOUT the same time, an impostor appeared in *Syria*, who gave out, that he was *Moses* <sup>e</sup> risen from the dead, and seduced great numbers of the *Jews*, whom he defrauded of considerable sums of money, and then fled into another province. But being pursued and taken, he was brought before the *Khalîf*, who delivered him up the *Jews*, that they might inflict what punishment they should think fit upon him. Which event is placed by *Theophanes*, wrongly, as we apprehend, in the fifth year of *Leo Isauricus*'s reign; but by *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, with greater accuracy and precision, as we believe, in or about the present year <sup>f</sup>.

The Arabs de-  
feated by the  
French.

ABD'ALRAHMAN, suspecting that count *Eudo* had favoured his son-in-law *Muniz*'s rebel- <sup>f</sup> lion, which he had so happily extinguished, resolved to follow his blow, and carry the war into the heart of *France*. Having, therefore, assembled a powerful army, he entered that kingdom, and advanced to *Arles* upon the *Rhofne*; where he attacked and defeated a large body of the *Franks*, or the *French*, that attempted to obstruct his march, killed many of them upon the spot, and pushed a great number of them into the *Rhofne*, who not being able to gain the opposite bank, were every one of them drowned. He afterwards passed the *Garonne* and the *Dordonne*, overthrew count *Eudo*, who endeavoured to stop the progress of his arms, and penetrated into the interior part of *France*. In fine, he pursued that count through several provinces, ravaged the country through which he moved, in a dreadful manner, and at last arrived with his numerous forces at *Tours*. That city likewise he made a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion, reducing to ashes the church and all the

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 343. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106. <sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xiii. JOANNES VAS. US, ubi sup. p. 702.

<sup>c</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 345. DIONYS. TELMARENS, ubi sup. p. 106. <sup>d</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 336. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106, 107.



- a palaces there, and laying waste the whole district belonging to it with fire and sword. *Charles Martel*, being informed of these devastations, and reinforced by a body of *Germans* and *Gepidæ*, came up with those plunderers near *Tours*, engaged them for seven days together, and at last gave them a total overthrow; making himself master of their baggage, and took from them spoils of an inestimable value. The shatter'd remains of *Abd'alrahmân's* army, after this memorable defeat, with great difficulty, reached the frontiers of *Spain*, and left the *French* in peaceable possession of the whole tract that had been delivered by their victorious general. This is the account of *Abd'alrahmân's* fatal *French* expedition handed down to us by *Roderic of Toledo*; which, as our curious readers will at first sight perceive, differs not only in point of time, but likewise in several other particulars, from that already
- b given. Some authors tell us, that the *Moslem* general took *Avignon* by surprize this campaign; and that it was afterwards retaken by the *French*. They also relate, that, the following year, *Charles Martel* overthrew the *Arabs*, marching, under the command of one of their generals, to the relief of *Narbonne*, then besieged by a body of the *French* forces, at *Illiberis*, with incredible slaughter; scarce any of them escaping into *Spain*. Which of these seemingly jarring relations approaches the nearest to truth, we shall not take upon us to determine, as a certain author, with very little judgment, has done; but leave it to our more sagacious and intelligent readers to chuse which of them they please <sup>w</sup>.

- c ABOUT the 115th year of the *Hejra*, *Heshâm* sent an army under the command of *Kalîn* <sup>The Khalîf's</sup> and *Zobair*, two of his generals, to reduce *Atikh*, who had rebelled against him, and drawn <sup>forces routed by Atikh.</sup> together a considerable force to support him in his defection. *Atikh*, receiving advice of their approach, advanced to *Sigara*, fell upon them there by night, intirely defeated them, and put many of their men to the sword. However, as we find nothing afterwards said of him by any good author, it is probable that, in a short time, he thought fit to submit to the *Khalîf*. About the same year, according to *Theophanes*, *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm*, with a body of the *Moslem* troops, ravaged several of the imperial provinces in *Asia*, without any considerable loss. A very large and resplendent comet, if we will believe that writer, likewise appeared at this time there <sup>x</sup>.

- d IN the 116th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* advanced into the imperial *Armenia*, <sup>His arms successful against the Khakân.</sup> committed some ravages there, and then returned into the *Moslem* territories. This we learn from *Theophanes*, who gives us no account of any farther operations during the remainder of the campaign. However, there is some reason to believe, that, about this time, *Affad Ebn Abd'allah*, another of the *Khalîf's* generals, gained several victories over the troops of the *Khakân*, and killed that prince himself in single combat. We are told by an author often cited here, that *Heshâm* sent one *Abd'almâlec*, an *Arab* of noble extraction, in the 116th year of the *Hejra*, to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain*; who, by his tyranny, rendered himself extremely disagreeable to them. He found himself incapable of protecting the country under his government from the insults of the *French*; and having once attempted to pass the *Pyrenees*, in order to take vengeance of that nation, he was driven back into the plains of *Celtiberia* with very great slaughter. *Cedrenus* seems to intimate, that *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* took many prisoners in his *Armenian* expedition, mentioned by *Theophanes*; but neither of those historians has handed down to us the particulars of that expedition <sup>y</sup>.

- e THE following year, *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm* made an irruption into the imperial territories; but the *Greeks* soon assembling a considerable force, he could not long maintain himself there. He, therefore, returned into *Syria*, without having effected any thing considerable; and, according to *Theophanes*, in his march, was killed by a fall from his horse. <sup>Moâwiyah makes an irroad into the imperial territories.</sup> Nothing material happened this year in *Spain*, under *Abd'almâlec's* oppressive administration there. We must not forget to observe, that *Ali Ebn Abd'allah*, the grandfather of *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, the first *Khalîf* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, died in the 117th year of the *Hejra*, in the 73th year of his age, and left two-and-twenty children behind him <sup>z</sup>.

- f ABOUT the 119th, or the 120th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* ravaged some of the imperial provinces contiguous to the *Khalîf's* dominions, and carried off with him a vast number of prisoners. Amongst these there was a *Pergamenian*, who pretended to be *Tiberius*, the son of the emperor *Justinian*. This pretended prince *Heshâm*, in order to do his son *Solimân*, who had taken him prisoner, the greater honour, as well as to strike a terror into the imperial court, treated with the highest marks of distinction, as though he had been really a member of the imperial family; sending him to *Jerusalem*, and all the other principal cities of *Syria*, escorted by a numerous body of troops, and attended by a very

<sup>w</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xiii, xiv. ANNAL. FRANCO. JACOBUS MEYERUS, JOHANNES VAS.ÆUS, ubi sup.

<sup>x</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 107. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 344. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 457.

<sup>y</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, RODERIC TOLETAN. c. xv. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compenl. p. 457.

<sup>z</sup> THEOPHAN. & RODERIC TOLETAN, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80.



splendid retinue. But however his subjects might be pleased with such ostentation and a parade, it does not appear, the *Khalif* himself reaped any remarkable advantage from this preposterous conduct. In the 118th year of the *Hejra* died *Abd'almâlec Ebn Refa'a*, *Heshâm's* governor of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Khâled Ebn Mosaffir Al Fakâmi*. The following year, the *Khalif* removed the tyrant *Abd'almâlec*, to the unspeakable joy of the *Moslems* there, from his government of *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

Account of the  
Arab affairs  
in Spain.

THE next year, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* fell again into the imperial territories, where he committed dreadful depredations. Amongst the captives he carried into slavery, there was one *Eustathius*, the son of *Marianus*, a *Greek* of distinction, whom he took with him to the *Khalif's* court, in order to set off the success that had attended him in this expedition. After *Heshâm* had dismissed *Abd'almâlec*, to the great joy of the *Arabs* there, from the b honourable post he had so unjustly enjoyed a considerable time in *Spain*, he appointed one *Ocha*, or rather *Okba*, to preside over the *Arabs* of that province in his room. *Okba*, upon his arrival at *Corduba*, imprisoned his predecessor, loaded him with irons, and deprived of their offices all the judges and governors of cities, that owed to him their elevation. He likewise obliged the *Arabs* under his government to observe strictly the ceremonies, as well as the moral duties, enjoined by their religion, collected the tribute exacted of the *Christians* with the utmost rigour, took all opportunities that offered of filling the *Khalif's* coffers, and brought all the most enormous offenders to condign punishment. However, as he governed exactly according to law, the *Moslems* could not with any colour of reason complain of the iniquity of his administration. He meditated an expedition against the *French*, but was not c able to carry his design into execution. Being arrived at *Saragosa* with his fleet, he received advice from the coast of *Africa*, that the *Moslems* of *Spain* had an intention to depose him; upon which, he posted away with all possible celerity first to *Corduba*, and afterwards to the continent of *Africa*, where he assembled a body of troops, with which he returned to *Spain*, put the ringleaders of the projected revolt to death, and settled himself once more in his former post. Afterwards growing very infirm, he resigned the government to his predecessor *Abd'almâlec* in the 124th year of the *Hejra*, with the unanimous approbation of all the *Khalif's* subjects in *Spain*, a little before he died. We must not forget to observe, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Khâled Ebn Mosaffir Ebn Tabit Al Fakâmi* was removed from the government of *Egypt*, after he had resided there about a year, and *Handala Ebn Safwân Al d Calbi* substituted in his room <sup>b</sup>.

Abnakhayyal  
constituted pa-  
triarch of  
Alexandria.

IN the 120th year of the *Hejra*, *Heshâm* removed *Khâled Al Karli* from the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, and appointed *Yusef Ebn Omar Al Thakîfi* to preside over that province. It appears from some of the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, that one *Abnakhayyal* was about this time constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, and afterwards persecuted by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Mûsa Ebn Nasr*, originally a *Jew*, at that time governor of *Egypt*; who first imprisoned him, and then extorted from him a large sum of money, which he was obliged to beg of the *Christians* settled in *Egypt* and some of the neighbouring provinces. But as the facts touched upon in this relation have not been mentioned by *Eutychius*, or *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, who has written the fullest and most particular account of the affairs of the church of *Alexandria*, during c this period, we will not take upon us to determine whether *Al Makîn*, or rather the authors he followed, are absolutely to be depended upon in the point before us <sup>c</sup>.

Zeid rebels  
against the  
Khalif, and is  
defeated by  
Yusef Ebn  
Omar.

THE following year, being the 121st of the *Hejra*, *Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Husein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* assembled an army of 14,000 men at *Cûfa*, and obliged the inhabitants of that city to take an oath of fidelity to him. But, upon the approach of *Yusef Ebn Omar*, the governor of *Basra*, with a body of troops to extinguish this rebellion, they asked him what were his sentiments of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*? He replied, he had always entertained a good opinion of them. Upon which, they renounced their allegiance to him, rescinded their former oath, and immediately deserted him; so that he found himself obliged to stand an engagement with only fourteen men. He could not, therefore, forbear observing, that the f *Cûfans*, by their infamous conduct on this occasion, had acted in character, and played over again the game of *Husein*. In fine, *Yusef* easily defeated him, pierced his brain with an arrow, and consequently killed him upon the spot. Of the few *Cûfans* that attended him, not one escaped. After the end of the action, *Yusef* ordered his head to be cut off, and sent it to the *Khalif*; by whose command it was fixed upon one of the gates of *Damascus*. His body was deposited in a sepulchre the same night he died, out of which it was taken the next morning, and affixed to a cross or gibbet erected for that purpose; but soon after reduced to ashes, by an express order of the *Khalif*. His son, in order to avoid meeting with the same fate, fled to *Balkh*, the metropolis of *Khorasân*, said to have been built by *Loraspes*,

<sup>a</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 457. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80. <sup>b</sup> THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xv. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80. <sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80, 82, 83.



- a the father of *Hydaspes*, king of *Persia*, about the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* made himself master of *Jerusalem*. Some believe that it was built by *Alexander the Great*, and from him at first denominated *Alexandria*; but *Goliuz*, with a greater degree of probability, takes it to answer to the *Babtra* of the ancients. Be that as it will, it is situated in a very pleasant and fertile country, upon the *Debâsh*, a fine river that passes by its suburbs, and, about twelve parasangs from the city, discharges itself into the *Oxus*. Soon after the extinction of the preceding rebellion, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khalîf*'s brother, penetrated into the imperial territories, and made himself master of *Catamana*, a city of considerable note. *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, surnamed *Himar*, subdued also this year *Serir Al Dheheb*, or rather *Serir Al Theheb*, that is, *the throne of gold*, a province situated between the
- b *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, in which the city of *Derbent* stands, called by the *Turks* *Demir Capi*, *the iron gate*; and imposed upon the *Khân*, or prince of that country, after he had plundered and pillaged the inhabitants of it, an annual tribute. *Theophanes* also seems to intimate, that *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* conquered that tract this very year; which not a little supports what has been advanced on this head by the *Arab* historians <sup>d</sup>.

THE next year, being the 122d of the *Hejra*, *Moslem Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, *Moslema* *ânc.* *Heshâm*'s brother, departed this life. He was the greatest general of the age, and had distinguished himself on many occasions above the other *Arab* commanders, both by his

c courage and conduct. This year the *Khalîf* ordered a bridge to be built over the *Euphrates*, the construction of which began on the *Syrian* bank of that river, opposite to the city of *Callinicum* in *Mesopotamia* <sup>e</sup>.

IN the 123d year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 26th, 740, the *Khalîf Heshâm*, as *A blending* *far* we find asserted by *Theophanes*, ordered a very considerable number of *Christian* captives, *appears.* taken by his generals in their irruptions into the imperial territories, to be put to the sword. Which article, however, seems too repugnant to the civil and religious constitution of the *Moslems*, as here before described, to be admitted as a certain and indubitable truth. Either this or the following year, about the beginning of *January*, a remarkable comet, or blazing-star, is said to have appeared <sup>f</sup>.

- d THE next year, being the 124th year of the *Hejra*, *Heshâm* sent *Handala Ebn Safwân*, *A rebellion in* the governor of *Egypt*, into *Africa*, and appointed *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* to preside over the *Africa.* people of *Egypt*. In this post *Hafas* continued till the death of *Heshâm*; but was removed from it by *Al Walid Ebn Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khalîf*'s successor, who substituted *Isa Ebn Abi Atâ* in his room. This year the bridge over the *Tigris* at *Amida* having received great damage from an inundation, *Heshâm* ordered it to be repaired, or rather rebuilt, and procured a considerable number of architects, who met together at *Amida* for that purpose. The construction of this bridge was, however, a work of so much difficulty, that it was not finished before the *Khalîf*'s death. About the same time, according to *Dionysius Tel-*
- e *marenfis*, most of the inhabitants of *Edessa* were destroyed by an inundation of the *Desanes*, which laid almost all the houses there under water; tho', if we will believe *Theophanes*, that inundation happened on the 28th day of the month *Peritius*, or *February*, in the preceding year. About the year we are now upon, if *Roderic* of *Toledo* may be attended to, there was a rebellion in the western part of *Africa*, which probably extended itself into *Nigritia*, or at least to the frontiers of that country, as the rebel army, according to him, consisted of *Moors*, some of whom, in their complexions and frizled hair, resembled the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*; and were men of such determined courage and resolution, that they defeated an army of 100,000 men sent against them by the *Khalîf*. Nay, their general, flushed with this success, if that author may be credited, meditated the conquest of *Spain*; which excited even many of the *Khalîf*'s subjects there to a revolt. However, *Abd'almâlec*, *Heshâm*'s
- f governor of that province, proved superior to the rebels, drove a large body of them from *Toledo*, after they had besieged that city twenty-six days, cut many of them to pieces, dispersed the rest, and obliged two other bodies of them to return to their duty. But, notwithstanding this, the rebel general, who had set up for himself in *Africa*, according to *Roderic*, still continued to assert his independency there. Nay, he not only baffled all the *Khalîf*'s efforts to reduce him, but likewise found himself in a condition to extend his frontiers. For, he sent an army, under the command of *Abd'ahrahmân*, one of his generals, to invade *Spain*; which advanced to *Corduba*, reduced that place, took *Abd'almâlec* alive in it, and put him to a cruel death. Could this relation of *Roderic* be intirely depended upon, it would seem to imply, that, before the commencement of this rebellion, the *Kha-*

<sup>d</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 81. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 207. YAKUT, BEN HAWKAI. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176. SHARIF AL EDRISI. KHONDEMIR. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 344. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Heshâm Ben Abd'almâlec*, p. 451. <sup>e</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 107. <sup>f</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 347.



*if*'s arms had penetrated into the interior part of *Africa*, and reduced at least a considerable part of the country of *Gætulia*, if not *Nigritia*, to the obedience of that powerful prince; tho' the time when that conquest was made has not been clearly pointed out to us by any of the *Arab* historians <sup>a</sup>.

Heshâm's  
death and  
character.

IN the 125th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 4th, 742, on the sixth day of the latter *Rabî*, *Heshâm Ebn Abd'almûlec* died at *Rusûfa*, after he had sat nineteen years seven months and eleven days upon the *Moslem* throne. He was fifty-three, or according to *Abu'l Faraj*, fifty-five, or, as others will have it, fifty-six, years of age, at the time of his death. With regard to his person, he was of a fair complexion, tho' his hair was of a reddish, or sandy, colour. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that he was squint-eyed, and had a very ugly face; tho', according to others, that blemish, or defect, in him was not all unbecoming. He tinged his beard with *Al Henna* and *Al Catam*, in the same manner as did the prophet himself, and his immediate successors. In relation to his character, it has been observed by some of the eastern writers, that he governed without any prime minister; tho', being of a covetous and rapacious disposition, he greatly harassed his subjects. He had many wardrobes, which cannot be said of any of his predecessors, and therein an infinity of garments; tho', having sealed them all up, his successor *Al Walid* could not find a winding-sheet to wrap his body in after his decease, till a servant brought him one for that purpose. His secretaries of state were *Sa'id Ebn Al Walid Al Abrash Al Calbi*, his principal favourite, and *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hârîta*; the captain of his guards *Caab Ebn Hâmed*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Mohammed Ebn Safwân Al Jamjani*; and his chamberlain *Gâleb*, his freed-man. The inscription of his seal was, *Wise judgment is a fat beast of burden*. The first and last days of his reign are said to have been *Wednesday*. One of his sons assigning once as a reason for not attending divine service in the mosque, that he had no beast to carry him thither; the *Khalîf* forbade him the use of either horse or camel for a whole year. One of his subjects having been accused of drinking wine, as well as keeping singing girls, and playing on a lute, and brought before him with the instrument he was so much delighted with, the *Khalîf* said, *Beat that drum about the rascal's ears*. Upon which, some of his domestics beat the fellow with the lute, and he shed tears plentifully. Being then advised to take his punishment patiently, and not disgrace himself by weeping, he said, *I weep not because I am treated in this manner, but because he so contemptuously calls my lute a drum*. We are told by *Theophanes*, that *Heshâm* permitted the *Christians* of *Antioch* to chuse for their patriarch, after they had been deprived of one forty years by the *Arabs*, *Stephen*, a monk of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life, and one with whom he had contracted a particular intimacy; which they considered as a blessing derived to them immediately from heaven. This article, though passed over in silence by other *Christian* writers, has likewise been handed down to us by *Cedrenus* in almost the same terms. *Heshâm* has been represented by *Khondemir*, who tells us, that he would not trust any person with the keys of his coffers in which his treasures were deposited, as one of the most avaricious princes that ever lived; which, indeed, perfectly agrees with the character given of him by other historians. Nevertheless, he loved horses extremely, of which he kept at least 4000 in his stables. After his death, 700 coffers full of moveables, linen, and garments, or habits, of various kinds; amongst which 1000 breeches and 10,000 shirts were found, locked and sealed up with his proper seal. The distemper of which he died was the quinsy, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. His body was interred at *Rusûfa*, a city supposed to have been either founded or rebuilt by him; and, for that reason, in order to distinguish it from other places of the same name, some of the eastern writers stile it the *Rusûfa* of *Heshâm*. But, notwithstanding what may have been insinuated to the contrary by several of the *Moslem* authors, *Rusûfa* could not have been founded by *Heshâm*, as he resided there before he was *Khalîf*, and consequently before he was capable of attempting such a foundation. However, he afterwards probably repaired and enlarged this city, which was the *Rescîpha* (*Ῥεσκήφα*) of *Ptolemy*, as has been remarked above, and is frequently mentioned by the *Syriac* writers. It has been already observed, that *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*, *Leo Isauricus*'s son, was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, according to the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, by one of *Heshâm*'s sons; but that this was utterly inconsistent with what has been related of that prince by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. We must beg leave farther to remark, that *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Sirin*, who wrote a treatise concerning the interpretation of dreams, upon the principles of the book composed by *Abu Ishâk Al Kermâni*, flourished in the reign of this prince; and that *Heshâm* had two small lordships, called *Al Haba* and *Al Mara*, in the district of *Rakka*, that brought him in an annual revenue of 10,000 *dirkêms* <sup>b</sup>.

S E C T.

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 81, 84. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. ad calc. Al Mak. hist. Saracen. ab Erpenio edit. Lugd. Batavor. 1625. c. xvi. <sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 81, 82. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 207, 203. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 388, 389. ISM. ABU'LFED.



## S E C T. XVII.

- <sup>a</sup> **U**PON the death of *Heshâm*, *Al Walid*, in pursuance of his father *Yezid*'s last will and testament, mounted the *Moslem* throne. He was surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs*, and pro-<sup>He is succeeded by Al Walid.</sup> claimed *Khalif* the very day that his uncle *Heshâm* died; being then about forty years of age. His mother *Omm Al Hejâj* was the daughter of *Mohammed Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Hakem Ebn Abu Okail Al Thakîfi*. He had been treated with great kindness, and even marks of distinction, by *Heshâm*, till he had totally given himself up to a most dissolute course of life. But at last, by spending his time in drunkenness, and discovering an absolute disregard for all the religious observances and institutions of the *Moslems*, he incurred the displeasure of that prince; who, finding his nephew's life to be little better than one continued scene of debauchery, first reprov'd him for the enormities he was guilty of, and then, upon his remaining still incorrigible, altered the whole course of his conduct towards him. *Al Walid*, not being able to bear the rigorous treatment he met with from *Heshâm*, retired,
- <sup>b</sup> with his friends and domestics, to *Azrak*, where he remained till his uncle's death; of which being apprized by two couriers, he posted away with the utmost celerity to *Damascus*, in order to take possession of the *Khalifat*. During his residence at *Azrak*, according to some of the eastern writers, *Al Walid* behaved not only in an irreproachable, but even an exemplary manner; though, after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, he soon relapsed into his former excesses, and abandoned himself to all sorts of debaucheries. Upon the arrival of the aforesaid courier, he immediately issued an order to those who presided over *Heshâm*'s treasures, which were immense, to secure every thing for his use: upon which, *Ayyad*, *Al Walid*'s secretary, being released out of the prison where he had been confined by *Hâshem*, affixed the new *Khalif*'s seal to all the doors of the treasuries, and would not suffer
- <sup>c</sup> any person to approach them before his master had taken upon himself the government. Hence, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, it came to pass, that *Gâleb*, *Heshâm*'s freed-man, was obliged to wrap up that prince's corpse in a winding-sheet, nothing better being at that time to be found. *Al Walid* is said to have treated his predecessor's friends and domestics with extreme severity; telling them, that this was the very same treatment he and his adherents had met with from their master. The lame and the blind of *Damascus* he clothed and supplied with plenty of provisions, and distributed a vast quantity of perfumes and costly apparel amongst the women of that city, soon after his accession. In fine, he was prodigal to a surprising degree; never refusing any favour to a person who put up a petition to him. Having increased with a tenth part the pay of all the troops within his vast and
- <sup>d</sup> most extensive dominions, he wonderfully conciliated the affections of the soldiery to him; so that he easily prevailed upon them, and of course the whole body of his subjects, to agree to the settlement of the succession upon his two sons *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, in such a manner that the survivor was destined, after the death of the other, to ascend the *Moslem* throne. It appears from the eastern writers, that *Yabya Ebn Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Hosein*, who, after his father's death, had made his escape to *Balkh*, the metropolis of *Khorasân*, was defeated and put to the sword by a body of *Al Walid*'s troops at *Jurjân*, *Jurjâna*, or *Georgiana*, in the 125th year of the *Hejra*, not long after *Heshâm*'s death. The body of this *Imâm* (for so he is called by the followers of *Ali*) was first affixed to a gibbet, or cross, and afterwards reduced to ashes, which were thrown into the *Euphrates*, according
- <sup>e</sup> to *Abu'l Faraj*. But this last particular seems to be a mistake, as the city of *Georgiana*, the metropolis of a province of the same name, is said by some to belong to *Khorasân*, by others to *Taberistân*, and by others to *Khowarazm*, not far from the coast of the *Caspian* sea, and consequently at a very considerable distance from the *Euphrates*. This year, that is, the 125th year of the *Hejra*, the repose of the *Arab* dominions in *Spain*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, was disturbed by civil dissensions. *Al Walid* sent one *Abu'l Katar* to take upon himself the government of that province; but he was opposed by the *Arabs* there, under the conduct of *Ismael* and *Toban*, two of their countrymen, who at last found an opportunity of cutting him off: after which event, *Toban* was unanimously declared the commander in chief of the *Moslems* in *Spain*. The same year the *Khalif*'s forces made an irruption into the
- <sup>f</sup> imperial territories, where they committed dreadful depredations, and carried off with them an incredible number of *Christians* prisoners. About the same time, the emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Cepreninus*, sent *Andreas Spatharius* his ambassador to *Damascus*, to solicit succours of *Al Walid*; and *Artabasdus*, his competitor, dispatched *Gregorius Logotheta*, as his minister, on the same occasion, to the *Khalif*'s court. It has been remarked by *Theo-*

PHIL. de vit. Moham. c. lxx. p. 142. JOAN. GAGN. not. in Abu'Isid. ibid. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 349. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 460. KHONTÉMIR, FBN SUHNAH. Vide etiam D'HÉRBELE. ubi sup. p. 451. YAKUT, GOSHI FORME ALFRAGH. p. 253, 254. PHIL. geograph. lib. v. c. 18. GEORG. JAC. KHR. ubi sup. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. JEREM. de Monophysit.



*phanes*, that *Peter*, the metropolitan of *Damascus*, had his tongue cut out, for reflecting upon the *Mohammedan* tenets, by *Al Walid*'s order, and was afterwards banished to *Taman*; as also, that both he and another *Christian* of the same name, at *Mainuma* in *Palestine*, suffered martyrdom the same year<sup>1</sup>.

*Al Walid's death and character.*

THE following year, being the 126th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 25th, 743, *Al Walid* openly professed *Zendicism*, a species of infidelity nearly resembling *Sadducism* amongst the *Jews*, and perhaps not very remote from the *Deism* of some of our modern unbelievers, if we will believe the *Persian* historians; which, together with his flagitious and abandoned course of life, the genuine consequence of the impious principles he maintained, gave such offence to the people of *Syria*, that they unanimously resolved to depose him. In order to which, they chose *Yezid*, the son of *Al Walid* I. his cousin-german, for their leader, and inaugurated him *Khalif*. *Yezid* was no sooner placed on the throne, than he assembled a body of troops, and marched against *Al Walid*, who then resided in the territory of *Boheira*, at a small distance from *Damascus*. The mutineers easily dispersed the *Khalif*'s forces, and besieged him in his palace. At their first appearance before the gates, he expostulated with them, and reproached them with ingratitude; telling them, that "he had eased them of their taxes, relieved their needy, and been more generous to them than any of his predecessors." To which they replied, that "though they were by no means strangers to his good qualities, yet they at the same time knew, that his bad ones vastly preponderated; that he had frequently inebriated himself with wine, kept up an illicit commerce with his father's concubines, and been guilty of almost every kind of criminal excesses." After which, ten of the most resolute of them forcing their way into the palace, *Waja Al Fanin*, their leader, or, according to others, *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'alnâs*, or, lastly, as others will have it, *Wabmâl Ebn Al Walid*, dispatched him with very great ease; he not attempting to make the least resistance. After his death, one of his hands and his head were cut off, carried in triumph through the streets of *Damascus*, and at last affixed to one of the gates of that city. The funeral prayers were said over him by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, at the time of his interment, in the usual manner. His two sons, *Al Hahem* and *Othmân*, surnamed *the Rams*, were immediately imprisoned, as soon as *Yezid* had communicated to the *Moslems* the news of his assassination. With regard to his person, *Al Walid* was of a middle stature, had a handsome face, though his hair began to grow grey, and a fair complexion. He was of a very wicked disposition, being extremely addicted to gaming, drunkenness, and every species of sensuality. He kept company only with the younger and more abandoned part of his subjects. He ravished a girl in one of his drunken fits, and afterwards obliged her to repeat some prayers to the multitude, with a veil over her face. He is likewise said to have carried wine and dogs with him to *Mecca*, being vastly fond of hunting, and to have ordered an iron tomb to be made for him, which he proposed to have placed in a certain part of the *Caaba*. Notwithstanding his life was one continued scene of debauchery, he had quick parts, and was a tolerable good poet; though he exercised his genius chiefly on the most obscene and lascivious subjects. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by *Al Makin*; who informs us, that he ordered *Ma'bad*, a singer in favour with him, to repeat two or three verses, and then precipitated himself thrice into a sort of basin, or reservoir, formed of wine and water for that purpose; which proved a great diminution of his authority, and paved the way to his destruction. *Eutychius* represents him as a person of considerable eloquence, though this did not turn out of the least advantage either to himself or his subjects. To his other enormous crimes he added that of gluttony, according to *Al Makin*. He was assassinated towards the close of the latter *Jamâda*, after he had reigned a year and three months, being then about forty-two years of age. He had thirteen children, some of which were boys, and others girls. His secretary of state was *Al Abbâs Ebn Moslema*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Mohammed Ebn Safsân Al Jamjani*; the captain of his guards *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Homaid Al Calbi*; and his chamberlain *Katri*, his freed-man. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*; and the inscription of his seal was, O WALID, fear death! The untimely end of this *Khalif* proved a mortal wound to the house of *Ommiyah*, and of course not a little contributed to the advancement of the family of *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne. *Al Walid* is farther said, by the *Persian* historians, to have been so impious a prince, that he tore to pieces, and trod under foot, several copies of the *Korân*<sup>2</sup>.

S E C T.

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TAEARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 84. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. ubi sup. p. 388, 389. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 209, 210. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDAMIR, GOLII not. ad Afsagan. p. 190, 191. ABU'LFED. in geogr. HAMBALLA, SAID EBN ALI AL JURJANI, YAKUT, ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. ad vit. Salad. in voc. *Georgia*. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 349, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Aut. LEE TARIKH. KHONDAMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AL MOSTATRAF, apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 136. ut & ipse Poc. fid. RELAND. de relig. Moham. p. 270. MILLIUS de Mohammedana.



## S E C T. XVIII.

- a **Y**EZID, the son of *Al Walid* I. who succeeded *Al Walid* II. in the *Khalifat*, was, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, a just and virtuous prince. He was generally surnamed *Abu Khâled*, and sometimes, by way of derision, *Al Nakes*, *the diminisher*, and *Ebn Al Nakes*, *the son of the diminisher*, or *the son of the diminished*, because he found himself obliged, by the emptiness of his coffers, to diminish the pay that had been allowed the soldiery by the *Khalifs*. His mother was *Mah Afrid*, or *Shahferend*, according to the *Arab* historians, the daughter of *Firûz*, the son of *Yezdegerd*. He became, therefore, sovereign of *Persia* by hereditary right; and was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him from his mother, even after he was *Khalif*, that he constantly styled himself the son of *Khosrû*, king of *Persia*, the descendant of the *Khalif Merwân*, and a prince amongst whose
- b ancestors, of the mother's side, were the *Roman* emperor and the *Kbâkân*. Soon after his inauguration, he caused the *Moslems* to acknowledge his brother *Ibrahim* the heir apparent of the crown, and, after him, the succession legally to devolve upon *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al Hejjj Ebn Abd'almâlec*; and then obliged them to take the oath of allegiance, or fidelity, to those princes. Upon the divulgation of the news of *Al Walid's* violent death in the provinces, great commotions happened there. The people of *Hems* demanded the blood of the *Khalif*, or, in order words, insisted that vengeance should be taken of his murderers for the effusion of that blood. To extinguish this rebellion, *Yezid* sent an army against them; which they soon defeated, and put 300 of his men to the sword. *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, who had been loaded with irons, made an irruption into the district of *Al Maarra Al Nooman*, or *Maarra Nemani*, ravaged it, and then advanced to *Damascus*. The people of *Palestine* rose against their governor, and killed him. During these troubles, *Yezid* removed *Yusef Ebn Omar* from the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, and substituted *Mansûr Ebn Jamhûr* in his room. About the same time, *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Himar*, rebelled against *Yezid* in *Armenia*; giving out, that his design was to revenge the death of *Al Walid*. He assembled a very considerable force, but was pacified by *Yezid*, who conferred upon him the government of *Mesopotamia*, *Mosul*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbijân*, on condition that he should take the oath of allegiance to him. The *Greek* writers seem to intimate, that he was a friend to the family of *Al Walid* II. and desirous of taking the sons of that *Khalif* under his protection; which is likewise confirmed by some of the *Arab* historians. We are told by *Theophanes* and
- c *Cedrenus*, that a comet appeared in the northern part of the hemisphere towards the close of the *Khalifat* of *Al Walid*; and that the people seated on the coast of the *Caspian* sea were greatly alarmed by several violent shocks of an earthquake about the same time. It cannot be inferred from *Roderic of Toledo*, that any thing remarkable happened, during the reign of *Yezid Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, in *Spain*<sup>1</sup>.

- Soon after the conclusion of the pacification between the *Khalif* and *Merwân Ebn Moham-* *Yezid dies of*  
*med*, surnamed *Himar*, at *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*, the former died of the plague at *Damascus*, *the plague,*  
on *Wednesday* the 18th of the month *Dbu'lhajja*, in the 126th year of the *Hejra*, after he had *after he had*  
reigned five or six months, and was, at the time of his death, forty, or, as others say, *reigned six*  
forty-six, years of age. His funeral service was said by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid* his brother, *months.*
- e who succeeded him. As to his person, he was of a thin habit of body, a moderate stature, and a swarthy complexion. His mustaches, or whiskers, were not so thick and large as those of the *Arabs* generally are. With regard to his disposition, he is said to have been ostentatious, eloquent and proud. He was, however, after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, looked upon as an honest, just, and good-natured prince. He hath been represented as a favourer of the *Kadarians*, a sect denying absolute predestination; saying, that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which God has granted him power either to do or to let alone. Some, therefore, imagine, that they are denominated *Kadarians*, because they deny *Al Kadr*, or God's absolute decree; though others, thinking it not
- f so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it to come from *Kadr*, or *Kodrat*, i. e. *power*, because they assert man's *power* to act freely. Some pretend, that the *Kadarians* are the *Magians* of the *Moslems*, as admitting a good principle, viz. God, and an evil one, viz. man; and that the first author of this sect was *Alâbad Ebn Khâled Al Jolani*, who was put to death by the famous *Al Hejjj* at *Basra*<sup>m</sup>.

WE

hammedim. ante Moham. p. 311. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 210, 211. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 85, 86. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 388--391. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 351. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 461. <sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 211, 212. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 86, 87. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 390, 391. KHONDENIR, D'HERRER. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid Ebn Walid*, p. 487. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 351. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. Vide RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16. <sup>m</sup> AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. & MOD. MOD. VOL. I.



Some farther  
particulars re-  
lating to him.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that the body of *Yezid*, which, as well as that of his predecessor *Al Walid*, seems to have been buried at *Damascus*, was dug up, and affixed to a cross, or gibbet, by order of *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Himar*, the last *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, after he had ascended the *Moslem* throne. *Yezid*'s secretary of state was *Tâbit Ebn Solimân*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Othmân Ebn Omar Ebn Mûsa Al Timi*; the captain of his guards, *Yezid Ebn Al Shammakh Al Lakhmi*; and his chamberlain, his servant, *Fatan*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The inscription of his seal was, O YEZID, *persist in that which is right*! The Greek writers inform us, that he was surnamed *Leipsos*, or *diminished*; which pretty nearly corresponds with the *Arabic Nakes*, or *Al Nakes*, a nickname sometimes given him by the *Moslems*. We must not forget to observe, that *Ebn Arrabeb* and *Abu'l Walid*, as well as *Eutychius*, or *Ebn Batrik*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, assert *Al Walid* II. to have reigned precisely one year and three months. It appears from *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, that *Yezid*, who succeeded him, his brothers *Ibrahim* and *Abbâs*, together with *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al Hejâj Ebn Abd'almâlec*, contrived and effected the destruction of that *Khalif*; and that he was assassinated at the city of *Core*. *Dionysius* likewise relates, that *Yezid* sat six whole months upon the *Moslem* throne. It may be inferred from *Abu'l Faraj*, that the friends of the house of *Al Abbâs*, at *Merû* in *Khorasân*, began to put themselves in motion this year<sup>a</sup>.

GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 235, 238, 240, &c. ut & ipse Poc. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Cadaria*, p. 224. " AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 87. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 390, 391. THEOPHAN. & GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. EBN ARRAHEB & ABU'L WALID. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 211.

## S E C T. XIX.

Ibrahim Ebn  
Al Walid as-  
cends the  
throne;

IBRAHIM EBN AL WALID EBN ABD'ALMALEC EBN MERWAN EBN AL HAKEM, in consequence of the settlement of the succession in the preceding reign, was declared *Khalif* the same day that his brother *Yezid* died. His mother's name was *Naama*, or, as others will have it, *Hafsefa*. His subjects sometimes dignified him with the title of *Khalif*, sometimes with that of *emperor of the faithful*, and sometimes they considered him only as a private person. His reign was so short, that it has scarce been mentioned by *Eutychius*; nor have *Dionysius Telmarenensis* and *Theophanes* taken any farther notice of him, than barely to observe, that he succeeded his brother *Yezid*. According to the former of those writers, about the time that this prince first took upon himself the government, a grievous famine and pestilence raged all over the east<sup>c</sup>.

and is deposed.

IN the beginning of the year of the *Hejra* 127, commencing *October* 13th, 744, *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, surnamed *Himar*, the governor of *Mesopotamia*, *Mawfel*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbijân*, who had rebelled against *Yezid*, under the pretext of revenging the murder of *Al Walid* II. marched first to *Edeffa*, and afterwards to *Kinnisrîn*, with a powerful army, in order to lay siege to *Damascus*, and depose *Ibrahim*. *Basbar* and *Masrûr Ebn Al Walid*, who then commanded the *Khalif*'s forces at *Kinnisrîn*, being apprized of *Merwân*'s approach, advanced at the head of their troops to give him battle; but they were deserted by their men, who went over in a body to the enemy, and delivered up their generals into *Merwân*'s hands. *Basbar* and *Masrûr* were therefore thrown into prison, and there for some time straitly confined; after which, *Merwân* advanced to *Hems*, the inhabitants of which city immediately took the oath of allegiance to him. Here he reinforced his army with such an additional number of troops, that he found it to consist of 80,000 effective men. With this force he marched against *Solimân Ebn Hesbâm*, *Ibrahim*'s general, who was in motion with an army of 120,000 men. As soon as the two armies came in sight, *Merwân* invited the *Khalif*'s forces to join, in order to take vengeance of the murderers of *Al Walid* II. But this they refusing to do, a fierce and bloody conflict ensued; in which *Solimân* was overthrown, with incredible slaughter, and forced to fly with the remains of his shatter'd troops to *Damascus*. *Merwân* took many prisoners likewise in this decisive action; all which he released, upon their taking the oath of fidelity to *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, *Al Walid*'s sons, who had remained in a state of confinement ever since their father had met with his tragical fate, at *Damascus*. But this, in reality, proved not of the least service to those unfortunate princes. For, *Solimân* being well assured of *Merwân*'s intention to fix one of them upon the *Moslem* throne, he no sooner arrived at *Damascus*, than he and *Ibrahim* ordered both of them to be put to death; after which, he plundered the imperial treasury, and then, notwithstanding the measures concerted to intercept him, made his escape. However, *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, foreseeing what would happen to them, before

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 351. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 107.

their



a their deaths, took care to transfer their right to *Merwân*, and declared to their fellow-prisoner *Abu Mohammed Al Sbeibâni*, that, in case they should be destroyed, *Merwân* ought to be considered by all the *Moslems* as lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Soon after *Solimân's* departure, the citizens of *Damascus* opened their gates to *Merwân*, who caused the bodies of the two young princes to be decently interred, and was saluted *Khalif* by *Abu Mohammed Al Sbeibâni*, now released from his confinement, in consequence of the declaration that to him had been formerly made. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, the deposed *Khalif*, and all the people of *Syria*, at the same time recognized his authority; so that there was no person in the empire capable of disputing his title, or in any respect of standing in competition with him <sup>p</sup>.

b As *Ibrahim* so readily acknowledged *Merwân* emperor of the *Moslems*, he survived this revolution, and lived to the year of the *Hejra* 132; when, as some say, he was assassinated by one *Nû'ûn*; or, according to others, was drowned; or, lastly, as others will have it, was murdered by *Merwân's* son, who is said afterwards to have affixed his body to a gibbet, or cross; so that we have no certain account of the circumstances attending the death of this prince. With regard to his person, he had small whiskers, or mustaches, not unlike those of his predecessor *Yezid*, and two pretty remarkable locks of curled hair. He was, according to the same authors followed by *Al Makîn*, of a stupid and imprudent disposition. His secretary of state was *Dukas Ebn Sarah Al Lakbmi*; his judge *Othmân Ebn Omar Al Timi*; and his chamberlain, *Katri*, *Al Walid's* servant. The inscription of his seal was, *I trust in the living God*. He reigned, according to *Al Makîn* and *Abu'l Faraj*, only sixty-nine or c seventy days; so that, by some writers, he is not ranked amongst the *Khalifs*, or *Moslem* emperors, as has been already observed. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Thursday*, and the last *Tuesday*. We are told by *Ebn Shobnah*, that this *Ibrahim* was surnamed *Al Makblû*, or *the deposed*. He has likewise been mentioned by *Khondemir*, as a person intirely reduced to a private station. Another of the *Persian* historians relates, that he was cut off about three months after he was driven from the throne; tho', in our opinion, a greater degree of credit is due to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who extends his life, as has been hinted above, to the 132d year of the *Hejra* <sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 87, 88. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 212. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. in art. *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, p. 480. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 88. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 212. EBN SHOHNAB, KHONDEMIR, AUT. LEB TARIKH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, D'HERBEL. biblioth. Orient. in art. *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, p. 480.

## S E C T. XX.

d S O O N after *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem's* accession, he took his predecessor *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, and *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, at their request, under his protection; tho' the latter, with several others of the house of *Ommiyah*, not only refused to assist at his inauguration, but even at first opposed, to the utmost of his power, every step taken by the people of *Damascus* in favour of the new *Khalif*. His mother's name, according to *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Makîn*, who make her the daughter of one *Ibrahim Ebn Asir Al Nakba'i*, was *Liana*. She was, as *Eutychius* informs us, *Mosab Ebn Zobeir's* widow, when *Mohammed*, *Merwân's* father, took her to wife. The *Khalif* was surnamed *Abu Abd'almâlec*, and denominated, from his undaunted courage, by some of his subjects, *Himar Al Jézirab*, i. e. *the ass of Mesopotamia*, or *the warlike ass*; the asses of that country being, in his days, remarkable for their unparalleled fortitude and intrepidity. He had e likewise the appellation of *Al Jaadi*, which is said to have been derived from his uncle *Al Jaad Ebn Darham*. He was scarce settled on his throne, when he conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Hasan Ebn Abahia*; whom he removed from that honourable post in about sixteen days time, and substituted *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* in his room <sup>r</sup>.

f THE same year, that is, the 127th of the *Hejra*, the people of *Hems* rebelled against *Merwân*; who marched against them at the head of a powerful army. Upon his arrival before the town, he desired to know what could excite them to such a defection, and summoned them to surrender. In answer to which, they assured him, that they were disposed to obey his orders; and, opening one of their gates, immediately admitted him, with 300 of his men, into the town. The troops that entered with him they instantly cut to pieces; and the *Khalif* himself escaped, with great difficulty, out of the gate of *Tadmor*. However, he afterwards overthrew them in a pitched battle, put a great number of them to the sword, dismantled their city, and affixed to crosses, erected for that purpose, the bodies of about 600 of those who had been the most active in this rebellion <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 392, 393. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 89. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. <sup>s</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

THE



The Damas-  
cenes likewise  
declare against  
him.

THE people of *Damascus*, following the example of the citizens of *Hems*, soon after a declared against the *Khalif*, and deposed the governor he had left to preside over them. But, after the extinction of the former rebellion, *Merwân*, moved with great celerity towards *Damascus*, entered the city by force, and brought to condign punishment the ring-leaders who had excited the *Damascenes* to a revolt. This effectually appeased all commotions, and restored the capital of the *Muslem* empire to its former tranquillity <sup>1</sup>.

The Basrans  
also revolt.

Soon after the re-establishment of the public tranquillity at *Damascus*, in the 127th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* set up for himself at *Basra*, where he was proclaimed *Khalif* by the people of that city. In order to support his pretensions to the imperial dignity, he raised an army at *Basra*, consisting of 10,000 effective men; with which he advanced to *Kinnisrîn*, where he was joined by a vast number of the *Syrians*, who flocked to him from all parts. *Merwân*, receiving advice of the rapid progress made by *Solimân*, marched against him with all the forces he could assemble at *Damascus*, and in the neighbourhood of that city; and, at last coming up with him, gave him battle, and intirely defeated him, with the loss of 30,000 men. *Solimân's* affairs being in a manner ruined by so terrible an overthrow, he fled to *Hems*, and was joined there by a body of 900 men, who engaged themselves by oath to stand by him to the last drop of blood. With these troops he posted himself in ambuscade at *Telmair*, on mount *Al Zaitân*, in the district of *Al Maarra Al Nooman*, in order to surprize *Merwân*; who, he knew, must pass over that mountain in his way to *Hems*, to which place he took for granted the *Khalif* would pursue him without delay. As soon as *Merwân's* forces appeared, the rebels rose out of their ambuscade, and fell upon them with incredible fury. But *Solimân*, after a very vigorous action, was again overthrown, had the greatest part of his men killed upon the spot, and found himself obliged to retire with precipitation to *Hems*. But, being closely pursued by the victors, he constituted his brother *Sa'id Ebn Heshâm* commandant of the place, leaving with him the shattered remains of his troops that survived the late carnage, and fled to *Tadmor*. Soon after his departure, *Merwân* appeared before the town, invested it, and besieged it seven months; during which term, he battered it incessantly with above eighty catapults. The inhabitants, as well as the garison, being at length reduced to the last extremity, surrendered to the *Khalif*, and delivered up *Sa'id Ebn Heshâm* into his hands. In consideration of which submission, *Merwân* pardoned the rebellious inhabitants of this city, and took them all under his protection <sup>2</sup>.

A revolt like-  
wise intended  
at Cûfa.

ABOUT the same time, *Abd'allah Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaasar Ebn Abu Tâleb* asserted his right to the *Khalifat* at *Cûfa*. But *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, *Merwân's* governor of that city, having been apprized of the intended revolt, took his measures so well, that he dispersed *Abd'allah Ebn Moâwiyah's* adherents without any great effusion of blood, drove him into the mountains, and found means to extinguish this rebellion before it could arrive at any considerable height <sup>3</sup>.

The partisans  
of the house of  
Al Abbâs be-  
gin to be in  
motion.

BUT notwithstanding the success *Merwân* hitherto had met with, in rendering abortive all his enemies designs and machinations, the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs* began now to grow powerful in some of the interior provinces of the empire. The first of that family, who made any considerable figure, was *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, who flourished in the time of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, and was nominated the chief of that house in the 100th year of the *Hejra*. When this honourable post was offered him, he resided at *Al Homaima*, and his father *Ali* was still living. Amongst the persons who formed the deputation sent him on this occasion, by those who were inviolably attached to the interests of the house of *Al Abbâs* in *Kherasân*, the principal were *Solimân Ebn Kotbair*, *Melec Ebn Al Hatim*, and *Kabtaba*; who brought many valuable presents with them, and a sum of money amounting to 400,000 *dirhems*. At the first conference between them and *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Abd'almotalleb*, the latter is reported to have said, "I shall soon die, and my son *Ibrahim* will be your leader, till he shall be slain. After his death, my other son *Abd'allah*, surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb*, shall preside over you, and settle the government of the *Moslems* upon a solid and lasting foundation. He shall likewise cut off all the members of the house of *Ommiyah*; a family that have maintained themselves so long on the throne by repeated acts of violence, and an incredible effusion of *Muslem* blood." They were then introduced to *Abd'allah*, as their future sovereign, and had the honour to kiss his hands and his feet. As for *Mohammed*, he departed this life in the 125th year of the *Hejra*, and was succeeded in the honourable post assigned him by his son *Ibrahim*; who, immediately after his father's death, dispatched *Abu Hishâm*, a person he could intirely confide in, to *Merû* in *Kherasân*, then the residence of the principal friends of the house of *Al Abbâs*, to notify to his adherents there that tragical event, and to animate

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.  
MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

<sup>3</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL



- a them to a perseverance in their attachment to his person and family. *Abu Hâshem* succeeded in the execution of his commission, according to his desire, and received from the *Moslems* at *Merû* a large sum of money, collected there for his master's service. It appears, however, from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Abu Hâshem* was not the first ambassador sent to the people of *Khorasân* in the interest of the house of *Al Abbâs*; since, if any credit may be given to that author, *Ziyâd* was dispatched in that capacity to *Khorasân* by *Mohammed Ebn Ali* himself, in the 109th year of the *Hejra*. To which he adds, that this *Ziyâd*, upon his arrival at *Merû*, probably the *Maruca* of *Ptolemy*, a city of *Khorasân*, for a description of which we must refer our curious readers to the eastern geographers, made great complaints of the dissolute lives and iniquity of the members of the house of *Ommiyah*; and that he was put to death by *Asad*,
- b *Heshâm's* governor of *Khorasân*, who had received a full and ample account of the whole affair, together with ten of the *Cûfans*, who were privy to his intrigues. The same author likewise relates, that, in the 118th year of the *Hejra*, *Ammân Ebn Yezid*, a person of very loose and impious principles, came into *Khorasân*, and engaged great numbers of the people there to declare for *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*. It must here be observed, that this *Mohammed Ebn Ali* was sixty-three, or, as others will have it, sixty-seven years of age at the time of his death; and that he left eleven sons, besides his successor *Ibrahim*, behind him \*.

- In the 127th year of the *Hejra*, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali* nominated *Abu Moslem*, <sup>And defeat the Khalif's forces sent against them.</sup> a youth about nineteen years of age, of the family of *Isfandiâr*, whose true name was *Abd'alrahmân*, to go as his representative into *Khorasân*. But *Soliman Ebn Kotbair*, the chief of the friends of the house of *Al Abbâs* there, believing that *Abu Moslem*, on account of his youth, was by no means qualified for so arduous a post, and fearing lest his rawness and inexperience should prove the total ruin of their affairs, refused at first to receive him with such marks of distinction as were required by *Ibrahim*, and even to obey any of his orders. However, to set *Ibrahim* right in his notions, *Selimân Ebn Kotbair*, *Labar Ebn Korait*, and *Kabtaba*, took a journey to *Mecca*, then the residence of *Ibrahim*; and, having deposited in one of his servant's hands a present, for his master's use, consisting of many valuable effects, besides 20,000 *dinârs* and 200,000 *dirhems* in ready money, they had a conference with him; the result of which was, that they should acknowledge *Abu Moslem*,
- d *Ibrahim's* governor of *Khorasân*; which they accordingly did. In the mean time, *Nasr Ebn Sayâr*, *Merwân's* lieutenant of *Khorasân*, having received advice of these commotions, assembled a body of horse, and sent them to disperse the rebels before they were joined by the reinforcements they expected from *Syria* and the peninsula of the *Arabs*. On the other hand, *Abu Moslem* having erected his standard, and raised a considerable army, advanced at the head of his forces to attack *Nasr Ebn Sayâr*; upon which a fierce conflict ensued, in which *Nasr* was intirely defeated, lost the greatest part of his men, and was obliged to betake himself to a precipitate flight. This blow proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of the house of *Ommiyah*, and not a little contributed to the elevation of that of *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne †.
- e It may not be improper to observe here, that some *dirhems* were struck this year in the mint erected at *Wâset*; of which one was found on the coast of the *Baltick*, near a village called *Stegen*, at a small distance from *Dantzick*, in June 1722. This *dirhém* exhibits a passage in the *Cûfic* character, taken out of the 112th *sûra*, or chapter, of the *Korân*, asserting the unity, eternity, &c. of God, on the reverse; and, on the other side, the words, *Be-Wafeta seb'en wa'eshchaina wameäten*, i. e. *At Wâset, in the 127th year*. By which we are to understand the 127th year of the *Hejra*, or *Mohammedan æra*, corresponding with the first of the *Khalif Merwân*, surnamed *Himar Al Jezirab*, or *the ass of Mesopotamia*. This *dirhém* has been particularly described by M. *Kebr*, in the piece here mentioned, to which we shall beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers ‡.

- † THE following year, being the 128th of the *Hejra*, *Merwân* removed *Hasas Ebn Al Merwân Walid* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Joweirab Ebn Sabl Al Ajlâni* in his room. He also the same year, which was the second of his reign, made vast military preparations to oppose the rebels of *Khorasân*, who now began to alarm several of the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, and even to threaten the house of *Ommiyah* with utter excision. After the late victory, they declared *Merwân* an usurper, and took the oath of allegiance to *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, whom they asserted, by right of succession, to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Many of the *Syrians* likewise secretly favoured the pretensions of the house of *Al Abbâs*; having been disobliged by *Merwân*, who, after the defeat of his predecessor

\* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 91, 92. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 208, 209, 211. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 184, 185. PTOL. geogr. Vide etiam. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 21.*

† *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 92. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. 2 GEORG. JAC. KEHR, monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 20. Lipsiæ, 1724.*



*Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, had transferred the imperial treasury from *Damascus* to *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*. Some of the *Christian* writers relate, that *Merwân* gained two victories over *Ibrahim's* forces the preceding year; having first overthrown, in a great battle, *Nekaim Ebn Tebith*, in the plains of *Gara*, and afterwards *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, upon a spot of ground at a small distance from the river *Lita*. After this last defeat, *Merwân*, according to one of these writers, made himself master of *Hems*, affixed *Yezid's* body, which he ordered to be taken out of the tomb where it had been interred, to a gibbet or cross, and extorted from a wealthy *Jew* an immense sum of money, amounting to 400,000 *dinârs*. *Merwân* also, if we will believe *Roderic of Toledo*, sent one *Thoaba*, an *Arab* of distinction, this year to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

**Abu Moslem** IN the 129th year of the *Hejra*, beginning September 22d, 746, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed* <sup>b</sup> sent *Abu Moslem* a banner, which he called *Al Thell*, or *the shadow*, and a royal or imperial standard, stiled by him *Al Sahab*, or *the cloud*. These *Abu Moslem* fixed upon two lances, and ordered them to be carried before him, whilst he proclaimed his master rightful emperor of the faithful, and *Imâm*; and published in the principal places of *Khorasân* the title and pretensions of the house of *Al Abbâs* to the *Khalifat*. Of the names *shadow* and *cloud* he assigned to the people of *Khorasân* this interpretation, viz. "That as the earth <sup>c</sup> would never be uncovered by the clouds, nor quite void of shade; so the world would never henceforth be without a *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*." In fine, *Abu Moslem* brought this year such a formidable force into the field, that the *Khalif's* troops could not make head against him; so that he obliged all *Merwân's* commandants of fortresses in *Khorasân* either to take an oath of fidelity to *Ibrahim*, or within a limited time to quit that vast province <sup>a</sup>.

**Merwân ex-** THE next year, being the 130th of the *Hejra*, one *Dachac*, or rather *Dakhâk*, together <sup>d</sup> with one *Yâcup*, or *Jacob*, *Kaibari*, and *Sakasbi*, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, rebelled against *Merwân* in *Mesopotamia*. These rebels assembled such a powerful army in the neighbourhood of mount *Izla*, that they engaged the *Khalif's* forces sent against them at *Telmâsrita*; but were overthrown with prodigious slaughter, leaving the greatest part of their men behind them dead upon the spot. *Theophanes* relates, that this *Dakhâk* was prince of the *Arurite*, an *Arab* nation settled in *Mesopotamia*, who, in their wars, left their wives and children, and all their effects, behind them, that they might march with the greater <sup>e</sup> expedition, and be the more at liberty to engage the enemy, as being then quite *free* from all impediments. And this, indeed, the name *Arurita* itself sufficiently points out to us; it having been undoubtedly deduced from the *Syriac* word *Arurojuto*, or rather *Hiruto*, which denotes *liberty* or *freedom* in the *Syriac* language. Nor is it to be wondered at, that some *Syriac* terms should be used by the *Arabs*, who were now in possession of *Mesopotamia*; since the language of that country was at this time a mixture of the *Syriac* and *Arabic*. *Theophanes* also writes, that one *Thebit*, or *Ebn Tebith*, had a great hand in exciting the *Arabs* of *Mesopotamia* to this revolt; and that both he and *Dakhâk*, together with 12,000 of their men, were cut to pieces by the *Khalif's* troops in the territory of *Hems*. He farther observes, that *Merwân* permitted the *Christians* of *Antioch*, upon their application to him for this <sup>e</sup> favour, to elect for their patriarch *Theophylact*, a presbyter of *Edeffa*, in the room of their former patriarch *Stephen*, who died this year. The *Khalif* also commanded his subjects to treat with all possible marks of respect the new patriarch, if we will believe *Cedrenus* and this author. It likewise appears from *Theophanes*, that *Merwân*, about this time, ordered one of his executioners, an *Ethiopian*, to suffocate *Aba*, or *Abas*, a magician, who had destroyed many of the *Christians*, been accessory to the murder of the *Khalif Al Walid II.* and committed dreadful depredations in several of the provinces, in a sack of unslaked lime; which act of justice he accordingly performed. It is also said, that *Merwân* ordered 120 *Calbites*, or *Arabs* of the tribe of *Calb*, called *Chalbanians* by *Theophanes*, probably on account of their attachment to the house of *Al Abbâs*, to be hanged at *Hems*. We are told by *Roderic of Toledo*, <sup>f</sup> that *Thoaba* died, and was succeeded by one *Tufes*, towards the conclusion of the last, or the beginning of the present year, in *Spain* <sup>b</sup>.

**The friends of** THE same year, *Abu Moslem* entered *Merû* with his army, and seized upon the imperial <sup>a</sup> palace there. He also obliged all the troops posted in and about that city, as well as in other parts of *Khorasân*, to take an oath to support the interests of the house of *Hâshem*, *Abbâs* make a farther progress.

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Marwan*. II. p. 558. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 351. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107. ut & ipse Jos. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. histor. Osrhoen. & Edessen. ex nummis illustrat. p. 279. Petropoli, 1734. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xvii. p. 16. <sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107, 108. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 353, 354. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 461. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 280. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.



- a without naming any particular person. As *Abu Moslem* had found means to cut off almost all the officers who served under *Nasr Ebn Sayâr*, and intirely ruined the troops he commanded in the general action, which proved so fatal to the partisans of the house of *Ommiyab*, *Merwân's* governor of *Khorasân* found it impossible to bring another army into the field against the rebels before the present year. But *Nasr* having now assembled his forces, he advanced to *Naisabour*, in order to attack *Kabtaba*, who had taken upon himself the command of *Ibrahim's* troops. The vicinity of the two armies, as neither of them was disposed to continue long in a state of inaction, brought on several very fierce engagements, wherein *Nasr* was generally worsted, and lost 30,000 men, killed and taken prisoners; which still more and more animated the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs*. From *Naisabour* *Kabtaba*
- b marched to *Jurjân*, *Jurjâna*, or *Georgiana*, the capital of a province of the same name, attacked *Banâna Ebn Hantbala*, who had posted himself with a body of troops near that city, overthrew him with great slaughter, made himself master of his camp, and took a very considerable quantity of plunder. As for *Banâna* himself, he was killed in the action; which still farther embarrassed the *Khalîf's* affairs. With regard to the province and city of *Jurjân*, or *Jurjâna*, some of the eastern geographers make them to appertain to *Taberistân*, others to *Khorasân*, and others to *Khowarazm*; they being situated upon the frontiers of all those countries. But *Abu'lfeda*, with whom we are disposed to agree in this particular, asserts them to be separated and distinct from every one of those regions; and is followed herein by most of the oriental geographers of a later date. For a farther description of the province of *Jurjân*, or *Jurjâna*, and its capital, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Golius*, who in this point, as well as many others of a similar nature, will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>c</sup>.

- It may not be improper to observe here, that, according to *Theophanes*, *Dakhâk's* rebellion was extinguished, in the fifth year of *Constantine Copronymus*; tho', in this, he runs counter to what has been advanced by *Dionysius Telmarenis*. The former of those authors has likewise, as well as *Cedrenus*, remarked, that the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, encouraged by the dissensions that then reigned amongst the *Arabs*, made an impression upon *Syria* and *Dulichia*, with a powerful army, the same year: though neither of those writers has handed down to us the particulars of that expedition. There happened several insurrections, if we will believe *Roderic of Toledo*, this year in *Spain*; many of the *Arabs* there being highly dissatisfied with the conduct of *Yusef*, who had succeeded *Thoaba*, a warlike and magnanimous commander, in the government of that fertile and opulent region. This, as the same writer observes, occasioned a vast effusion of human blood; tho' the differences that had for some time prevailed amongst the *Moslems* there were at last amicably composed, and the public tranquillity in every part of that country perfectly restored <sup>d</sup>.

- In the year of the *Hejra* 131, *Nasr Ebn Sayâr*, in order to avoid falling into the hands of *Abu Moslem*, fled to *Raya*, a town, according to some of the eastern geographers, belonging to *Deylam*, but, as others will have it, to *Khorasân*. Soon after his arrival there, he fell sick, and was carried to *Sâwa*, near *Hamedan*, or *Hamadan*, where he expired. About this time, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, attended by his brothers, *Abu'l Abbâs* and *Abu Jaafar*, his son, his uncle, and a considerable number of servants, went on pilgrimage to *Mecca*. As he and his retinue rode on thirty camels richly caparisoned, appeared in splendid attire, attended by a more than ordinary quantity of baggage, and made a very considerable figure; this journey could not long be concealed from *Merwân*, then in the territory of *Damascus*; the inhabitants of the deserts of *Sham*, as well as those of *Mecca* and *Medina*, giving the *Khalîf* immediate intelligence of it. Besides, *Ibrahim's* intentions being already sufficiently made manifest by what had lately happened in *Khorasân*, it was impossible that his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which was performed with so much pomp and parade, could long remain a secret either to *Merwân* himself, or his governors in *Syria* and *Irâk*. This journey, therefore, being soon discovered, the commandant of *Damascus*, by the *Khalîf's* order, sent a detachment of horse to pursue him; which came up with him near *Harrân*, seized him, carried him to that city, and confined him in prison loaded with irons, where he soon after died. Authors, however, are not perfectly agreed with regard to the circumstances attending his death; some of them asserting, that he was destroyed by drinking a poisonous draught, others by the fall of an old ruinous building, and, lastly, others by placing his head upon a poisoned pillow. But whichever of these accounts may be true, he had, some time before he was taken, ordered his brother *Abu'l Abbâs* to retire to *Cûfa*, and commanded all those that attended him to acknowledge him *Khalîf* after his decease. *Abu'l Abbâs*, there-

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, HAMDALLA, SA'ID EBN ALI, AL JURJANI, YAKUT, ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 190, 191. ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. &c.

<sup>d</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 354. GEORG. CEDREN. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jol. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 108. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.



fore, in consequence of this order, had made the best of his way, with his brother *Abu Jaafar*, his uncle, and several of his friends, to that place. There he, with his family, lay concealed, till the troops, who had declared in favour of the house of *Al Abbās*, to whom *Ibrahim* had written and recommended him in the strongest terms, advanced to his support. According to *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, several violent shocks of an earthquake were felt this year in *Syria*; one of which overthrew *St. Mary's* church in the city of *Mebug*, or *Manbij*, and destroyed the bishop, and a great number of *Christians*, who were buried under the ruins of that church, whither they had retired for shelter. It seems to appear from *Theophanes*, that *Merwān*, either towards the beginning of this or the close of the preceding year, dismantled the city of *Heliopolis* in *Syria*, and put all the principal men of that place to the sword. The same author likewise, as well as *Ceareus* informs us, that there happened about this time a dreadful earthquake in *Palestine*, and particularly that part of it bordering upon the *Jordan*, which overturned many churches, monasteries, and towns, and destroyed vast numbers of people. Nay, it appears from those writers, that the shocks of this earthquake, which was probably the same with that mentioned by *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, were perceived in almost every district of *Syria*. It may be inferred from the *Greek* writers, that the imperial fleet surprized that of the *Arabs*, consisting of a thousand ships, in one of the ports of *Cyprus*, about the year we are now upon, and so intirely defeated it, that only three of them escaped. After the extinction of the late rebellions in *Spain*, *Ujef*, tho' of a libidinous and petulant disposition, conducted affairs to the satisfaction of the *Moslems* of that country, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, the present year. We must not forget to observe, that *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, and his family, held their residence at *Hunain*, or *Homaima*, a town of the *Arabian Irāk*, before the late catastrophe happened to him<sup>a</sup>.

Abu'l Abbās  
proclaimed  
Khalif, and  
defeats Mer-  
wān's forces.

THE following year, being the 132d of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 20th, 749, *Abu'l Abbās Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Saffāb*, on *Friday*, the 12th of the former *Rabi*, went from *Abu Mosleme's* house at *Cūfa*, after evening prayer had been performed in the mosque of the *Banu Ayūb*, to his own palace there. The next day, all the officers of the troops cantoned in and about that city, each of them cloathed in black, and mounted on a good horse, with a sword by his side, formed a sort of military cavalcade, and paid their duty to him. Soon after which, *Abu'l Abbās*, with that whole train of the military men attending him, went from his own palace to the citadel, or imperial palace, where he first harangued them, and then received their oath of allegiance to him. This ceremony being over, he sent his uncle *Abd'allah*, with a powerful army, to attack *Merwān's* forces that were incamped near *Tubar*, at a small distance from *Marusl*, or *Mosul*, where that *Khalif* was then waiting for an account of the success of the body of troops he had ordered to march against *Kahtaba*, one of the greatest generals of the age, consisting of 20,000 men, under the command of *Yezid*, his governor of *Irāk*. *Kahtaba* receiving advice of *Yezid's* approach, immediately advanced against him, at the head of his troops, in order to give him battle, soon brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, and obliged him to fly to *Wāset*. Early the next morning, *Kahtaba's* forces passed the *Euphrates*, in pursuit of the vanquished enemy; but the waters of that river being then swelled to an uncommon height, both he and his horse were carried away by the rapidity of the current, and, according to some of the *Arab* writers, never met with; tho', if others of them may be believed, his body was afterwards found. Be that as it will, this tragical event by no means cooled the ardour of his troops, who, under the conduct of his son *Hamid*, continued to pursue the fugitives with so much vigour, that they soon dispersed them in such a manner, that they found it absolutely impossible to rally. After the end of the action, *Hamid* returned with his victorious army to *Cūfa*, and *Abu Mosleme Ebn Al Halal* was declared privy-counsellor to *Abu'l Abbās*. A body of troops was afterwards sent to block up *Yezid Ebn Omar Ebn Hobeira* in *Wāset*; which formed a camp at *Najila*, before they entered upon any farther military operations. The new *Khalif*, *Abu'l Abbās*, whose mother *Rabta*, or *Radiab*, was the daughter of *Abd'allah Ebn Abid*, was cloathed in black at the time of his inauguration, and retired, a month after the conclusion of that ceremony, to *Anbār*, a city of *Irāk*, upon the *Euphrates*, which he made the seat of the *Khalifat*, and consequently the capital of the *Moslem* empire, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*<sup>c</sup>.

Abd'allah  
likewise over-  
throws Mer-  
wān.

Soon after *Abd'allah*, with his army, had taken post near *Tubar*, *Merwān* received advice of the defeat of his forces under *Yezid*, in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*. This bad news greatly afflicted him; tho' he in a short time recovered himself, and resolved to give the enemy battle. A general action, therefore, immediately ensued; in the beginning of

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 354, 355. GEORG CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 462. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16. <sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 213, 214. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 93, 94. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Marwan II.* p. 559. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124.

which



a which the *Khalif* found himself obliged to dismount, in order to make water. But now a second misfortune happened, of much worse consequence to his affairs than the former. For, he had no sooner set his foot on the ground, than his horse took fright, and ran with great swiftness into the midst of his men; who, seeing the beast without his rider, imagined that the *Khalif* was slain at the first onset; and therefore, without taking any care to inform themselves farther in this matter, left their ranks, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Nor could the *Khalif*, though he made all possible efforts to rally them, bring them again to the charge; so that the only expedient he could pursue at this melancholy juncture, was to fly to *Damascus*, then the capital of his empire. But the inhabitants of that city, finding his condition desperate, treated him with contempt, and abandoned him; which  
b unexpected desertion obliged him to leave that place, and fly into *Egypt*; over which country he had appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Al Magbarah*, one of his favourites, after the dismissal of *Yoweirah Ebn Sakl*, to preside, the preceding year. Here he maintained himself for some time; but was at last attacked, and put to death, by *Abd'allah Ebn Ali's* brother *Saleh*, who was sent against him at the head of a strong detachment, in a town or village of *Sa'id*, or *Thebais*, called *Bûsir Kûridas*, on *Sunday* the 27th of the latter *Jomâda*. At the battle of *Tubar*, an incredible number of *Merwân's* soldiers were killed upon the spot, and many more drowned in the *Euphrates*; amongst the latter of which the *Khalif Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who had formerly been deposed, is said to have been by some of the *Arab* writers. After that decisive action, *Abd'allah*, *Abu'l Abbâs's* general, made him-  
c self master of the enemy's camp, where he found an immense quantity of plunder, and pursued *Merwân* first to *Kinnisrîn*, and afterwards to *Hems*. From the latter of those places that *Khalif* fled to *Damascus*, where he met with the reception already mentioned; which obliged him to make the best of his way through *Palestine* into *Egypt*. As *Abu'l Abbâs's* troops continued the pursuit, without the least interruption, a vast multitude of the partisans of the house of *Ommiyah* perished on this occasion; which, as *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* himself was pleased to observe, completely revenged the death of *Hosein*. As for the citizens of *Damascus*, tho' they had so shamefully deserted *Merwân*, they refused to open their gates to the victors; upon which, *Saleh Ebn Ali*, who was sent against them by *Abu'l Abbâs* with a body of troops, entered their city by force, and gave it up to the soldiery to be plundered for three whole days. He also put to the sword *Al Walid Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, *Merwân's* governor of the place, and then pursued his route into *Egypt*. However, before his departure, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, he intirely dismantled that city, and caused the bones of the princes of the house of *Ommiyah*, interred there, to be dug out of their graves, and ordered them all to be burnt. The latter of those authors likewise relates, or at least seems to intimate, that *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* himself pursued *Merwân* into *Egypt*, and not his brother *Saleh*, as the former of them is pleased to assert; as also, that *Merwân* was killed with a lance in the mosque at *Bûsir*, on the last day but one of the month *Dhu'l hajja*. After which, his head was cut off, and sent as a present to *Abu'l Abbâs*; who, at the first sight of it, adored God in a  
d most devout manner, distributed 10,000 *dinârs* amongst the poor, and, in conjunction with *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, his general, returned thanks to the Deity for delivering into his hands his formidable competitor, or, as he was nicknamed by *Abd'allah*, the *Ass* of Mesopotamia.  
e

WITH regard to *Merwân's* character, he is said by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* to have been *Merwân's* a valiant and magnanimous prince, endued with great prudence and thoroughly versed character. in all the arts of government. He sat upon the throne a little above five years, and was sixty-nine, or, as others say, fifty-nine, or, lastly, as others will have it, fifty-six, years of age, at the time of his death. He left behind him two sons, *Abd'allah* and *Abd'al-laziz*; the former of which was afterwards taken, and thrown into prison, where he  
f remained till the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashîd*. He was then released from his confinement, tho' loaded with irons for some time after that event, died childless, and was buried at *Baghdâd*. The first day of *Merwân's* reign was *Sunday*, and the last *Thursday*. His secretary was *Abd'alhamid Ebn Yabya*; the captain of his guards *Al Kawthar Ebn Al Afwad Al Anawi*; his chamberlain his freed man *Saklâb*, or *Saflat*, as he is called by *Al Makîn*; and his judge *Othmân Al Timi*. The inscription of his seal was, *O wise man, remember death*. The *Arabs* express the date of the catastrophe that befell the house of *Ommiyah*, in the person of *Merwân*, who was the last *Khalif* of that house, by the word *Kalb*, which consists of three letters, *Kâf*, *Lâm*, and *Ba*, denoting 132, the number of

<sup>8</sup> GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101. Aut. lib. AL MOSHTAREC, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in Egypt. clim. cogn. ii. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid.



the year of the *Hejra* in which *Merwân* was killed, and the *Khalifat* of the princes of the house of *Ommiyah* intirely abolished <sup>b</sup>.

Some farther particulars relating to him.

SOME of the *Christian Arabs* have pretended, that this *Khalif*, when in *Egypt*, attempted to violate the chastity of a religious there. That saint, continue they, in order to defend herself from the violence with which she was threatened, and preserve her virtue inviolate, offered to give *Merwân* an unguent, which would render the part rubbed with it invulnerable; and begged, that he would first try the experiment upon her. To this the *Khalif* readily agreed, anointed her neck with it, and then with one blow of his scymitar cut off her head; making in this manner undesignedly a martyr of her. *Merwân* is said by some of the eastern writers to have been a greater eater than most of his time. Tho' the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* endeavoured to destroy all the descendants of this prince, yet we are told, that one of them escaped first into *Egypt*, afterwards into *Africa*, and last of all into *Spain*, where he founded the second dynasty of the *Ommiyah* princes, who assumed the title of *Khalif* there. We learn from *Theophanes*, *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, *Cedrenus*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, that the last battle, the loss of which proved the total ruin of *Merwân's* affairs, was fought upon the banks of the *Zab*, a river that has its source between the cities of *Irbil*, or *Arbela*, and *Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, and seems to answer to the *Lycus* of *Strabo*. As *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb's* troops had not only swarthy complexions, but were likewise dressed in black, they were termed by the *Arabs* *Mesûadi*, by the *Syrians* *Uchama*, which words denoted black in the *Arabic* and *Syriac* languages, and *Maurophori* by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*. As the gross of *Abu'l Abbâs's* army was formed of the natives of *Khorasân*, whose country bordered upon *Persia*, they are likewise called *Persians* by several authors. *Theophanes* denominates the spot on which the two armies engaged *Zaba*, and *Dionysius Telmarenfis* *Beth Zabe*; probably because *Merwân*, as we are informed by *Abu'l Faraj*, had, for some time fixed his residence there, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of that place. After the defeat of his forces, that prince fled to *Harrân*; from whence, a bridge having been before thrown over the *Euphrates*, probably near *Batn*, *Batân*, or *Bettân*, he made his escape into *Syria*, and afterwards gradually into *Egypt*, where he met with the above-mentioned fate: notwithstanding which, the *Moslems* still continued, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, to be governed by his lieutenant *Iusef*, in *Spain* <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 94. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 559. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 392—395. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 355, 356. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 108, 109. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 462. THEOPHIL. SIGIFR. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 280, 281. GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 235, 252, &c. STRAB. lib. xvi. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. ubi sup.

## S E C T. XXI.

The governors of provinces appointed by Al Saffâh soon after his accession.

THE same year, the new *Khalif Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb* ordered *Abu Moslema Ebn Al Halâl* to be put to death, for forming a design to transfer the *Khalifat* to the house of *Ali*, or *Abu Tâleb*, from that of *Al Abbâs*. He also cut off *Yezid Ebn Omar Ebn Hobeira*, though he had before promised to take him under his protection, because he had entered into some machinations to fix *Abd'allah*, the son of *Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* upon the *Moslem* throne. After these executions, he conferred upon his brother *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr* the government of *Aderbijan*, as well as that of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*; upon his brother *Yahya* that of *Mosul*; upon his uncle *David* that of *Hejâz* and *Yaman*; upon his uncle *Isa* that of *Cûsa*; upon *Sofân Ebn Moâwiyah Al Mohallebi* that of *Basra*; upon *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Asba'b* that of *Persia*; upon *Mansûr Ebn Jambûr* that of *India* and *Sindia*; upon *Abu Moslem*, who had brought about the revolution in favour of the race of *Al Abbâs*, that of *Khorasân*; upon his uncle *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* that of *Syria*; and, lastly, upon his uncle *Saleh Ebn Ali* that of *Egypt*. The last of which governors chose for his deputy *Abu Awn Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Yezid*. *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Al Abbâs*, after his return from *Ramla*, made a public entry into *Damascus*, in order to take possession of his new government, and exercised unheard of cruelties upon the members of the house of *Ommiyah* there. Some of them he tortured in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, and others he burnt to death. At *Rusâfa*, he ordered *Heshâm Ebn Abd'almâlec* to receive 120 stripes upon his bare back; which separated the flesh from the bones in such a manner, that it all fell to the ground, and was reduced to ashes, by this cruel governor's command; who, at the same time said, "This is done by way of retaliation for the barbarous treatment met with by my father from him, who told me, that he received formerly 60 stripes for no crime at all." By the preceding list of governors and provinces, it clearly appears, that the *Moslem* empire



- a empire was of a vast extent, when *Al Saffâb*, the first of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbâs*, ascended the throne<sup>\*</sup>.

THE following year, being the 133d of the *Hejra*, commencing August 9, 750, the people of *Chalcidene*, a district of *Syria* separated by the province of *Chalybonitis* from the *Euphrates*, took up arms in favour of the house of *Ommiyah*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Hems*; but were overthrown there by the *Khalif's* troops, called *Macrophori* by *Theophanes*, who put four thousand of them to the sword. About the same time, a body of *Arabs* of the faction of *Kais*, under the command of one *Burikba*, formed a conspiracy against the *Khalif*, and cut off a considerable number of the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs*; but they were at last dispersed, with very great loss, by *Al Saffâb's* forces. As the

- b *Arabs* on this occasion appeared in white cloaths, and the *Khalif's* men in black; hence arose the two different factions of the *Whites* and the *Blacks* in *Syria*, that have been taken notice of by several of the eastern writers. However, *Merwân's* head having been cut off, after the last defeat of that prince's forces, in *Egypt*, it was embalmed, and exposed to publick view in the principal cities of the empire; which effectually appeased all commotions. One of the Greek historians informs us, that *Merwân's* army, overthrown at the battle of *Zaba*, consisted of 300,000 men; and that he escaped with only 3000 slaves into *Egypt*. *Theophanes* relates, that the *Arabs* were divided at this time into two powerful factions, which he calls the *Kaisians* and the *Imanites* (A); the latter of which seem to have been either the people inhabiting the province of *Ontân*, or that branch of the *Shiites* denominated *Imâmians* by some of the Moslem writers. These *Imanites*, according to the same author, were superior in fortitude to the *Kaisians*, had before destroyed great numbers of them, and then joined the forces assembled by *Kabtaba* to act in favour of the house of *Al Abbâs*. *Yusef*, *Merwân's* lieutenant, notwithstanding the late revolution in *Syria*, continued this year to preside over the Moslems in *Spain*<sup>1</sup>.

IN the 134th year of the *Hejra*, and part of the preceding year, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* made an irruption into *Armenia* and the neighbouring provinces, reduced the cities of *Melitene*, *Theodosiopolis*, and *Jezira*, carried part of the inhabitants off with him into *Thrace*, and seized upon the greatest part of *Armenia*. It appears from *Theophanes*, that the *Khalif's* officers, about this time, butchered vast numbers of the *Christians* in *Palestine*. The principal events in the Moslem empire during the year of the *Hejra* 134.

- d *Dionysius Telmarenis* relates, that considerable commotions happened at *Maiphercat*, *Maipherchin*, *Maipherasta*, or *Mayafarkin*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, this year. One *Cyrus Ebn Tebitb* advanced from thence at the head of a body of troops into a district called *Culab*, and put seven of the principal men of that district to the sword. Of which the inhabitants of a neighbouring territory, named *Phis*, receiving advice, they fortified their capital, raised what forces they were able, and made the proper dispositions, under the command and direction of one *John*, a *Syrian*, to give the enemy a warm reception, if they should think fit to appear. But, notwithstanding these dispositions, one *Severus*, a native of *Phis*, endeavoured to bring his countrymen under a foreign yoke, and went over to the *Arabs*. However, *John* routed the troops sent against them under the conduct of this *Severus*, and killed the greatest part of them upon the spot. He also defeated *Cyrus's* governor of *Culab*, who had rebelled against his master, and possessed himself of *Elul* and *Phasphasat*; driving him from thence with considerable loss. He afterwards advanced to *Hadar*, escaped an ambuscade laid for him by one *Stephen*, who had been reinforced with a body of *Arab* troops commanded by *Awf*, a Moslem general, and intirely dispersed that corps. *Gregory*, an *Iberian*, likewise, at this juncture, moved at the head of a detachment against the people inhabiting the banks of the river *Hara*, and put many of them to the sword; which induced the members of the canton seated on mount *Say* to flock to *John*, who commanded the forces of *Phis* in no small numbers, in order to enable them to expel from their country the barbarians. The eastern part of *Mesopotamia*, at the same time renounced all allegiance to the *Khalif*, and sent up *Burikba*, who had been defeated the preceding year by *Al Saffâb's* troops, in opposition to him. At *Edeffa*, *Abd'allah Ebn Boktr* assumed the supreme command, after he had destroyed the monasteries of *Cuba*, *Resmat* in *Taisapha*, *Catara*, *Hesma*, *St. Lazarus*, *Beth Maada*, *St. Abel*, *St. Milles*,

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 356—358. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 109. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 394—397. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 12. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 80, 81. RORT. TOLETTAN. hist. Arab. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 175.

(A) Perhaps our learned readers will be better pleased with what has been advanced by *Abu'iseân*, concerning the *Kaisians* and *Imanites*, than with either of the notions laid down here. "The *Syrians*," says, this historian, "were then divided into two opposite factions. The *Al Yamanians*, or *Imanites*, who adhered to *Merwân*

"and the *Kaisians*, so denominated from the *Dabâk Ebn Kais*, their leader, who strenuously espoused the interest of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*." For, that the *Al Yamanians* and *Kaisians* of *Abu'l Faraj* were the *Imanites* and *Kaisians* of *Theophanes*, cannot well be denied (1).

(1.) *Jos. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 64.*



and *Senin*, in the neighbourhood of *Edeffa*, *Harrân*, and *Tela*. The winter this year in *Mesopotamia*, and the neighbouring provinces, was extremely severe; the ground being covered a long time with snow, and the waters with ice. This, in conjunction with several large swarms of locusts, which intirely consumed all the corn, produced a dreadful famine in *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, especially the last of these provinces, into which a prodigious multitude had retired out of the others, for the sake of a subsistence. We must here beg leave to observe, that the city of *Tela*, the *Constantia*, *Constantina*, *Antipolis*, and *Antiochia*, of the antients, was, according to *Theophanes*, fifty-six stadia east of *Nisibis*, and about the same distance, in a southern direction, from *Amida*; and that *Maipheraëta*, called by the *Arabs* *Mayafarkîn*, and sometimes, by way of contraction, in the days of *Abul'feda*, *Barbi*, was a city of *Mesopotamia*, about seven or eight days journey from *Mosul*, denominated, as it should seem, by *Ammianus Marcellinus Macepraëta*, and taken, without any just foundation, by *Renaudot* to be *Tagrit*, or the *Martyropolis* of *Procopius*. It must likewise be remarked, that *Roderic of Toledo* is undoubtedly mistaken, when he asserts *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali*, surnamed *Abul' Abbâs Al Saffâb*, to have been inaugurated this year; since he runs counter herein to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, as well as to the authority of the best Greek and Syrian writers <sup>m</sup>.

As also during  
the following  
year.

THE next year, being the 135th of the *Hejra*, the rebel *Burikka*, having raised a powerful army, advanced to *Dara*; where he was met and engaged by the *Khalif's* forces, who overthrew him with very great slaughter. The partisans of the house of *Ommiyah* received likewise two other notable defeats at *Mosul* and *Akula*; the former of which places, called sometimes *New Nineveh*, and by the *Arabs* *Mawfel*, was a city of *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Tigris*, about six days journey from *Maipheraëta*; and the latter, supposed by *Bar Hebraeus* to have been the same with *Cûfa*, was seated, according to *Sharif Al Edrisi*, upon the *Euphrates*, about six stations from *Baghdâd*. It was denominated by *Abul'feda*, who makes it to have been a small town in his days, *Dair Al Akûl*, and placed by him at no great distance from *Baghdâd*, about ten parasangs from *Al Madâyen* upon the *Tigris*; tho' he takes it to be a different city from *Cûfa*. After these defeats, in which the rebels lost abundance of men, the *Khalif* appointed *John*, the general of *Phis*, who had signalized himself so much on many occasions against the *Arabs* of *Maipheraëta*, governor of a considerable extent of territory in that part of his dominions, and loaded him with presents. His brother *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who commanded the forces employed in the reduction of the rebel *Burikka*, *Al Saffâb* had before constituted governor of *Mesopotamia*. *Salikh Ebn Sabikh*, another of the *Khalif's* generals, undertook an expedition into *Armenia*, and obliged the principal cities of that province to deliver hostages into his hands, as pledges for their future fidelity to the *Khalif*; all which he conducted to *Maipheraëta*. Some of these *John*, the general of *Phis*, soon after came to release; upon which the people of *Maipheraëta* would have persuaded *Salikh* to cut him off by treachery; but he escaped by the favour of *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who took him under his protection. *Stephen*, one of the *Ommiyah* commanders already mentioned, died suddenly this year at *Harrân*. It appears from *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* and *Abul Faraj*, as well as from *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, who has been followed herein by *M. Bayer*, that *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who acquired so much glory by the defeat of the rebel *Burikka*, must have been *Al Saffâ's* successor, the *Khalif* *Abu Jaasar Al Mansûr*, who had been appointed by his brother in the beginning of his reign, the governor of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijân*. For, that his name, as well as *Al Saffâ's*, was *Abd'allah*, may be inferred from all those authors. It may not be amiss to inform our readers here, that *dirhems* were still struck at *Cûfa*; the author of this history having one of them, in excellent conservation, with the following legend and inscription, according to the learned *Dr. Hunt*, in the *Cûfic* character, upon it: *There is no God, but the one only God: He has no companions. This dirhém was struck at Cûfa in the 134th year.* By which we are given to understand, that this piece was coined at *Cûfa*, in the 134th year of the *Hejra*, or *Mohammedan* æra, and the third of the *Khalifat* of *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali*, surnamed *Abul' Abbâs Al Saffâb*. The unity of God, and his superiority over all other beings, intimated by the expressions, *There is no God but the only one God*, and *He has no companions*, by which the *Mohammedans* exclude the Son and the Holy Ghost from a participation of the divine nature, are points deducible from the 4th, the 5th, and the 112th, chapters, of the *Korân*. It cannot be inferred from *Roderic of Toledo*, so often cited here, that any thing remarkable happened this year, under *Yusef's* administration, in *Spain* <sup>n</sup>.

IN

<sup>m</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 358. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 463. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 109, 110. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. in dissertat. de Monophysit. passim. 13M. ABUL'FED. in descript. Mesopotam. n. 241. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. v. c. 26. Aut. chron. Edessen. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. i. p. 273, 395. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 15. PROCOP. Pers. lib. i. c. 8. STRAB. geogr. lib. xvi. PLIN. lib. v. c. 24. RENAUDOT. lit. orient. tom. ii. p. 271. THEOPH. SIGEFR. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 281. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 17. <sup>n</sup> DIONYS. TELMAR. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman.



- a In the 136th year of the *Hejra*, commencing July 7th, 753, *Abd'allah Ebn Mohamimed* Al Saffâh's *Ebn Ali Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, departed this life, <sup>death and character.</sup> either at *Anbâr*, according to *Eutychius*, or, as *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* will have it, at *Al Hasbemiya*, a city erected by himself, at a small distance from the former, if not adjoining to it, on *Sunday*, the 12th, or 13th (for about this authors differ) of *Dhu'lhajja*, the very day that he completed his 33d year. Some writers have, however, related, that he was but 32 years and an half old at the time of his death. He died of the small-pox, and reigned about four years and nine months, according to the best of the *Arab* historians. He was, as to his person, tall, handsome, and of a fair complexion. His nose was a little distorted; but he was portly, and of a very good size. With regard to his disposition he
- b was discreet and munificent, had good parts, and was extremely averse to shedding of blood; though he was obliged, contrary to his natural inclination, in order to preserve himself upon the throne, to massacre a prodigious number of the friends and adherents of the house of *Ommiyah*, besides those he slew in the different engagements he had with *Merwân's* forces, upon the *Euphrates*, at *Damascus*, and in *Egypt*. *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, his nephew, said the usual prayers over him at the time of his interment. As a proof of his singular munificence, we are told, that he made a present to *Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* of 2,000,000 *dirhems* at once; which exceeded every thing of that kind that had been done by any of his predecessors. He was the first of the *Khalifs* who created a privy-counsellor, namely, *Abu Moslema Ebn Al Halil*, whom he caused to be executed for
- c an intention to transfer the *Khalifat* from his family to that of *Abu Tâleb*, and afterwards *Khâled Ebn Barmâc*; those of the house of *Ommiyah* making use of their secretaries of state as counsellors, whom they consulted on all emergent occasions. His judge, or *Kâdi*, was *Abu Leili* of *Medina*, and afterwards *Abu Yahya* of the same city; the captain of his guards was *Abd'al Jabâr Ebn Abd'alrahman Al Azdi*; and his chamberlains *Abu Othmân Ebn Saleh* and *Ebn Ghassân*. The inscription of his seal was, *God is the trust of ABD'ALLAH, who believeth in him*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Sunday*. He had a very tender affection and high regard for the family of *Mohammed*; and was a prince of very pious sentiments. Being one day viewing himself in a glass, and perceiving himself in the flower of his age, he addressed himself to God in the following terms: "O God! I will not say
- d " what *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec*, a *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, used to say; *I am the king and prince of youth*; I pray thee to preserve my life only for thy service, and to grant " that I may enjoy a greater share of health than of any other blessings." The words were scarce out of his mouth, when he heard one of his slaves in his antichamber say to his comrade, " By what I see, there is only five days difference between your age and mine." The *Khalif* was immediately struck with the expression, as much as if he had heard the divine decree intimating to him the certain period of his days; which, in effect, those words did, as he was in a short time after attacked by the small-pox, which carried him off about two months and five days after they were spoken. We are told by a *Persian* historian, that this *Khalif* was surnamed *Al Saffâh*, because he did not obtain possession of
- e the *Khalifat* without an incredible effusion of human blood. In this prince's reign, as we are informed by the *Christian* writers, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* constituted one *Ishak*, a *Christian* bishop, and his particular favourite, patriarch of *Antioch*, and the east, and put to death one *Matratinus*, for not receiving him in that character. That emperor likewise sent an order to the patriarch of *Alexandria* to admit *Ishak* in the aforesaid capacity, or, in case of refusal, to repair immediately to *Constantinople*; with which he did not think fit to comply. But *Ishak* and *Athanasius*, who succeeded him, dying soon after, one *George* was advanced to the patriarchate of *Antioch*; and removed afterwards from that honourable post by the following *Khalif*, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who substituted in his room a *Christian* bishop, that was one of his most intimate friends. In the beginning of the *Khalifat* of *Al*
- f *Saffâh*, several conflicts happened between his forces and those of *Merwân* in *Egypt*; before he could make himself absolute master of that country. The latter of those princes is said to have been extremely cruel to the *Christians* in *Egypt*, frequently threatening to cut off the patriarch of *Alexandria's* head, and ordering a scymitar to be brought him for that purpose; but receiving advice, that *Al Saffâh's* forces, under the command of *Saleh Ebn Ali*, had entered *Egypt*, he immediately passed the *Nile*, took post in the city of *Geeza*, or *Al Jizab*, the antient *Memphis*, and laid *Mesr*, then the capital of *Egypt*, in ashes; together with all the corn and provisions at that time in the place. After which, he seized upon a nunnery, at a

Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. BAR. HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in dissertat. de Monophysit. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. et alib. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ISM. ABU'LFED. in descript. Mesopotam. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 232—235. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 91—95. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 214. THEOPH. SIGEFR. BAYER. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. l. iv. v. cxii. AL BEIDAWI, JALLAL'EDDIN, YAHYA, ROD. TOLETAN. ubi sup.



small distance from *Geeza*, made all the religious therein prisoners, and, amongst the rest, a beautiful nun, whose chastity he offered to violate, in the manner already related. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* seems inconsistent with himself, in relation to the year of *Merwân's* death; intimating in one place, that it happened in the 132d year of the *Hejra*, and in another the following year. Some of the *Arab* authors inform us, that this *Merwân* was a monstrous glutton, and so extremely fond of sheep's kidneys, that he could not forbear wrapping his hand in the corner of his vest, whenever he saw a sheep, and tearing out of it that part; which he devoured immediately. To this they add, that after the ravenous operation, he threw off his vest, and put on another; and that he left above ten thousand such greasy vests behind him. With regard to *Al Saffâb's* age, at the time of his death, though, according to the *Arab* writers, this did not exceed thirty-three years, as has been already observed; yet he was forty-two years old, when that tragical event happened, if we will believe *Kondemir*, the celebrated *Persian* historian °.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 97—100. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 214, 215. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 394—397. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124. ISM. ABU'LFED. in Ægypt. SHAW'S geograph. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petrea, &c. p. 341. EBN SHOHNAH, Aut. lib. BINA KITI, Aut. lib. THECAT. RAOUAT, KHONDEMIR, in Khelassat Al Akhbar. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Marwan II. & Saffah*, p. 559, 730, 731.

## S E C T. XXII.

Abu Jaafar  
Al Mansûr  
succeeds Al  
Saffâb.

UPON the death of *Abd'allah Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb*, his brother *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who, in *Al Saffâb's* life-time, had been declared the presumptive heir of the crown, was proclaimed *Khalif* in the imperial city of *Anbâr*, then the capital of the *Moslem* empire. His brother, who lodged the will made in his favour in the hands of his uncle, *Isa Ebn Ali*, with orders to him to open it, and oblige the people to take an oath of fidelity to the new *Khalif*, as soon as he was dead, had appointed *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr* chief of the caravan of pilgrims visiting *Mecca* this very year; so that the latter was on his journey to *Mecca* when the former expired. This happened in the month of *Dbu'lhajja*, which as its name imports, is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of the grand solemnity there. Upon the arrival of the news of *Al Saffâb's* death, he immediately dispatched *Abu Moslem* to *Cûfa*, to take care of his affairs. When *Abu Moslem* arrived there, in order to oblige the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Mansûr*, and proclaim him *Khalif*, he found that his nephew, *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, had been attempting to usurp the *Khalifat*. But the appearance of this great general, who was soon followed by *Al Mansûr* himself, put an end to all the towering projects of *Isa*, and obliged him to ask pardon of the new *Khalif* for his temerity and presumption; who granted him his life, upon condition that he should always remain in a private station. However, his uncle *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, then governor of *Syria*, was not intimidated by this success; but set up for himself in that country, where he gave *Al Mansûr* much more trouble than his nephew *Isa* had done, as will hereafter very clearly appear <sup>p</sup>.

Hostilities continued between  
the houses of  
Al Abbâs and  
Ommyyah.

IT may be inferred from *Dionysius Telmarenensis*, who lived about the time that the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs* ascended the *Moslem* throne, or very soon after, that several encounters at least, if not bloody battles, happened in *Syria* between the partisans of that house and the adherents of the family of *Ommyyah*, in the last year of *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb*. The particulars of these actions, however, have not been handed down to us; though we may conclude, from the general account given us of them by the aforesaid writer and *Theophanes*, that the troops on both sides committed dreadful devastations in that rich and opulent province. The *Persians*, however, as *Dionysius* calls the friends of the house of *Al Abbâs*, proved superior to their enemies in this war, and dismantled all the fortified towns of *Syria*, except *Antioch*, whose fortifications they left intire. According to *Roderic of Toledo*, three suns, or two parhelia, were seen either this or the preceding year at *Corduba* in *Spain*. It has been observed by *Rases*, that no rain fell there, either this or the following year; which occasioned a great scarcity of provisions, if not a downright famine, in that fertile region, over which *Yusef* still continued to preside <sup>q</sup>.

Abu Jaafar  
inaugurated at  
Al Hishemiyah.

THE following year, being the 137th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *June* 27th, 754, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* was inaugurated at *Al Hishemiyah*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, with all possible demonstrations of joy on the part of his subjects there. His mother *Salma*, the daughter of *Basbar*, who had been

<sup>p</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 215. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, in hist. Saracen. p. 100. KHONDEMIR. ubi sup. ALBERT. BOEUV. de peregr. Meccan. p. 12. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 396—399. <sup>q</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym. non. apud Jos. Sim. Allen an. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. RASES. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 703. Francofurti. 1603.



a only his father's concubine, was born at *Basra*. He was first saluted *Khalif* at a place called *Al Saffâb*, i. e. *the famous, the bright, the illustrious, &c.* from whence he took occasion to predict, that his reign would be glorious, and distinguished by many actions of éclat. His uncle *Ijâ Ebn Ali* assembled all the members of the house of *Hâshem* at *Anbâr*, in order to support his interest before his arrival there. This, at that juncture, he judged a necessary precaution; being apprehensive, that his nephew's title to the *Khalifat* would be disputed by a powerful faction; and that, in consequence of such a contest, new troubles in the interior part of the empire must immediately ensue<sup>r</sup>.

b In the mean time, *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, *Abu'l Abbâs's* uncle, having been apprized of his nephew's death, and that his other nephew, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, brother to the deceased, had been proclaimed *Khalif* at *Cûfa*, came to a resolution not to recognize his authority; and, in consequence of this resolution, caused himself to be acknowledged in the same quality at *Damascus*. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, he thought fit to allege, that when *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, sent him to attack *Merwân*, the last *Khalif* of the race of *Ommiyah*, he declared, that in case he could deliver him and his family from all future apprehensions of that dangerous enemy, who disputed the empire with him, he should be called to the succession immediately after him; and having executed that prince's orders, in relation to *Merwân*, he thought he had a right, in pursuance of the aforesaid declaration, to aspire to the *Moslem* throne. To support his pretensions to the *Khalifat*, he raised a powerful army in *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, and advanced with great expedition to the banks of the *Masius*, at a small distance from the *Nisibis*, where he encamped. *Abu Jaafar*, receiving advice of this rebellion, sent *Abu Moslem* against *Abd'allah*, with all the forces he could assemble in *Persia*, *Khorasân*, and *Irâk*; who, having harassed him, without intermission for five months together, at last brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, and forced him to betake himself to a precipitate flight. This battle was fought on *Tuesday*, the 26th of the latter *Tisri*, a *Syrian* month, answering to our *November*, in the 137th year of the *Hejra*, and of our *LORD 754*. *Theophanes* pretends that this engagement happened at *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*; in which he must be greatly mistaken, as running counter in this point to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, and all the most celebrated *Arab* historians. He likewise seems to intimate, that the victory gained by *Abu Moslem* was in a great measure owing to the bravery of the *Sclavonian* and *Antiochian* troops, that served in *Al Mansûr's* army. He farther gives us to understand, that the *Syrian* troops attacked several bodies of the *Khalif's* forces this year in *Palestine*, *Hems*, &c. and cut great numbers of them to pieces. After the end of the action upon the *Masius*, *Abu Moslem* seized upon the enemy's camp, and made himself master of all the baggage; but, considering them in the light of *Al Mansûr's* subjects, and *Moslems*, he did not put many of them to the sword. As for *Abd'allah*, his affairs being intirely ruined by this blow, he left the shattered remains of his army to shift for themselves, and made the best of his way to *Basra*<sup>s</sup>.

e It will be proper to observe here, that tho' the house of *Al Abbâs* owed their elevation to the *Khalifat* almost intirely to *Abu Moslem*, there had for some time been a considerable misunderstanding between that general and *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. The latter perceiving the former, in his brother's life-time, to be so revered by the people of *Khorasân*, over whom he then presided, that he seemed to be independent even on the *Khalif* himself, would have persuaded *Al Saffâb* to put him to death; but that prince, not being willing to push his ingratitude so far, could by no means be prevailed upon to follow his advice. However, he refused him the post of *Mirhaje*, or chief of the caravan of pilgrims visiting *Mecca*, which he solicited for himself, and conferred it upon his brother *Abu Jaafar*, in the last year of his reign. This not a little chagrined *Abu Moslem*, who thought his important services to the house of *Al Abbâs* gave him a right to any employment he should think fit to demand. Leaving, therefore, the *Khalif's* court in disgust, he could not forbear saying, "that, as the house of *Al Abbâs* were members of the prophet's family, and had possession of the gates of *Mecca*, they might have left him the honour he desired." In order likewise to manifest his discontent, he set out for *Mecca* a day before *Abu Jaafar*, and carried an immense quantity of provisions with him upon the backs of 200 camels, with which he regaled twice a day the principal pilgrims of the caravan; and, after the end of every entertainment, made each of them a present of a vest. The affront offered on this occasion to *Abu Jaafar*, which was highly resented by that prince, afterwards cost him dear. For, as soon as he came to the throne, tho' he retained *Abu Moslem* in his service, as has already been seen, in order to extinguish *Abd'allah's* rebellion, no one of his other governors of provinces being able to assist him with a sufficient body of troops at this

<sup>r</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 100. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 396—399. <sup>s</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant Copronym. 14<sup>m</sup>. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.



perilous conjuncture, he seemed in earnest to meditate his destruction. Having received <sup>a</sup> advice of the total overthrow of *Abd'allah*, the *Khalif*, who was naturally of a covetous disposition, sent an officer that was not present in the action to the army, to bring him a faithful and exact account of the plunder that was taken. This conduct appearing very strange to *Abu Moslem*, he said to the officer with some emotion, "I have hitherto given so good an account to the *Khalif* of the lives and blood of so many thousand men, who have passed over the edge of my sword, since it has been drawn for his service, that he ought not to have doubted of my fidelity with regard to the spoil." Nor was he content with expressing his resentment in this manner. For, instead of marching into *Syria* and *Egypt*, after the defeat of *Abd'allah*, as by his orders he was obliged to do, he retired into *Khorasân*, where he lived for some time in a sort of independency, tho' without any formal renunciation of his allegiance to the *Khalif*. However, at last, either by the artifices of his enemies, or too great a presumption of his own merit, he was drawn to court, and met with a most gracious reception there; though a few days after, he was assassinated by four persons posted in his chamber by *Al Mansûr*, for that purpose. The following detail of the circumstances preceding and attending this horrid action have been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Abu Moslem*, by his distribution of vests among the *Arab* pilgrims that attended him to *Mecca*, and his reparation of the roads, as well as of the fountains and wells of water, so necessary for the refreshment of those pilgrims, had acquired such a reputation as excited the jealousy of *Al Mansûr*, and induced him to resolve upon his destruction. To which he was farther prompted by a letter brought to him by *Abu Moslem*, who set out from *Mecca* before him, and received advice of the decease of *Al Saffâr* upon the road, in which he condoled with him for his brother's death, without congratulating him upon his accession; which extremely irritated the new *Khalif*. Nor did he either stop upon the road till that prince came up, or return to him, as in point of duty he ought to have done; which greatly aggravated the affront, and made *Al Mansûr* more sensible of the contumelious treatment he had received. From that moment he not only hated *Abu Moslem*, but was afraid of him, and could enjoy no sort of rest till he had formed a scheme for his destruction. *Abu Moslem*, on the other hand, was very well apprized, that he had incurred the displeasure of the *Khalif*, and therefore consulted one of his friends at *Raya*, whether or no it would be proper for him to go to court? That trusty confidant advised him by no means to see the *Khalif*, but to retire instantly into *Khorasân*. This he refusing to do, and making the best of his way to *Al Mansûr*'s residence, it was told him, "that he had left his counsel behind him at *Raya*;" which afterwards passed into a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. *Al Mansûr*, upon his arrival, at first treated him with great marks of distinction, and ordered him to refresh himself that night in a proper manner; which he did, without delay. But, the next day, when he returned to court, he was assassinated by four of the *Khalif*'s guards, who had placed themselves behind a curtain for that purpose, and, as soon as *Al Mansûr* clapped his hands, which was the signal agreed upon between them, they rushed upon him, and, amidst his outcries for mercy, and loud professions of loyalty to *Al Mansûr*, immediately dispatched him. Upon his first appearance before the *Khalif* that day, after he had sent for him, he upbraided him with the disrespect he had shewn him, and particularly with having inserted his own name before that of his sovereign in one of his letters, as well as with ridiculing, in conjunction with *Mâlec Ebn Al Haitham*, a letter that he himself had sent him. In answer to which accusations, *Abu Moslem* endeavoured to excuse his former conduct, and, in order to move the *Khalif*'s compassion, prostrated himself before him; but without effect, that prince wishing God might destroy him, if he did not instantly put him to death. He then clapped his hands, and the assassins appeared; upon which, *Abu Moslem* cried out, *Preserve me, O emperor of the faithful, from your enemies*. To whom the *Khalif* replied, *What more deadly enemy have I than yourself?* We find it intimated by *Abu Ja'afar Al Tabari*, that *Al Mansûr* vowed *Abu Moslem*'s ruin, because he had calumniated him; but that for some time he in vain attempted to get him into his power, tho' at last he decoyed him to court, where he met with his tragical fate. The same author also relates, that he was massacred on the 25th day of the month *Skaabân*, in the 137th year of the *Hejra*; and that, after the perpetration of this horrid fact, his body was thrown into the *Tigris*. Some writers pretend, that this great general had an intention to transfer the *Khalifat* from the house of *Al Abbâs* to the descendants of *Ali*, or rather at first to have settled the latter upon the *Moslem* throne; and that this was the principal cause of his destruction. Be that as it will, he is said to have killed six hundred thousand men in the various battles he fought for the house of *Al Abbâs*, and on other occasions, or, as some will have it, that number, besides those he destroyed in his military expeditions. He is also said to have been a great glutton and epicure; to have consumed every day 3000 cheese-cakes, or tarts, and 1000 sheep, besides oxen and fowls; and to have had 1000 cooks, and as much kitchen furniture as would load 1200 beasts of burden. He had three wives, with every one of which he lay only once a year. He was one of



- a of the most jealous and suspicious of mortals, and kept his wives confined in a castle, into which no one but himself was permitted to enter. They were supplied with necessaries through the windows of that prison; and whenever any of them was introduced to his embraces, she rode on a beast that was afterwards killed, and the saddle on which she sat burnt the night after it had been used, in order to prevent any man's ever making use of them for the future. He was indisputably valiant and brave, tho', with regard to his intellectual abilities and humanity, authors are not perfectly agreed; some of the eastern historians representing him as prudent, merciful, and discreet, whilst others of them have characterized him as an officer of a fierce, merciless, and intractable disposition. A certain *Moslem* being once asked, whether *Abu Moslem* or *Al Hejâj* was the better man? he replied,
- b *I will not say, that Abu Moslem was better than any other man, but that Al Hejâj was worse than him.* Some pretend, that he was born in a village belonging to the territory of *Merû*, a famous city of *Khorasân*; others suppose him to have been an *Arab*, extremely well versed in the writings of the antient poets of his own nation, as well as in the moral traditions of the sayings and actions of *Mohammed*; and, lastly, others maintain, that he was originally a slave, and of *Curd* extraction. But however this may be, as he had the principal share in that surprising revolution, which fixed the house of *Al Abbâs* upon the *Moslem* throne, and makes so great a figure in the *Arab* history, we thought it would be highly proper to oblige our curious readers at least with the preceding short sketch of his life and character, as well as a circumstantial account of his tragical exit, here<sup>1</sup>.
- c AFTER the death of *Abu Moslem*, one *Sinan*, a *Magian*, or adorer of fire, of *Naifabour*, Sinan, the the metropolis of *Khorasân*, who had made himself master of *Abu Moslem's* treasures, excited the people of that country to a revolt against the *Khalif Al Mansûr*; but he was soon defeated, Magian, rebels against the Khalif; and is overthrown by though at the head of 100,000 men, and the province reduced to the obedience of the *Khalif*, in the year of the *Hejra* 137, by *Jamhûr Ebn Morad*, who had been sent against him by *Al Mansûr* with a powerful army. That general having acquired an immense quantity of spoil in this expedition, the *Khalif* was prompted by his avaricious temper to send a person express to the army, to seize upon it; which so disgusted *Jamhûr*, that he immediately turned his arms against his master. But *Al Mansûr* having ordered a formidable army to march against him, he abandoned the city of *Raya*, where he had cantoned his troops, at the
- d approach of the *Khalif's* forces, and retired to *Ispahân*, in order to possess himself of that city and its dependencies. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Dionysius Telmarenensis* is guilty of a mistake, when he asserts *Al Saffab* to have died this year; such an assertion running counter to what has been advanced on this head by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Eutychius*, *Abu Jaafar*, *Al Tabari*, and all the rest of the most celebrated *Moslem* historians<sup>2</sup>.
- e THE following year, being the 138th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif's* forces, under the command of *Mohammed Ebn Asbâat*, pursued *Jamhûr* to *Ispahân*, where he had taken post with a body of troops; but, upon the approach of *Mohammed*, he retired with great precipitation into *Aderbijân*. Here, for some time, he maintained himself; but the *Khalif's* army at last coming up with him, attacked him with incredible bravery, and intirely defeated him. Jamhûr Ebn Morad is defeated by the Khalif's forces.
- f *Dionysius Telmarenensis* seems to intimate, that an engagement happened this year in the neighbourhood of *Mesopotamia*, between the governor of that province's son and one of the imperial generals, who had made an irruption into the *Moslem* territories; though we meet with no account of this action in any of the *Arab* writers. On the 9th day of *March*, either the present or the following year, several shocks of an earthquake were felt in *Palestine* and *Syria*, which did very considerable damage. About this time, *Theodorus*, patriarch of *Antioch*, was banished into an obscure part of *Palestine* by the *Arabs*, for holding an illicit correspondence with the emperor, and discovering to that prince several secrets relating to the present situation of the *Moslem* affairs. On this occasion, the *Christians* were forbidden either to build or repair any churches, to expose publicly the cross in any part of the *Khalif's* dominions, or to enter into any religious disputes with the *Arabs*. *Salim*, one of *Al Mansûr's* generals, according to *Theophanes*, invaded *Cappadocia* the same year with an army of 80,000 men; but was obliged to retire out of that country with considerable loss, and without any other advantage than the acquisition of a few *Armenian* deserters, whom he conducted into the *Moslem* territories. *John* patriarch of *Antioch*, *Michael* patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Timothy* bishop of *Edeffa*, *Constantine* bishop of *Samosata*, *Dionysius* bishop of *Harrân*, *Serguna* bishop of *Marde*, and *David* bishop of *Dara*, who was afterwards created patriarch, all *Monophysite* prelates, flourished in the year we are now upon; and *Aibanafus Sandalensis*, bishop of *Maipheraeta*, erected a monastery on mount *Telbesine*, *Tela-d-Besine*, or

<sup>1</sup> KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. ubi sup. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 100, 101. GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 215—217. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. GOLII not. ad Afragan. p. 183, 184. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 360. <sup>2</sup> KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. SIM. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110. ut & ipse Jos. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univ. &c.



*Tel-Befmai*, called afterwards the monastery of *Mar Abbanasius*, about the same time. *Aba* a also, who belonged to the monastery of *Mar Alib*, was promoted to the see of *Amida* in *Mesopotamia*, in the room of *Severus*, who resigned. The synod of *Mabag* seems likewise to have been held in the church of *St. Thomas*, without the town, the present year; at which assisted *John* bishop of *Callinicum*, *Timoth* bishop of *Edeffe*, *David* bishop of *Dara*, *Aba* bishop of *Amida*, *Serguna* bishop of *Marde*, *Atardin*, or *Maradin*, *Stephen* bishop of *Chabura*, *Constantine* bishop of *Samosata*, *Cyriac* bishop of *Tur-Abdin*, *Dionysius* bishop of *Harrân*, *Elius* bishop of *Sigar*, *Paul* bishop of *Tagrit*, *Jonas* bishop of *Be Nuhadra*, *Neadra*, *Necrde*, or *Neardea*, and several other Syrian and Mesopotamian prelates of considerable note. The result of which synod was a schism, occasioned principally by the influence of a monk named *John*, at whose instigation the eastern Mesopotamian clergy chose *John* bishop of *Callinicum* b for their patriarch; whilst those seated at *Mosul*, and in the western parts, elevated one *George*, not then upon the spot, to that honourable post. It seems to appear from *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that the *Angli*, or *English*, laid waste, about the 134th year of the *Hejra*, the borders of the *Moslem* conquests in *Spain* w,

A prince of the house of Om-miyah acknowledged Khalif in Spain.

In the 139th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Abd'almallec Ebn Merwân*, after the intire ruin of his family in *Asia*, arrived in *Spain*. The fugitive prince, at this time about twenty-eight years of age, was recognized by the *Arabs* of that country for lawful *Khalif* of the west, and is said to have reigned thirty-two years and several months; leaving his crown, according to some of the eastern writers, to his son *Heshâm*, in the 172d year of the *Hejra*. He erected the great mosque at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, about two years before his death; and founded a monarchy, that remained near 200 years. The *Spanish* chronicle informs us, that he was surnamed *Al Adel*, or the *Just*; and that he left eleven sons and nine daughters behind him. We must not forget to observe, that *Rases* has placed *Abd'alrahmân's* arrival in *Spain* in the preceding year. That prince assumed to himself the title of *Emir Al Mûmenin*, or emperor of the faithful, of *Spain*, and king of *Corduba*; and, after the defeat of *Yusef*, in the year of the *Hejra* 142, asserted his independency, and refused to pay any tribute to the eastern *Khalif*. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* is undoubtedly guilty of a mistake, when he affirms *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm* himself, the father of *Abd'alrahmân*, to have been the first *Khalif*, or *Moslem* emperor, of *Spain*; as, in this point, he runs counter to the whole stream both of *Spanish* and *Arab* antiquity. *Al Man-* d *sûr* imposed about this time, according to *Theophanes*, an additional tribute upon the *Christians* in his dominions, which even the monks and religious were obliged to pay, sealed up the furniture of their churches with his own seal; and, that it might be the more easily disposed of, put it into the hands of the *Jews*. Some authors pretend, that the *Khalif* this year issued an order for the reparation and enlargement of the temple at *Meca*; but that this was ever carried into execution, does not from an *Arab* author appear. On *Tuesday*, *March* 3d, a terrible earthquake happened in *Jezira*, or *Mesopotamia*, which, according to *Dionysius Telmarenis*, demolished three considerable towns \*.

The Rawandians attempt to assassinate the Khalif.

THE next year, being the 140th of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 25th, 757, the *Khalif Al Mansûr* sent *Abd'al Wahab*, his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed's* son, with an army of 70,000 c men, to *Malatia*, or *Melitene*, a city of *Armenia*, or, as others will have it, of *Cappadocia*; where he incamped, during the space of six months, and in that time refortified the town, that had a little before been dismantled by the *Greeks*. He also made it a place of arms, deposited a great part of his treasures there, and left in it a garison of 4000 men. He likewise built a castle, or citadel, at *Claudias*, or *Claudiopolis*, a neighbouring city of *Cappadocia*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. But the most remarkable event that happened this year, was the rebellion, or insurrection, of the *Rawandians*, an impious sect, who, according to *Ebn Shok-nah*, held a *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, in the city of *Al Hasshemiyah*; of which we shall here beg leave to give our readers a short and succinct relation. The *Rawandians* were descended, or at least received their name, from one *Al Rawand*; and have been repre- f sented by several of the eastern historians as some of the first who strenuously promoted the interest of the house of *Al Abbâs* in *Khorasân*. But *Abd'allah*, the son of this *Al Rawand*, having been engaged in some disputes with *Abu Moslem*, who was very powerful in *Khorasân*, he came to an open rupture with him; the consequences of which were by no means favourable to *Abd'allah Ebn Al Rawand*, and his adherents, who were intirely defeated and dispersed, and obliged to hide themselves in the most obscure parts of that province.

w KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110, 111. ut & ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 361. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. pass. Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. pass. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16, &c. \* KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. EBN AMID, Chronic. Hispan. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 17. RASES, Hispan. illustrat. ubi sup. p. 703. Francofurti, 1603. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101. ISM. ABU'LFED. hist. univ. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 361. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 111. ut & ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid.



- a From this time to the present year, after *Abu Meslem* had been put to death by the *Khalif's* order, *Abd'allah* lay concealed; but being now freed from all apprehensions of his most formidable enemy, he assembled all his followers in the city of *Al Hasbemiya*, then the residence of the *Khalif*, and, at the head of them, went in procession round *Al Mansur's* palace there, in the same manner as the religious *Moslems* did round the *Caaba*. By this they gave him to understand, that they invoked him as their deity, and scrupled not to pay him divine honours. The *Khalif* being extremely incensed at such an open and bare-faced impiety, ordered an hundred of the principal of them to be imprisoned. This severe treatment so irritated the rest, that, since *Al Mansur* would not be looked upon as a divinity, they were resolved to assassinate him, and substitute another in his room. In order to facilitate the execution of which design, they took an empty coffin to the prison where their companions were confined, under the pretext of carrying from thence a dead body, and released them all. After which, they went in a body to the *Khalif's* palace, with a resolution to murder him; but he, being a person of uncommon bravery, though he was surprized, with very few people about him, instantly mounted a mule, never a horse in this hurry and confusion being at hand, and immediately advanced towards the mutineers, with an intention to sell his life as dear as possible. In the mean time, *Mu'an Ebn Zaidat*, who had kept himself concealed, in order to avoid the *Khalif's* resentment, he having been one of the chiefs of the *Omniyan* faction, seeing the imminent danger *Al Mansur* was in, sallied out of his retreat, put himself at the head of that prince's attendants, and charged the rebels with such fury, that he intirely defeated them. This generosity of *Mu'an* was so signal and unparalleled, that it passed into a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. The *Rawandians* were treated so rudely on this occasion, that they were all, to the number of 6000 men, killed upon the spot; and the *Khalif* delivered from instant death, when his case seemed to be absolutely desperate. However, the affront that had been offered him in his capital city so chagrined him, that he resolved to build a new city upon the banks of the *Tigris*, and fix his residence there. The foundations of which city, known from that time to the present by the name of *Baghdad*, were laid five years after *Abd'allah Ebn Al Rawand's* revolt, and consequently in the year of the *Hejra* 145<sup>r</sup>.
- b
- c

- d THE same year, *Al Mansur* removed his uncle *Saleh Ebn Ali* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Abd'almalec Ebn Yezid* to succeed him in that post. *Theophanes* seems to have had the *Rawandians* in view, when he informs us, that some of the *Persians*, or *Maurophori*, that is, of the faction of the house of *Al Abbās*, after they had dissipated their substance, threw themselves headlong from off the tops of towers, and other high buildings, in order to fly from thence to heaven; which strange and amazing conduct he attributes to demoniacal obsession. Some other actions he also relates of them, which to him seemed to proceed from the same source. The ringleaders of this infatuated faction, or sect, to the number of six, he farther tells us, the *Khalif* ordered to be put to death, after they had been discovered, at *Berxa* and *Chalcis*. It appears probable, from what has been observed by *Roderic of Toledo*, that *Abd'alrahman Ebn Moawiyah* reduced this year *Malaga*, *Seville*, and some other places of note in *Spain*<sup>2</sup>.
- e

- f THE following year, being the 141st of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* deposed *Abd'almalec Ebn Yezid*, whom he had the preceding year constituted governor of *Egypt*, and appointed *Musa Ebn Caab* to preside over the people of that country in his room. About this time, the *Moslems* forbade the *Christians* to write the public accounts of the tribute paid the *Khalif* by the several provinces of his empire; though afterwards, finding themselves incapable of penning such accounts, they were obliged to repeal the order that had been made. The same year, a body of the *Arab* troops made an irruption into the imperial territories, defeated a strong detachment of the *Armenian* forces, under the command of one *Paulus*, that pretended to oppose them near the river *Melas*, and then retired, with a considerable number of captives, after they had put many of the emperor's subjects to the sword, into their own dominions. This year, *Abd'alrahman Ebn Moawiyah* seems to have gained several advantages over *Yusef* in *Spain*, and to have assembled a powerful army of *Spanish Arabs* at *Seville*, in order to support his pretensions to the *Khalifat* there<sup>3</sup>.

IN the 142d year of the *Hejra*, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansur* deposed *Musa Ebn Caab*, who had been advanced to the government of *Egypt* the year before, and appointed *Mohammed Ebn Asad* to rule the *Egyptians* in his stead. Some disputes are said to have arisen amongst the eastern *Christians* about the time of celebrating *Easter*, this present year. At the same time also, or the following year, according to *Theophanes*, one *Theodorus*, a *Syrian*, in the district of *Heliopolis*, rebelled against the *Arabs*, and brought a considerable army into the field.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 217, 218. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 264—269. EEN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. <sup>2</sup> ABU JAAFAR ALTAFAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 361. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TAFARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 362. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.



But the *Khalif's* forces at last came up with him, intirely defeated him, and cut the whole a body of the rebels he commanded to pieces. In the year we are now upon, *Abd'abrahmán Ebn Moáwiyab* likewise overthrew *Iusef* at *Corduba*, pursued him to *Toledo*, and formed the siege of *Veia*, or *Beia*. In fine, this *Iusef* was attended by a series of misfortunes, and at last slain at *Toledo*, by some from whom he expected, and perhaps deserved, a better fate. This we learn from some of the best of the *Spanish* historians. When *Abd'abrahmán*, after the great success he had met with, marched with his army to besiege *Valencia*, the *Christians*, according to *Rases*, being struck with terror, applied themselves to the body of *St. Vincent*, then in their possession, that had wrought many miracles, for its protection, and carried it with them in their flight to the sea-side. These unhappy wretches were afterwards discovered by one *Alibokaces*, an *Arab* of distinction, as he was hunting, and the people accom- b panying him, on the sea-coast of *Algarve*. The men and women the *Arabs* put to the sword, carried the children away into captivity, and left the body of the saint upon a narrow tract projecting into sea, denominated *Promontorium Sacrum* by the antients, and by the moderns, as is said, from this event, the *Cape of St. Vincent*. As for *Abd'abrahmán Ebn Moáwiyab*, after the death of *Iusef*, he seized upon *Corduba*, as well as the famous garden in *Arabic* termed *Razafa*, and made himself master of all the *Moslem* territories in *Spain*. He also cut off *Jirát Al Hadra*, *Beye*, and other *Arab* commanders, who had revolted against him, and assembled a considerable force, in order to drive him from the throne. Of their followers he slew great numbers in battle, hanged some, and put many others to various kinds of deaths; by which means, he perfectly settled himself in the *Khalifat* of the west, restored c the public tranquillity, that had been so long disturbed, and intirely appeased all commotions in the *Moslem* part of *Spain* b.

The occur-  
rences in the  
Moslem em-  
pire during the  
year of the  
Hejra 143.

THE next year, being the 143d of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Asad* was removed, by the *Khalif's* order, from his post, and *Hamíd Ebn Kabtaba* appointed to govern the *Egyptians* in his room. About this time, the repose of a considerable part of *Africa* was disturbed by some tumults and commotions, which were preceded by a solar eclipse that happened on Friday, August 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning. *Theophanes* seems to intimate, that the *Rawandians*, about the same time, committed some disorders in several parts of the *Moslem* empire, and particularly in the neighbourhood of *Basra*. It appears likewise from the same author, as well as from *Dionysius Telmarchsis* and *Cedrenus*, that a very remarkable comet, d resembling a fiery beam, and therefore called by the *Greeks* *docites* (δοκίτης) was seen ten days together in the eastern, and twenty-one days in the western, part of the hemisphere, in the month of *March*, the present year e.

Al Mansúr  
cuts off several  
of the descen-  
dants of Ali  
Ebn Abu  
Taleb.

THE following year, being the 144th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 11th, 761, *Hamíd Ebn Kabtaba* was ordered by the *Khalif Al Mansúr* to retire from *Egypt*, and succeeded in the government of that fertile and opulent province by *Yezid Ebn Hátem Ebn Abu Saffra Al Mohab- lebi*. The same year, *Al Mansúr* got into his hands *Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Táleb*, and some others of the sons of *Hasan*; as he also did *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Othmán Ebn Affán*, surnamed *Al Diybáj Al Motbbab*, whom he likewise found means to decoy. Being informed, that *Mohammed* and *Ibrahim*, the sons of e *Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, had formed a design to dethrone him, he sent out several parties in quest of them; and, in order to discover the place of their retreat, he took with him *Abd'allah*, their father, and all his domestics, loaded with irons, into *Irák*, examined them there, and afterwards commanded them all to be closely confined. He also treated *Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Diybáj Al Motbbab* in the same manner, and ordered him to be scourged with so much severity that he died in prison. After his death, his head was cut off, and exposed in all the principal towns of *Khorasán*; the populace there being at the same time given to understand, that this was the head of *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah*; which step was judged requisite, in order to make them believe that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan* was destroyed, and thereby cut off all hopes from this prince's faction, which was then f very powerful in that country. *Theophanes* seems to intimate, that the *Rawandians* occasioned this year some commotions in *Syria*. *Dionysius Telmarchsis* relates, that *Al Mansúr* sent *Ebn Wabab* with a formidable army, attended by a proper number of workmen, to rebuild the city of *Melitene* in *Cappadocia*, in the 144th year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 761, after it had lain in ruins about eight years; though that city was rebuilt, or rather refortified, by *Abd'al Wabab Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, four years before, as has been already observed. The latter of these historians likewise informs us, that the *Khalif* carried twelve of the sons of *Hosein* (*Hasan* it must have undoubt-

b ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. RASES, ANDREAS RISENDIUS, apud JOAN. VASRUM, in Hispan. chron. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 703. Francofurti, 1603.

c ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 362, 363. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 111. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. bid. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ compend. p. 464.



a edly been in the original, all the remaining copies of that author being corrupted here) with him from *Medina* to *Cúfa*; where he incarcerated them in so strait a room, that they could none of them sit down. The little air, therefore, they were allowed to breathe, soon becoming tainted by the excrements of these unhappy men, with which they were obliged daily to conspurcate and contaminate one another, they in a short time expired. It does not appear either from the *Spanish* or *Arabic* writers, that any thing material happened this year in *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

In the 145th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalíf Al Mansúr* laid the foundations of *Bagdád*, <sup>The Khalíf</sup> the capital of the *Babylonian*, or *Chaldean*, *Irák*, as has been already remarked: To this <sup>Al Mansúr</sup> he was excited by the affront offered him, or rather the assassination intended him, by the <sup>lays the founda-</sup> *Rawandians*, in the city of *Al Hasbemiya*; where they rebelled against him, and besieged <sup>tions of</sup> *Baghdád*.  
b him in his palace. Another reason assigned by *Abu'l Faraj* for the erection of this metropolis, was, because the place pitched upon for its situation was at a greater distance from *Cúfa*; the inhabitants of which city had never been faithful to him; but always debauched his army, and promoted to the utmost of their power a desertion amongst his troops. Besides, the people of *Irák*, who had persisted in their fidelity to him, represented, that, by building his capital on a spot of ground near the confluence of the *Sorat*, or *Sbat Al Arab*, the *Euphrates*, and the *Tigris*, it would be in a great measure secured from the insults  
c and attacks of those who should ever have an intention to dispute the *Khalifat* with him; and that, by being situated, as it were, in the middle of the tract comprehending the districts of *Basra*, *Cúfa*, *Wáset*, *Mawfel*, or *Mosel*, and *Sawáda*, and at no great distance from those cities, it would be plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions from thence, by means of the aforesaid rivers. Having, therefore, chosen, for the site of his new city, a delightful plain on the western bank of the *Tigris*, and the horoscope of a lucky day and moment, by the unanimous consent of his astrologers, he ordered the workmen, assembled on this occasion, and drawn from all the politest parts of the *Moslem* empire, to begin to dig for the foundations of *Baghdád*. The *Persian* geographer places this metropolis in his third climate, and informs us, that *Khosrú*, named *Anushirwán*, gave the plain on which  
d it stands to one of his wives. This princess, who kept great numbers of sheep there, erected on the very spot where *Baghdád* was afterwards built, a chapel, or oratory, which she dedicated to her principal and favourite idol, called *Bagh*; and, according to the last-mentioned author, from this event, gave to all the open country forming that particular district the name of *Baghdád*, i. e. in the *Persian* tongue, *the gift*, or *present*, of *Bagh*. In process of time, continues the *Persian* writer, this chapel came to serve for an oratory and retreat to an hermit of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life; who accidentally met with one of the *Khalíf's* officers, that, whilst his master was riding on the banks of the *Tigris*, full of his new scheme, had strayed a little from the rest of that prince's attendants, and approached the antient structure raised by the princess above-mentioned in honour of *Bagh*. This officer  
e soon discovered to the hermit *Al Mansúr's* design; upon which, the holy man told him, that, according to a tradition which had long prevailed in the circumjacent territory, a city was to be built there by a person named *Moclas*; but that he could not perceive any affinity between this name and those by which the *Khalíf* was called. However, the officer, rejoining his companions, communicated to *Al Mansúr* what he had learned of the hermit, in relation to the erection of a city upon the spot he had chosen; and the *Khalíf* thereupon alighted from his horse, prostrated himself on the earth, and returned God thanks for being pleased to destine him to be the author of so grand a work. All the *Moslems* then present being vastly surprized at this action, as not being able to discover any similitude or resemblance between the names, or rather surnames, of *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Mansúr*, applied to  
f the *Khalíf*, and that of *Moclas*, mentioned by the hermit; *Al Mansúr*, in order to put them out of their pain, immediately told them, that having in his younger years taken one of his nurse's bracelets, to buy with it some provisions for himself and his brothers, who were all then in very necessitous circumstances, she ever after called him *Moclas*, which was the name of a famous thief, or highwayman, very well known in *Khorasán*. To this he thought fit to add, that, as God had been pleased to appoint him by this name to carry into execution the design he had formed, he would not chuse any other situation for his new city than the spot he at present found himself upon <sup>e</sup>.

g BUT, notwithstanding the authority of the *Persian* geographer, the *Arab* writers give a <sup>a farther ac-</sup> very different account of this matter. The spot on which *Baghdád* at this time stands was <sup>cent of the</sup> a fine verdant plain, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and had nothing, before the founda- <sup>tion of</sup> *Baghdád*.

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101, 102. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 363. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 111, 112. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 218. <sup>e</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 217—219. Geograph. Pers. apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Bagdad*, p. 167, 168. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. GEORG. JAC. KEHR. ubi sup. p. 9, 10. See also SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. disc. &c.



dation of that city, upon it, but the cell of a *Christian* monk, called *Baghdâd*. From him, therefore, if this author and *Eutychius* may be credited, the new city received the name of *Baghdâd*. Others, however, inform us, that this monk, whom they call *Dâd*, possessed a beautiful garden, adjacent to his cell, of a very considerable extent; and that the town, whose foundations occupied this, was from thence denominated *Baghdâd*, or *the garden of Dâd*. The first city that went by this name was erected by *Al Mansûr* on the western bank of the *Tigris*; from whence he detached a body of the *Moslem* troops, under the command of his son *Al Mohdi*, to the opposite bank. Here the young prince took post, and fortified the place on which he had incamped with a wall, in order to cover his troops, as well as the workmen employed by his father on the other side of the river from the incursions of the *Persians*, who seemed to have taken umbrage at the erection of a new metropolis so near their frontiers. Hence it came to pass, that the city, or rather that part of the city, soon after built upon the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, received the name of *the camp*, or *fortress*, of *Al Mohdi*; and, in conjunction with the other, on the opposite bank, formed the city of *Baghdâd*. The former of these, as having its streets paved with stones, was also denominated *Rusâfa*; a name that was likewise applied to other places of note in *Jezîra* and *Irâk*. The *Khalîf* had a superb and magnificent palace both in the eastern and western parts of the town, which went under the appellation of *the house of the Khalîfat*, or *the imperial palace*; though the former, which, by way of eminence, was styled *the garison*, or *the royal inclosure*, was much more grand and stately than the latter. The eastern palace was surrounded on the land-side by a semicircular wall, that had six gates; the principal of which seems to have been that called *the gate of the prefects*, whose entrance was generally kissed by the princes and embassadors that came to the *Khalîf's* court. Some writers are greatly mistaken, when they make *Baghdâd* to have occupied the spot on which the ancient *Babylon* stood; since the former seems to have been erected upon the foundations of *Seleucia*, and to have been divided by the *Tigris* in the same manner that the latter was by the *Euphrates*. Besides, there is a village, according to the oriental geographers, upon the *Euphrates*, called *Babel*, considerably to the north of *Baghdâd*, near which the traces of a very large city, supposed with greater reason to have been *Babylon*, are still to be seen; whereas nothing of that kind appears in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*. The deflection of the gates of the interior from those of the exterior city induced the *Arabs*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, to denominate the place *Zauraa*, that is, *oblique*, *crooked*, &c. tho' others pretend, that the obliquity of the *Kebla* of its principal mosque gave this metropolis that name. For, the city, at least that part of it erected on the western bank of the *Tigris*, was intirely round; the *Khalîf's* palace being, as it were, in the centre of it, and having annexed to it the great mosque, whose *Kebla* was oblique, infomuch that the *Moslems* performing their devotions here turned their faces towards the gate of *Basra*. With respect to the eastern part of *Baghdâd*, we find it intimated by the oriental writers, that it consisted of an interior and exterior town; each of which was surrounded by a wall; and consequently, that the eastern city, or principal part of *Baghdâd*, had appertaining to it both an interior and exterior wall. For some time, after the foundations were laid, the work went on but slowly. For, *Abu Jaafar*, intending to demolish *Al Madâyen*, that had formerly been the residence of the kings, or *Shâhs*, of *Persia*, surnamed *Khosrû*, and to make use of the materials of the buildings in the erection of his new city, upon consideration, found that he could not advance very briskly in that demolition; as the stones were of so wonderful a size, and the towers and walls of so surprising a height, that it would require much time, as well as a very large expence, to level with the ground all the fabrics there, and transport all the materials, of which those noble edifices were composed, from thence to *Baghdâd*. Besides, he considered, that it would be no small reproach to him to have it said, that he could not finish the metropolis upon which his workmen were then employed, without destroying such a pile of buildings as could scarce be paralleled in the whole world; and this induced him at last intirely to abandon his first design. To which we may add, that the demolition of *Al Madâyen*, had he finally resolved upon it, would have been not a little retarded by the commotions that happened in his empire this very year; of which we have been obliged with the following accounts by some of the best *Arab* historians<sup>f</sup>.

Mohammed  
Ébn Abd'al-  
lah Ébn Al  
Hasan rebels,  
and is cut off  
by the Khalîf's  
forces.

Soon after the *Khalîf Al Mansûr* began to lay the foundations of *Baghdâd*, in the 145th year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ébn Abd'allah Ébn Al Hasan Ébn Al Hosein Ébn Ali Ébn Abu Tâleb*, whose head the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs* had pretended to expose in all the principal places of *Khorasân*, the preceding year, was proclaimed *Khalîf* at *Medina*, and assumed the surname of *Al Mohdi*. In order to support his pretensions to the *Khalîfat*, he

<sup>f</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TAAER. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 102. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. SHARIF AL EDRISI, p. 204. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122, 123. LAM. ABU'LFED. in Irâk. ALU. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.



- a assembled an army of 100,000 men; but, upon the approach of *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, whom *Al Mansûr* sent against him, the greatest part of his forces dispersed of their own accord, and the rest retired to the deep ditch, or intrenchment, which the prophet himself had ordered to be dug round *Medina*, by the advice of *Salmân*, the *Persian*, for the security of the city, and which *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, on this occasion, caused to be immediately repaired. However, receiving advice, that *Isa* was marching against him, he drew his troops out of the intrenchment, dismissed as many of them as were unwilling to engage, and with the rest, amounting to about 300 men, came to a general action with the *Khalîf's* forces; but being overthrown, he was so closely pursued by *Isa*, that the latter, at the head of his horse, entered the town, and, without much difficulty, made himself master of it. He also put *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan* himself to the sword, and cut off his head; which he sent as a present to *Al Mansûr*, who immediately ordered it to be carried in triumph through the principal provinces of the empire. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, who pretended to dispute the *Khalîfat* with *Al Mansûr*, is said to have lost his life at *Medina*, the present year, in the month of *Ramadân* <sup>e</sup>.

THE same year, *Ibrahim Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* caused himself to be saluted *Khalîf* at *Basra*, and obliged the people of that city to take an oath of fidelity to him. He likewise seized upon *Persia* and *Abwâz*; and, in order to maintain himself in the possession of the provinces that had submitted to him, he also took the field with an army of 100,000 men. But the *Khalîf's* nephew, *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, at last, after the defeat of *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, coming up with him, engaged him, put his forces to flight, and dispersed them in such a manner, that they could never afterwards rally, nor make head against him. As for *Ibrahim* himself, he perished in the action; after the end of which, his head was cut off, and sent by the general to *Al Mansûr*, who received it with all possible demonstrations of joy. Thus the *Khalîf*, by his prudence and bravery, or rather the valour and conduct of *Isa*, appeased those commotions that threatened destruction to his family, in the year of the *Hejra* 145, which enabled him to resume the great work he had begun on the banks of the *Tigris*, and to give law to all his domestic enemies that had for some time been meditating a revolt <sup>h</sup>.

- WE must not forget to observe, that the great success which attended *Al Mansûr's* arms in this glorious campaign, has been mentioned by *Theophanes*; who informs us, that the troops employed by that prince in the reduction of the rebels to his obedience, whom he calls inhabitants of the desert, amounted to about 80,000 men. He likewise relates, that the *Turks*, passing the *Caspian* straits, made an irruption into *Armenia*, killing many of the natives of that country, and taking a considerable number of them prisoners, this present year <sup>i</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 146th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 21st, 763, there was a profound calm almost throughout the whole *Moslem* empire; which enabled the *Khalîf*, through the course of this year, to continue, without interruption, the building of *Baghdâd*. However, if we will believe *Theophanes*, the *Turks*, in the beginning of it, made a second irruption, through the *Caspian* straits and *Iberia*, into the *Moslem* territories; but being met by a body of *Arab* troops, an engagement ensued, in which many on both sides were slain. We are likewise informed by the same writer, that *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, having been before appointed to succeed the *Khalîf*, was, by the following artifice, deprived of his reverfional right to the *Khalîfat*. *Al Mansûr* bribed his physician to give *Isa* a violent and soporiferous sternutatory medicine, in order to cure him of the megrim and vertigo, with which he was grievously troubled. This, continues our author, produced the desired effect; depriving *Isa*, for three days, of his senses, and rendering him intirely incapable of holding the reins of government; which being observed by the *Moslem* nobles and generals, who had been assembled by *Al Mansûr* for that purpose, they unanimously agreed to call *Al Mohdi*, the *Khalîf's* son, to the succession, after his father's death. However, *Isa*, afterwards coming to himself, and recovering the use of his reason, received a large quantity of gold from the *Khalîf*; which he considered as a sort of recompence for the injury that had been offered him. That some particular circumstances mentioned in this story might have really happened, we shall not take upon us absolutely to deny; but that the whole relation is strictly true, we are by no means disposed to believe, since we are assured by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that *Isa* was removed from the succession after the death of *Al Mansûr*, the right to which had before been granted him, and declared the apparent heir to the crown after *Al Mohdi*, the following year, not without much squabbling and altercation. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* writes, that there was a dreadful inundation of the *Tigris*, which almost intirely

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFID. de vit. Mohammed. p. 75—77. AL BOKHARI, AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 168. <sup>h</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 102, 103. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 168. <sup>i</sup> THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 364.

destroyed



destroyed the city of *Mosul*, and all the neighbouring towns, in the month of *March*; this a present year <sup>k</sup>.

Abd'allah  
Ebn Ali de-  
stroyed by the  
Khalif.

THE next year, which was the 147th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mansûr* got *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, his uncle, who had rebelled against him, and been overthrown by *Abu Moslem* near *Nisibis*, in *Mesopotamia*, into his hands, and destroyed him in the following manner. The *Khalif* invited him to his court, swearing at the same time that he would not hurt him. This induced *Abd'allah* to leave the city of *Basra*, whither he had retired, and lived in obscurity with his brother *Solimân*, and come immediately to *Al Mansûr*'s residence. Soon after his arrival, the *Khalif* ordered a house to be built for him, whose foundations should consist chiefly of salt. Which being done, a vast quantity of water was, by his order, poured upon them. This occasioned the fall of that house upon *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, who was b thereby crushed to pieces soon after he had taken possession of it <sup>l</sup>.

Other contin-  
gencies about  
the same time.

THE same year, according to *Theophanes*, some disturbances happened in the desert of *Palmyra*; tho' the particular circumstances attending these troubles he has not handed down to us. The *Khalif* likewise, if we will believe this writer, ordered all the crosses upon the tops of churches to be taken down; would not permit the *Christians* to hold nightly meetings, nor to teach their children to read, and discovered a strong disposition to have proceeded to a formal persecution. About the same time, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, there was a grievous murrain in *Mesopotamia*, that proved fatal to vast numbers of cattle there. Soon after the death of *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, *Abu Abd'allah Jaafar Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* died at *Medina*. It has been already c observed, that *Al Mansûr* called his son *Al Mohdi*, after him, to the succession, in prejudice to his nephew *Isa*, who had been before declared his immediate successor, but was now appointed to mount the throne after *Al Mohdi*, though not without some difficulty, likewise this year <sup>m</sup>.

The workmen  
still employed  
at Baghdâd.

IN the 148th year of the *Hejra*, the workmen employed in the erection of *Baghdâd* continued their operations; and that with so much diligence and success, that they had well-nigh put the last hand to the new city. This year, six stars seemed to fall from heaven, in the month of the latter *Canun*, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*; who likewise informs us, that *Severus*, bishop of *Amida*, died on the 14th day of the month *Adar*, and was buried in a monastery where he had resided a considerable time. We must beg leave to observe d here, that the *Syrian* month called the latter *Canun* answers to *January*, as does *Adar* to *March*. Nothing remarkable seems to have happened this year either in *Africa* or *Spain* <sup>n</sup>.

Baghdâd  
finished.

THE following year, being the 149th of the *Hejra*, the famous city of *Baghdâd* upon the *Tigris*, the capital of the *Moslem* empire, was finished. That part of it, situated upon the western bank of the *Tigris*, is said to have cost the *Khalif* 4,000,000 *dinârs*; tho', according to *Abu'l Faraj*, he actually demolished part of the *White Tower*, or citadel, at *Al Madâ-yen*, and ordered the materials procured from thence to be carried to the spot he had marked out for the site of his city. However, finding that the demolition of all the buildings of *Al Madâ-yen*, and the transportation of the materials belonging to them to *Baghdâd*, would be more expensive than he at first apprehended, he abandoned the design he had formed. e The city, when finished, was perfectly round, shut up by a double wall, and flanked with a considerable number of towers. The castle, or citadel, was in the middle of it, and commanded every part of the town. Its gates were disposed in such a manner, that those of the first wall were in a sloping and oblique position in respect of those of the second; which disposition, according to some authors, gave this place the name of *Zaura*, or *Zauraa*, i. e. *oblique*, *crooked*, &c. tho', if others may be credited, it received that name from the obliquity of the *Kebla* in its principal mosque. It seems to be intimated by *Sbarif Al Edrisi*, that the eastern city was not built till the *Khalifat* of *Al Mohdi*; tho' we are of opinion, with the celebrated *Goli*, that this town was begun, and even in a manner finished, before the death of *Al Mansûr*. The palace in the western town was called the palace of *Al f Mansûr*, as that in the eastern city went under the denomination of the palace of *Al Mohdi*. The *Khalif* styled his new metropolis *Medinat Al Salam*, the city of peace, either by allusion to the name of *Jerusalem*, or because, at the time when it was finished, all the commotions in his empire were appeased, and almost every nation in *Asia* had submitted, or was become tributary, to him <sup>o</sup>.

\* D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 168. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 366. 367. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 112. ut & ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid. <sup>l</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 369. <sup>m</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut & ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 103. <sup>n</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 168. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut & ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid. Vide etiam THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym; 23<sup>m</sup>. chronograph. p. 366. <sup>o</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GOLII not ad Alfragan. p. 122. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 219. EUTYCH. ubi sup. JAM. ABU'LEFD. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KERR. monarch. Asiatico Saracenic. stat. p. 8—12. Lipsæ, 1724. SHARIF AL EDRISEI. ubi sup. p. 204.



a THE *Persian* historians pretend, that the city of *Baghdâd*, as well as that of *Babel*, or *Who the founder of it, according to the Persian historians.* *Babylon*, was built by the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty, who were no other than the antient kings of *Assyria*; that *Zobak*, who was the *Nimrod* of the *Jews*, first founded this city; and that *Afrasiâb*, king of *Al Turk*, or *Turkestân*, and conqueror of *Persia*, aggrandized it, and named it *Baghdâd*, that is to say, *the garden of Dâd*, or the idol that he worshipped. To which they add, that *Kaikaus*, the second king of *Persia* of the second dynasty, who could have been no other than *Cush*, the son of *Nimrod*, according to these authors, constructed the temples, and the other most antient public buildings, of the place <sup>p</sup>.

WE are told by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who has been followed herein by *Eutychius* and *Whence it derived its name, according to the Arab writers.* *Al Makîn*, that this city received its name from that of the monk, or hermit, *Baghdâd*, in whose garden, and part of the territory adjoining to it, the foundations were first laid; tho' others pretend, that this monk's name was not *Baghdâd*, but *Dâd*. Be this, however, as it will, *Baghdâd* seems to have been raised out of the ruins of *Ctesiphon*, as well as those of *Seleucia*, and was not only denominated by *Al Mansûr*, after the erection of it, *Medinat Al Salam*, or *Medinat Assalam*, but likewise *Dar Al Salam*, or *Dar Assalam*; which appellation was plainly of the same import with the former. Hence it was frequently called by the *Syrians* *Medinat Selama*, and by the *Greeks* *Irenopolis*; both of which are equivalent to the *Medinat Assalam* of the *Arabs*. We find two opinions concerning the reason of the name *Baghdâd* mentioned by *Abu'lfeda*. According to the first, *Bagh*, in the *Persic* language, signified a garden, and *Dâd* was the proper name of the man on whose garden was erected *Al Mansûr's* new metropolis; of both which words the name *Baghdâd* is apparently formed. If we will pay any regard to the second, the spot on which this city stood was denominated *Baghdâd* by an eunuch, sent by *Khosrû* king of *Persia* thither, from an idol named *Bagh*, worshipped in those parts of the east, and the present made him by that prince of the ground on which his temple stood; a gift, or present, in the *Persic* tongue, being expressed by *Dâd*. The same author observes, that *Al Mansûr* derived the appellation of *Medinat Assalam*, which he conferred upon his new capital, from *Vadi Assalam*, the torrent of peace, a name frequently applied by the orientals to the *Deglata*, or the *Tigris*, on whose banks that capital stood. The *Nestorians*, who were in great favour with the *Khalîfs*, transferred their patriarch's see, fixed before at *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, to *Baghdâd*; and the *Greeks*, likewise, according to *Nilus Doxapatrius*, had a patriarch there. But *Abraham*, surnamed *Abraza*, the *Nestorian* patriarch, prevailed upon the *Khalîf* to expel *John*, the *Greek* metropolitan, from thence, in the year of the *Hejra* 300. And *John*, the *Nestorian* patriarch, prevented *Ignatius Bar-chichi*, the *Jacobite Mafriân*, from settling at *Baghdâd*, about 94 years after; tho' the *Khalîf* then permitted a bishop, subject to the *Mafriân*, to reside there. However, *Bar Hebræus*, the *Jacobite Mafriân*, relates, that he spent the summer at *Baghdâd*, and ordained four deacons and a bishop there, in the year of *CHRIST* 1265; as likewise, that *Jacobite* bishops were before that time permitted to fix their residence in this city; and that *Lazarus*, one of them, was deposed by *Dionysius*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, whose conduct in this particular was approved of by the *Khalîf Al Mamûn*, in the year of our *LORD* 829. This great city was the seat of the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, excepting only two or three, from its foundation to the year of the *Hejra* 656, when it was taken by the *Tartars*. Of which surprising revolution, and the principal circumstances attending it, our readers will meet with a full and ample account in the sequel of this history <sup>q</sup>.

BAGHDAD, the capital of the *Moslem* empire for near 500 years, remained in the hands *Baghdâd possessed at different times by the Tartars, Turks, Persians, and* of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, to the year of the *Hejra* 795, or of *CHRIST* 1392, when *Timur Begh*, or *Tamerlain the Great*, took it for the first time from *Soltân Ahmed Ebn Arwis*, or *Sultân Ahmed Ebn Weis*; who, being incapable of making head against the numerous forces brought by *Timur*, after he had subjugated *Persia*, to form the siege of this city, found himself obliged to send all his baggage over the *Tigris*, to cross that river with all his troops, and, in fine, to abandon his capital to the conqueror. He was, however, hotly pursued by one of the enemy's detachments to the plain of *Kerbela*, where several skirmishes happened, and a considerable number of men on both sides were killed. Notwithstanding which, he at last, by his conduct and bravery, escaped the fury of his pursuers, took refuge in the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and afterwards found means to repossess himself of the city of *Baghdâd*. There he remained till the year of the *Hejra* 803, when the city was taken a second time by *Timur*; who, nevertheless, restored it to him, and he continued

<sup>p</sup> LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Baghdad*, p. 167. <sup>q</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 102. EUTYCH. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 167, 168. EBN CASEN, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. i. p. 10. & dissertat. de Monophysit. NILUS DOXIPATRIUS, in notit. patriarchat. Antiochen. GREGORIUS BAR HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 251. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 441, 444, 251. ECCELLENS. in not. ad catal. Ebed. p. 135. Cod. Syr. Nitr. iv. fol. 218. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. ubi sup.



sovereign of the place, till he was driven from thence by *Miran Shâb*, that prince's son. a  
 However, afterwards returning, he was chased from thence by *Kara Yusef*, the *Turkman*, in  
 the year of the *Hejra* 815; who likewise reduced *Baghdâd* a second time, and finally  
 expelled from thence *Abu Becr*, the son of *Miran Shâb*; securing that capital to his family,  
 in which it remained till the time of *Hasan*, or *Hassan*, surnamed *Ūzun*, which, in *Turkish*,  
 signifies *long*, commonly called by the *Europeans* *Ūsun Cassan*, a *Turkman* prince, who drove  
 the descendants of *Kara Yusef* from thence, in the year of the *Hejra* 875, or of our LORD  
 1470. The princes of this family maintained themselves in possession of *Baghdâd* till the  
 year of the *Hejra* 914, or of CHRIST 1508, when *Shâb Ismael*, surnamed *Sîsî*, or *Sôfî*, the  
 first prince of the royal family that reigned in *Irân*, or *Persia*, till the dethroning of the  
 late *Shâb Hofsîn*, made himself master of it. From that time, for above an hundred years, b  
 this city continued to be a bone of contention between the *Turks* and the *Persians*, having  
 been the subject of several bloody wars between those two powerful nations. It was taken  
 by *Solimân I.* surnamed *the Magnificent*; and retaken by *Shâb Abbâs*, king of *Persia*; but  
 being at last besieged by *Amurath*, or *Morad IV.* with a formidably army, it was finally  
 obliged to surrender to him, in the year of grace 1638, and has remained in the hands of  
 the *Turks* to this very day <sup>1</sup>.

Some farther  
 remarkable  
 particulars  
 relating to  
 that city, and  
 the present  
 state of it.

IT may not be amiss farther to observe here, that this city, which has always been so  
 celebrated amongst the *Moslems*, had several other names besides those already taken notice  
 of. That part of it erected on the western bank of the *Tigris* was called *Medinat Al Mansûr*,  
 the city of *Al Mansûr*, as owing its origin intirely to the prince whose name it bore; whilst c  
 that on the opposite bank went amongst the *Moslems* under the appellation of *Asker Al*  
*Mohdi*, the army, or camp, of *Al Mohdi*, for the reason above assigned. As the *Moslems* of  
*Syria* sometimes denominated it both *Medinat Selama*, and *Medinat Selomo*, the city of peace,  
 so it received the appellation of *Medinat Slama*, denoting the same thing, from the *Syrian*  
 or *Chaldæan Nestorians*. The western part of *Baghdâd*, which in after-ages was considered  
 as a sort of suburb, went also under the denomination of *Karkh*; tho' this name seems to  
 have been more particularly applied to that part of the western town to which *Al Mansûr*  
 commanded the market, that had before been kept in the neighbourhood of his palace, in order  
 to remove the rabble to some spot at a greater distance from him, to be transferred. Here  
 he likewise had a bridge constructed over the *Tigris*, to keep open more effectually a com- d  
 munication between this and *Al Mohdi's* part of the town. The name of *Karkh* was after-  
 wards rendered famous by the aforesaid market, which occasioned the erection of a consi-  
 derable number of buildings there. The *Dar Al Khalîfa*, that is, the house, or palace, of  
 the *Khalîf*, in the western town, called *Kasr Al Mansûr*, the palace of *Al Mansûr*, as well as  
 the other named *Kasr Al Mohdi*, the palace of *Al Mohdi*, made a very good figure. There  
 was likewise a palace in *Baghdâd* sufficiently grand, known by the name of *Kasr Al Hasan*  
*Ebn Zohal*, the palace of *Hasan Ebn Zohal*, besides several public buildings erected by the  
*Khalîf Al Mostanser Billa*, and particularly the famous college founded by that prince, deno-  
 minated by the *Arabs* *Al Madrasah Al Mostanseriah*, which, for the beauty and elegance of  
 its structure, the number of students it contained, as well as the learned men it produced, e  
 and the ample revenues settled upon it, has been represented by *Abu'l Faraj* as excelling,  
 in his time, every other house of learning in the then known world. Amongst other  
 students here, there were 300, who applied themselves intirely to the study of the *Moham-*  
*medan* law, according to the decisions of the authors of the four chief sects of the *Sonnites*,  
 or orthodox *Moslems*; every one of which sects had a professor in this college, who had a  
 monthly salary settled upon him, for instructing 75 young men committed to his care in  
 the principles of the sect to which he belonged. Every one of those students had likewise  
 a very handsome daily allowance of all kinds of provisions assigned him. There was also  
 a bath set apart for the use of the students here, and a physician maintained at the *Khalîf's*  
 expence, who visited them every morning, to see whether any of them stood in need of f  
 his assistance. The college had also a kitchen, a cellar, and an apothecary's shop, belong-  
 ing to it, that the prelectors, and the young men educated therein, might be taken proper  
 care of both in sickness and in health. With regard to the four orthodox sects above-men-  
 tioned, it may not be improper to remark, that, notwithstanding some differences as to  
 legal conclusions in their interpretation of the *Korân*, and matters of practice, they were  
 generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of sal-  
 vation, and had each of them their several stations, or oratories, in the temple of *Mecca*.  
 The founders of these sects are still looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and

<sup>1</sup> AHMED EBN ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. Beg. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 526—565. PETR. TEXEIR. AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, OLEAR. AUT. AL RAUDAH, DEMETR. CANTEMIR's history of the Othmân empire, in the life of Amurath, or Morad IV. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Ahmed Ben Awi, p. 149—151. art. Bagdad, p. 168. art. Timour, p. 880, 881, & alibi. MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHNAH, AUT. NIGHIARIST. &c.



a are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of things which belong to the next life, and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is *Al Ghazali's* encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour, that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice. Besides *Al Mesanser Billa's* college, there was another famous college and gymnasium at *Baghdad*, founded by *Moez-addin Abu'l-feta Malec Shab*, the third *Sultan*, or *Soltan*, of the *Seljuks* of *Iran*; and another erected by his prime minister, or *Wazir*, *Nezam Al Molk*; the first of which was called *Al Madrasah*, or *Al Madrasat Al Hanafiat*, and the other *Al Madrasat Al Neze'miat*. In the vast

b number of learned men born at *Baghdad*, may be reckoned the famous *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, the author of the fourth sect of the *Sunnites*, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter. Amongst the persons famed for literature, educated here, may be ranked *Kawam-addin Tusef Ebn Hasan Al Hoseini Al Rumi*, who wrote a treatise in *Persic* concerning the power and prerogatives of princes; *Abmed Ebn Skanfi Al Hadi*, who wrote in *Turkish* the lives of several oriental poets; *Abu'l Abbās Ebn Hamdān Al Kāteb*, who obliged his countrymen with a choice collection of historical narrations, and various elegancies, in *Arabic*; *Moaffek-addin*, who published a commentary upon *Aristotle's* piece *de auditione naturali*, in *Arabic*; *Mohammed Ebn Solimān Fodkūli*, the author of a poem in *Persic* concerning cordial friendship; *Ebn Najjār Meheb-addin Mohammed Ebn Mahmūd Al Baghdādi*, who composed a history that bore the title of *Tarikh Ebn Najjār Al Baghdādi*; *Ebn Haithemab Ebn Zehr Al Neffai*; *Abu Sabal Haithem Ebn Femil Abu'l Barakat*, a physician of *Baghdad* sent for by the *Khan* of *Khwarazm*; *Abu Kerim Sa'id Ebn Al Talmith*, a *Christian* physician of *Baghdad*, who obtained from the *Khalif Naser*, or *Nasr*, the title of *Amino'ddawla*; besides many others, whose names we are not permitted to enumerate by the limits prescribed us here. From what has been

c said, we may conclude, that, for several ages, *Baghdad* must have abounded more with *Moslem* doctors, and other learned men of various kinds, than any other place in the *Mohammedan* dominions, except *Mecca* and *Medina*. It was also extremely populous, and contained several forts, or castles, capable of making a tolerable defence, that derived their names from their founders; such were *Tak Al Harani*, *Tak Al Atrif*, *Tak Al Aki*, and

d others; the principal of which was *Tak Al Asma*, so called from *Asma*, the *Khalif Al Mansur's* daughter, erected on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, in that part of the city to which was more particularly applied the name of *Rusafa*, or *Al Rusafa*. One of the gates likewise of *Baghdad*, that was fortified in a peculiar manner, received the appellation of *Tak*, or *Taka*. The language spoken here was one of the most polite and elegant dialects of the *Arabic*, as there was a greater concourse of nobility and learned men, that excelled in many branches of literature, for several ages, in this city, than in almost any other of the east. After what has been said of the flourishing state of *Baghdad*, for so considerable a period of time, it will not appear strange, that there should have been a mint here, in which a vast number of *dirhems* and *dinars* were struck. At present, tho' it groans under the *Turkish*

e yoke, *Baghdad* is a celebrated emporium and frontier of the *Ottoman* empire on the side of *Persia*, to which not only many merchants, but likewise an incredible number of passengers, travelling from *Natolia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, into *Persia*, continually resort. It is the seat of a *Pasha*, to whom every one of those passengers pays a sort of tribute, or toll, which, in the whole, amounts to a very large annual sum. The religion professed here is the *Mohammedan*, tho' various sects of *Christians* are tolerated, of which the *Nestorians*, who have a church, bear the greatest sway. The *Jacobites* and *Armenians* have no place of public worship, but go to the convent of the *Capuchins*, who administer the sacraments to them. There are several *Jews* likewise that reside constantly at *Baghdad*, but many more who come thither annually, in order to visit the sepulchre of the prophet *Ezekiel*, which is

f said to stand about a day and a half's journey from the city. The *Pasha* of *Baghdad* is generally a *Vizir*. The proper garrison, about the middle of the last century, consisted of only 300 *Janisaries*, commanded by an *Aga*; tho' the *Pasha*, whose house stood then upon the bank of the river, and made a good appearance, had under his command a body of 6 or 700 horse. There were also then about 3 or 400 *Spahi's*, commanded by two *Aga's*, besides another body of horse, under two *Aga's*, that went under the denomination of *men of courage*. In fine, the *Ottoman* troops at that time in and about the town amounted to about 3000 men. The city then was 1500 paces long, 7 or 800 broad, and about three miles in circumference. The walls were of brick, and strengthened with towers that resembled bastions; upon which the *Pasha* had mounted 60 pieces of cannon; the largest of which

g were not above five or six pounders. There were four gates, three on the land-side, and one upon the river; over which there was a bridge of thirty-three boats, or rather pieces of timber, brought from *Musul* and other places, fastened together on goats skins, blown like bladders. The castle, or citadel, was in the city, near one of the gates called *Al Maazan*,

on



on the north side; standing partly on the river, and surrounded by a single wall; adorned with turrets; upon which were planted, tho' without carriages, about 150 pieces of cannon. The *Pasha* was assisted, in the civil government of the place, by a *Kâdi*, who represented the *Musti*, and a *Tefterdar*, who collected the revenues of the *Grand Signor*. There were five mosques, of which two were tolerably well built; and adorned with *Duomo's*, covered with varnished tiles of different colours; ten caravansera's, or inns, two of which were proper enough for the reception of travellers; and several *Bazars*, or market-places, arched, to enable the merchants to bear the heats, and watered three or four times a day, for the same purpose. Commerce then flourished to a considerable degree here, tho' not so much as when the city was in the hands of the king of *Persia*; *Sultân Amurat* IV. upon his making himself master of it, having put most of the richest merchants settled there to death. Many of the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, were settled there, being so simple as to believe, that their great *Imâm* lived at *Baghdâd*. The pilgrims that visit *Mecca* by land are obliged to pass through *Baghdâd*, and every one of them pays a tribute, or toll, equivalent to four piastres, to the *Pasha*; which branch of the revenue brings annually a very considerable sum into the coffers of the *Grand Signor*. *Tavernier* informs us, that the *Rafedi's*, or heretics, here, who seem to have been a branch of the *Shiites*, in his time, were so rigid and strict, that they would by no means either eat or drink with a *Christian*, and scarce with a *Sonnite* himself. In his time, the inhabitants of *Baghdâd* consisted of about 15,000 souls. The latitude of this city was defined by the astronomers, who lived in the days of the *Khalîf Al Mamûn*, to be  $33^{\circ} 20'$ ; and by some of the modern geographers and astronomers,  $33^{\circ} 15'$ . But, for a more particular description of the present state of this celebrated city, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the last-mentioned author, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>a</sup>.

Abd'alrah-  
mân Ebn  
Moâwiyah  
begins to erect  
a mosque in  
Spain.

ABOUT the 149th year of the *Hejra*, as we learn from *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, the *Manichees*, or *Manichæans*, settled at *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*, having been guilty of most execrable superstition, were treated with great severity by *Al Abbâs*, the *Khalîf's* governor of that province. The same year, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah*, the grandson of *Heshâm*, who had settled himself upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*, and been acknowledged lawful *Khalîf* of the west by the *Mohammedans* there, began to erect the great mosque at *Cordova*, or *Corduba*; which, after it was finished, during the continuance of this monarchy, was highly revered by all the *Moslems* in that part of the world. *Al Mansûr's* arms having been attended with all imaginable success, the preceding years, his subjects, through the whole course of this, enjoyed the sweets of peace, without the least discontinuance or interruption <sup>b</sup>.

The famous  
Abu Hanîfa  
dies.

THE next year, being the 150th of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 6th, 767, the famous *Abu Hanîfa Al Nooman Ebn Thâbet*, the founder of the first of the four chief sects of the *Sonnites*, who was born at *Cûfa* in the 18th year of the *Hejra*, departed this life. He died in prison at *Baghdâd*, where he had been confined, because he refused to be made *Kâdi*, or judge; on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge; *choosing rather to be punished by them than by God*, says *Al Ghazâlî*; who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office, by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, *If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge*. It is said, that he read over the *Korân*, in the prison where he died, no less than 7000 times. The doctrine, or tenets, propagated by him, as well as the sect of which he was the author, went amongst the *Sonnites* by the name of *Hanîfiyah*, or *Hannîfiyah*. The *Hanîfites* are called by an *Arabian* writer the followers of reason, and those of the other three orthodox sects followers of tradition; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of *Mohammed*. The sect of *Abu Hanîfa* heretofore obtained chiefly in *Irâk*, but now generally prevails amongst the *Turks* and *Tartars*. His doctrine was brought into great credit by *Abu Yûsef*, chief justice under the *Khalîfs Al Hâdi* and *Harûn Al Rashîd*. We must not forget to observe, that *Abd'allah Bathalmiûs* wrote a treatise concerning the divisions, or different sentiments, of the *Hanîfites*; which, amongst the admirers of that sect, is held in good repute <sup>c</sup>.

The Khalîf  
died of a dan-

ABOUT the 151st year of the *Hejra*, as should seem from *Abu'l Faraj*, who makes this event to have happened a little after the *Khalîf Al Mansûr* had fixed his residence at *Baghdâd*,

<sup>a</sup> GOLII not. ad Alfragan. & GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 463. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, AL GHAZAL. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Malekshah*, ou *Melikshah*, p. 542. & alib. pass. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. ubi sup. TAVERNIER'S Persian Travels, b. ii. c. p. 84—86. Lond. 1678.

<sup>b</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman, ubi sup. p. 112. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. KHONDEMIR, AL MAKIN, RODERIC TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 18.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 219. EBN KMALECAN, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 297, 298. AL GHAZALI, AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou Hanifah*, p. 21, 22. & art. *Hanifiyah*, p. 429. ABD'ALLAH BATHALMIUS, apud D'Herbel. ibid.



- a *Jaynjesus*, or *George*, *Ebn Bakhtishua Al Jondisābūri*, a famous physician, and a *Christian*, <sup>gaveus illius</sup> was brought to court, in order to cure the *Khalif* of a want of appetite and indigestion, <sup>by a Christian</sup> under which he at that time laboured. The physician, attended by his scholar, or pupil, <sup>physician.</sup> *Isa Ebn Shablātha*, being introduced to the *Khalif*, discoursed with him both in *Persic* and *Arabic*, with great fluency and elegance; assuring him at the same time, after he had received from him an account of his disorder, that, with the divine assistance, he could cure him. The *Khalif*, charmed with the gracefulness of his person, the politeness of his language, and, above all, the assurances he had given him, ordered a sumptuous and costly vest to be put upon him, assigned him one of the best apartments in his palace, and commanded his chamberlain *Rabī* to treat him with the highest marks of respect. *George* having in a short time effected a cure upon him, *Al Mansūr* one day asked him whether he was married? To which the physician replied, that he had for his wife an old woman, who was extremely infirm, and not able to rise from her seat. Upon this, the *Khalif* ordered *Salem*, one of his eunuchs, to take with him three beautiful *Greek* girls, and a present of 3000 *dinārs*, to *George's* apartment; who, not finding him at home, left them with *Isa Ebn Shablātha*, his scholar, there. But *George*, upon his return, after reprimanding *Isa* for receiving them, returned them to the *Khalif*; who sending for him, and asking him, with great surprise, the reason of so strange and unparalleled a conduct, the physician told him, without any scruple or hesitation, that it was not lawful for a *Christian* to have more than one wife at a time. This increasing *Al Mansūr's* astonishment, he dismissed him with uncommon expressions of esteem, and afterwards heaped his favours with greater profusion upon him. About the same time, the *Khalif* sent three bodies of his troops, under the command of his brother *Al Abbās*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, *Hasan Ebn Kahtaba*, and *Ebn Asad*, to penetrate into the imperial territories. These forces were composed of *Sindians*, *Alans*, *Khozars*, *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Akulites*, *Arabs*, *Khosanites*, *Turks*, and others; but did not meet with great success in their expeditions. The *Khalif* himself, at the head of a powerful army, consisting of 80,000 men, moved from *Amida*, *Amid*, or *Edeffa*, *Tur-Abdin*, and *Tela-Kom*, in the beginning of the campaign; and made an irruption into the northern parts of the *Roman* empire. He advanced to a fortress called *Kemach*, or *Kamakb*, upon which he continued his attacks the whole summer; but without effect: so
- d that he found himself at last obliged, after he had lost an incredible number of men, shamefully to abandon the siege<sup>v</sup>.

THE same year, a complaint being brought before *Al Mansūr* against the patriarch *George*, <sup>Some other</sup> by the bishops who had been deprived by him of their authority at the synod of *Sarug*, and <sup>events of the</sup> he being by them accused of exercising tyranny upon the *Syrian* clergy, the *Khalif* ordered <sup>year 151.</sup> him to be put in irons, and gave his accusers leave to substitute another patriarch in his room. Upon which, by their unanimous suffrages, they advanced to that high dignity *David* bishop of *Dara*; whose lenity and moderation might justly have intitled him to the profoundest respect and veneration of all the *Mesopotamian* clergy, over whom he presided; though none of them, except those by whom he had been elected, paid any regard to his

e orders and decisions; he having been not a little blamed for being so active against his predecessor. Hence a schism arose amongst the *Jacobites*; some of whom considered *David* as their patriarch, others *George*, and others acknowledged no patriarch at all. With regard to *Tur-Abdin*, mentioned above, it may not be improper to remark, that the natives call it simply *Tur*, which in their language signifies a *mountain*; and that it is a considerable tract in the neighbourhood of the *Tigris*, which formerly contained a pretty large number of towns and monasteries, all under the jurisdiction of a bishop, called the bishop of *Tur-Abdin*. His diocese was, in process of time, split into several others, viz. *Salacha*, or *Salakh*, *Beth-Mancēm*, &c. and especially after *Saba* was translated from the see of *Salacha* to the patriarchate of *Tur-Abdin*, and set up in opposition to *Ignatius VI.* the lawful patriarch of the

f *Jacobites*; which produced a schism that continued from the year of CHRIST 1364 to the year 1494. We must also beg leave to observe, that the *Nestorian* convent on the *Curd*, or *Gordyean*, mountains was reduced to ashes, together with all the people therein, as they were celebrating their annual festival on the spot where *Noah's* ark had rested, in the usual manner, by lightning, the preceding year<sup>x</sup>.

THE following year, being the 152d year of the *Hejra*, the celebrated *Christian* physician, *George Ebn Bakhtishua Al Jondisābūri*, who had been so serviceable to the *Khalif Al Mansūr* in the recovery of his health, was himself taken extremely ill, and his life thought to be in no small danger. Upon which, he asked the *Khalif's* leave to return home, in order to see his son and family, and to be buried with his brothers, in case it should please God to put

<sup>v</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 221—223. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 113. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 374. THEOPH. SIGEFR. BAYER. histor. Osiroen. p. 282. Petrop. 1734. <sup>x</sup> DIONYS. TELMAR. ubi sup. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. in dissertat. de Monophys. & ubi sup. p. 113. & alib. pass. NAIRON. euopl. par. i. p. 45.



a period to his days. *Al Mansûr* desired him first, by way of reply to his petition, to embrace *Mohammedism*; and, in that case, promised him a certain admission into paradise, after his death: to which *George* made answer, "O emperor of the faithful, I am determined to go to the place where my ancestors reside in the other world, whether that be paradise or hell." This excited the *Khalif's* laughter, who thereupon returned, "But since you have been with me, I have been free from the maladies with which I was before afflicted; how, therefore, can I part with you?" To this the physician replied, that he should leave behind him his scholar *Isa*, who was a very skilful professor of physic, and would take all possible care of his majesty's health. The *Khalif* then dismissed *George*, with a present of 10,000 *dinârs*, and sent an eunuch with him, to conduct him to his friends and relations, with orders to have his body conveyed to them, in case he should die upon the road. However, he arrived at home safe, under the eunuch's conduct. After his departure, *Al Mansûr* sent for *Isa*, whom, upon conversing with him, he found to be a person of profound erudition, and therefore substituted him in his master's place. *Isa*, after his advancement, began to grow contentious, and to behave in a very insolent manner, particularly to the *Christian* bishops and metropolitans, of whom he would have exacted large sums of money. Attending the *Khalif* once to *Nisibis*, or *Nisîbîn*, he had the assurance to write to the metropolitan of that city to send him the most valuable part of his consecrated vessels, or church-plate; threatening him with his resentment, in case of refusal; and, in his letter, making use of the following remarkable words: "Are you ignorant of my interest with the *Khalif*? Do not you know that on me his health intirely depends, so that I can make him sick or well as I please?" This letter *Cyprian*, the metropolitan of *Nisîbîn*, found an opportunity of reading first to *Al Rabî*, *Al Mansûr's* chamberlain, and afterwards to the *Khalif* himself. *Al Mansûr*, after he had received this intelligence, finding how he was abused, first deprived *Isa* of all the valuable presents he had made him, and then, after a proper castigation, discharged him his service. The same year, that is, the 152d year of the *Hejra*, died *Yezid Ebn Hâtem*, who had been made by *Al Mansûr* governor of *Egypt*. He was succeeded in his post by *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Hadij*. About the same time, likewise died *Maan Ebn Zâyada*, an *Arab* of so brave and generous a disposition, that, amongst his countrymen, it passed into a proverb. The *Khalif* first appointed him his lieutenant of *Taman*, afterwards of *Aderbijân*, and lastly of *Kberasîn*. *Al Mansûr* is also said by *Dionysius Telmarenfis* to have erected a new fortress, called by that author *Arsamosata*, upon the river *Arsanias*, either this or the preceding year. But *Dionysius*, in what he advances here, must undoubtedly be mistaken. For this town, which likewise went under the name of *Armosata* and *Arsamote*, has been taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Polybius*, as well as by a coin of *M. Aurelius*, in the *Medicean* collection at *Florence*, struck several hundred years before the *Khalifat* of *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, which has been published by the learned *Lucas Holstenius*. The *Arabs*, therefore, did not found, but rebuild, or rather repair, the place at present under consideration. However, it may be fairly inferred from *Dionysius*, that *Cellarius* is guilty of a mistake, when he places *Armosata*, or *Arsamosata*, at a great distance from the *Arsanias*. The *Khalif's* workmen, soon after they begun their operations, were struck with terror at the sight of a body of the imperial troops incamped on the other side of the river, and immediately abandoned their work; which gave the enemy an opportunity of demolishing what they had done. However, the *Arabs* soon returned, resumed their work, and finished the fortress in such a manner as to put it out of danger of any future insult. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* still maintained himself, notwithstanding the power of *Al Mansûr*, and the success that had attended his arms in the east, upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*.

The Christian territories invaded by a Moslem army, commanded by one Banaka.

In the 153d year of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 3d, 770, one *Banaka*, or *Ebn Aka*, a *Moslem* general, according to *Theophanes*, undertook an expedition against the *Christians*, in order to revenge an irruption which the imperial forces had made into *Armenia* the preceding year. He advanced first into *Isauria*, and from thence marched to a fortress called *Syce*, which he straitly besieged. Advice of this being brought to the emperor, he sent orders to *Michael*, *Manes*, and *Bardanes*, three of his commanders, to move with a body of *Bucellarians* and *Armenians*, and other troops drawn out of some of the eastern provinces, against the *Arabs*, and force them to raise the siege. The imperial generals, in pursuance of the orders they had received, assembled their forces, and, in conjunction with a fleet fitted out by the citizens of *Cibyra*, that had entered the port of *Syce*, immediately advanced to the relief of the place. *Banaka*, being apprized of their approach, made the necessary

Y GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 223, 224. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 103. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 113, 114. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 9. PTOL. geogr. TACIT. lib. xv. c. 10. POLYB. apud Christ. Cellar. in geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 390, 391. Lipsiæ, 1706. ut & ipse CHRIST. CELLAR. ibid. LUC. HOLSTEN. in adnotat. ad Ortel. RODERIC. ISLETAN. ubi sup. p. 18.



- a dispositions to engage them; which at last he did, and gave them a total overthrow, putting a great number of them to the sword. 'Tis remarkable, that the *Arabs*, in this action, made the first onset with the same outcries and howlings that the *Turks* do, in order to intimidate the enemy, when they begin the attack, at this day. After this defeat, *Banaka*, who had made himself terrible to the *Christians*, by the depredations he had committed in the imperial territories, and the captives he had carried off from thence, the foregoing year, ravaged all the neighbouring district in a dreadful manner. However, he could not reduce the fortrefs he had for some time so straitly besieged, but was obliged to return home, without having made any considerable conquest; tho' he acquired some valuable spoils, and took several prisoners, in this expedition. About the same time, *Al Mansûr* dismissed *Nubakht*, his astrologer, who was a *Persian*, and extremely well versed in every branch of his art, on account of his ill state of health; filling the post become vacant by his dismissal with his son *Khorshadmab Wâtîmâdab Khosîr Wâabakashâd*, whose name the *Khalîf* converted into that of *Abu Sabl*. In the 151st year of the *Hejra*, or the 768th of CHRIST, *Dionysius*, bishop of *Harrân*, departed this life, and was succeeded by a person of the same name, taken out of the monastery of *Zuchenin*, or *Zokhenûn*; as did likewise *Stephen*, bishop of *Chabura*, or *A' Khabûr*, *Zacharias*, bishop of *Edeffa*, and *Jannes*, bishop of *Tela*, the following year; the two last of whom were succeeded by *Elias*, a cruel and flagitious person belonging to the monastery of *Cartamina*, or *Kartamin*, and one *Sabinus*. At this time, *David*, the patriarch, *Serguna*, bishop of *Marde*, *Abas*, bishop of *Amida*, or *Amid*, *Constantine*, bishop of *Samosata*, or *Someisât*, and *Paul*, bishop of *Tagrit*, or *Tacrît*, were in great repute. A comet was seen in the month of *May*, between the eastern and northern parts of the hemisphere; and soon after it rained black stones, some of which were preserved to the time that *Dionysius Telmarenensis* wrote the annals here referred to. *Zeid*, one of the *Khalîf's* generals, is likewise said by that author to have exacted a capitation-tax of the *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, the same year<sup>2</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 154th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalîf* sent one of his commanders, called *Mualabitus*, or *Al Moballebi*, by *Theophanes*, with a numerous army into *Africa*; but what he did there this campaign, we are not told by that author. *Al Fadl*,<sup>The transactions of the year 154-</sup> surnamed *Barinar*, another of that prince's generals, made an incursion into the *Christian* territories, and carried off with him from thence about 500 prisoners. The people of *Mopsuestia*, or *Al Masîsa*, in *Cilicia*, receiving intelligence of this, detached a body of troops, levied amongst themselves, in order to cut off his retreat; but *Al Fadl* defeated this detachment, and put the *Mopsuestians* to flight, with the loss of a thousand men. The *Khalîf* went this year to *Jerusalem*, where he kept the great fast of *Ramadân*; and obliged many *Christians* to retire from thence into the dominions of the *Greek* emperor. Either this or the preceding year, *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, the *Khalîf's* governor of *Mosul*, raised a violent persecution against the *Christians* of the *Jacobite* persuasion there; which, by means of his deputies, or inferior officers, whom he had appointed to preside over several considerable cities of *Mesopotamia*, he extended to other parts of that province. One of these was *Adam Ebn Têzid*, the lieutenant of *Amid*, *Arzan*, *Al Rûm*, and *Mayafarkîn*, who, in cruelty and barbarity, seems to have surpassed all the rest. One *Zoaras*, or *Zoara*, a monk belonging to the convent of *St. Matthew* at *Mosul*, having conceived an invincible aversion to, and borne an implacable hatred against, his brethren there, accused them to *Jaafar*, *Al Mansûr's* son, of having concealed the treasures of *Heshâm*, *Merwân*, and other *Khalîfs*, besides an immense quantity of gold and silver of their own. Upon which, that prince sent a detachment to plunder the convent, and strip the religious there of every thing valuable belonging to them; which being done, he issued an edict to oblige the *Christians* to transmit him an exact account of all the rich furniture contained in the churches and monasteries of *Mesopotamia*. But *Jaafar* dying soon after, that edict was revoked, and the valuable effects taken out of the convent of *St. Matthew* restored. At this time, a body of 500 slaves, being chiefly *Sindians* and *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, attempted to seize upon the imperial treasury in *Harrân*; but being repulsed by *Al Abbâs*, the governor, they were soon dispersed, and several of them executed for being concerned in so villainous an attempt. *Al Mansûr* sent officers likewise, this year, to collect the capitation exacted of the *Christians* settled in *Armenia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, with the utmost rigour and severity; and to impress the mark of slavery upon the foreheads, necks, arms, breasts, and shoulders, of that unfortunate people; which drove many of them into the imperial territories. Hence probably arose the custom of having certain marks and characters painted on the arms and other parts of those who visited *Jerusalem*, which in some measure prevails at this very day. The *Khalîf* also ordered the walls and fortifications of *Callinicum* to be repaired. The same year,

<sup>2</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 375. GREG. ARU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 224, 225. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 111 ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.



a notorious villain, born in a village called *Rama*, in the neighbourhood of *Tacrit*, after he had acted the monk for several years in the convent of *St. Matthew* at *Mosul*, put off the monastic habit, and declared himself a convert to *Mohammedism*. This man, however, afterwards returned to the *Christian* faith, assumed the name and character of a prophet in the territory of *Dara*, where he pretended to foretell future events, and to threaten destruction to the *Christians* of *Mesopotamia*, unless they speedily repented of their sins; and had the impudence to place himself in the episcopal chair belonging to the cathedral church of *Dara*. Here likewise, though he was only a deacon, he took upon him to communicate to presbyters the benediction, to consecrate oil mixed with spittle, and to distribute potions of this amongst the populace, as a remedy that would effectually cure all disorders; by which he amassed vast sums of money. The news of which proceedings being brought to *Cyriacus*, the bishop, he had the impostor carried immediately before *David* the patriarch, who ordered him to be conducted to *Harrân*, and thrown into prison there. We must not forget to observe, that, about this very year, flourished *Theophilus Edessenus*, by nation a *Maronite*, and by profession an astronomer. He wrote a history, in which he makes 5197 years to have elapsed between the creation of the world and the commencement of the æra of *Seleucus*. He also translated the *Iliad* of *Homer* into the *Syriac* language. But, for a farther account of this learned author and his works, we must beg leave to refer our readers to some of the writers cited here; who, on that head, we doubt not, will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>a</sup>.

The Arabs  
seize upon some  
districts of  
Assyria and  
Mesopotamia.

THE following year, being the 155th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'aliab Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'al-rabmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Hadij* died in *Egypt*, over which country he had been appointed to preside by *Al Mansûr*; who sent *Mûsa Ebn Ali Ebn Riyâb Al Lakbmi* thither to succeed him. *Mûsa* continued in that post, which he filled with credit and reputation, till the death of the *Khalîf*. There was a great drought this year, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, in *Mesopotamia*. The *Arabs* of *Al Tbalabiya* and *Maad*, with their flocks, camels, and other beasts of burden, made an irruption into *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*; possessing themselves of the districts of *Musal*, *Beth-Garme*, or *Bajarma*, *Heza*, *Marga*, *Canisapor*, *Resin*, *Kok*, or *Cocha*, and *Salakh*, or *Salacha*. With regard to *Beth-Garme*, or *Bajarma*, we must beg leave to remark, that it was a tract of *Assyria*, containing the cities of *Dakuka*, *Shabar-Kadta*, *Buazicha*, and others that we find enumerated by *Elias Damascenus*, the *Nestorian* bishop, and called *Germa* by *Agathias Scholasticus*. It was a bishop's see, and had one *Constantine* for its bishop in the year of our LORD 969. *Marga* was a town, or pretty large village, in the territory of *Mosul*. *Bar Hadbeshaba*, one of the bishops of *Marga*, has been mentioned by some of the eastern writers. *Kok*, or *Cocha*, may possibly have been the same city with the *Cochæ* of *Arrian*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Eutropius*, seated upon the *Tigris*, at a small distance from *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, erected on the opposite bank of that river; though *Assēmanus* seems to be of a different opinion. *Salakh*, or *Salacha*, was a town of *Tur-Abdin*, that stood likewise at no great distance from the *Tigris*, and a bishop's see, as may be inferred from *Gregory Bar-Hebræus*. The convent of *St. James* here was the seat, or residence, of the patriarchs of *Tur-Abdin*, from the year of CHRIST 1364 to the year 1494. The other places taken by the *Arabs* this year have not been so particularly described by the oriental geographers and historians <sup>b</sup>.

The Khalif  
returns from  
Jerusalem to  
Baghdâd.

IN the 156th year of the *Hejra*, *Paul*, bishop of *Tagrit*, or *Tacrit*, *Zachæus*, bishop of *Charma*, and *Jonas*, bishop of *Nearda*, departed this life. The same year the *Khalîf Al Mansûr* returned from *Jerusalem* to *Baghdâd*, and constituted *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, in the room of *Al Abbâs*, his governor of *Mesopotamia*. He also ordered the inhabitants of *Akula* to repair the walls and fortifications of their city at their own expence. Having by treachery cut off *Patricius*, the lieutenant of the *Greater Armenia*, he seized upon all his immense treasures, and put them into his own coffers. At such a pitch of impiety did the *Arabs*, or *Moslems*, arrive, that they opened a great number of sepulchres in *Mesopotamia*, in order to discover gold and silver there. About the same time, according to *Theophanes*, 280 heads were brought from *Africa* into *Syria*, and exposed to public view, by way of triumphal parade, in several places. The schism amongst the *Christians* of the *Jacobite* persuasion in

<sup>a</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 376. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Assēman. ubi sup. p. 114, 115. ut & ipse ASSEMAN ibid. GREGOR. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Assēman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 311, 313—315. ROMAN. 1721. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 32.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assēman. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RENAUD. tom. ii. Liturg. orient. p. 271. NESTAPHRAST. apud Lipom. tom. ii. in vita S. Bademi, AGATHIAS, lib. iv. p. 136. ELIAS DAMASCEN. apud Jos. Sim. Assēman. Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 459, 544, 115, 382, &c. AMR. in vit. Abrahamæ Nestorianior. patriarch. ARRIAN. in Parthic. apud Steph. Byzant. NAZIANZ. orat. iv. p. 115. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiv. c. 18, 21. EUTROP. lib. ix. c. 12. NAIRON. in Evopl. p. 45. Vide etiam CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. tom. ii. p. 752, 753, & alibi, & JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. de Monophysit. passim.



a *Mesopotamia*, some of whom adhered to *David*, as their patriarch, and others to *George*, who had been imprisoned by the *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*, still continued <sup>c</sup>.

THE next year, being the 157th of the *Hejra*, a grievous famine made terrible havock <sup>A famine and plague in Mesopotamia.</sup> in every part of *Mesopotamia*; insomuch that the *Christians* were obliged to live upon flesh in *Lent*. This was followed by a plague, which swept away the greatest part of the inhabitants of that province. *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, the *Khalif*'s governor, treated the *Christians* of all denominations, not excepting the religious of every kind, with the utmost rigour and severity, this year; throwing into prison all who could not pay the enormous tribute he demanded of them. Such treatment as this they had likewise met with from the present *Khalif*, or at least the person he appointed to preside over them, in the beginning of his reign <sup>d</sup>.

THE following year, being the 158th of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 11th, 774, *Al Mansûr*'s <sup>death and character.</sup> set out from *Baghdâd*, in order to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. But he was taken ill upon the road, and found himself so bad at the castle of *Abdawaya*, where he lodged one night, that he sent for his son *Al Mobdi*, who attended him in this pilgrimage, in order to take his final leave of him. As soon as *Al Mobdi* came into his apartment, perceiving his end to approach, he gave him some salutary advice in relation to his future conduct, when settled upon the *Muslem* throne, and laid his last commands upon him; which, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, were delivered in the following terms: "I command you," said he, "to treat publicly your relations with the greatest marks of distinction, since this will reflect no small degree of honour and glory upon yourself: but this," added he; "I believe you will not do. Increase the number of your freed-men, and treat them all with kindness, as they will be of great service to you in time of adversity; but this," continued he, "I am apt to think you will not do. Inlarge not that part of your capital erected on the eastern part of the *Tigris*, as you will never be able to finish it: but this," said he, "I know you will attempt. Never permit any of your women to intermeddle in affairs of state, nor to have too much influence over your councils: but this," subjoined he; "I know you will not fail to do. These are my last commands, or, if you please, my dying advice; and to God I now recommend you." Then he took his leave of him, and they were both drowned in tears. From *Abdawaya* he went to *Cûfa*, and then continued his journey, tho' he grew worse and worse every station, till he arrived at *Bir Maimûn*, that is, *the well*, or *fountain*, of *Maimûn*, where he expired, on the 6th of *Dbu'lhajja*, very early in the morning; and was carried from thence to *Mecca*, where, after an hundred graves had been dug, that his sepulchre might be concealed, he was interred. He lived sixty-three, and reigned twenty-two lunar years, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Eutyckius*, or *Sa'id Ebn Batrîk*, and *Abu'l Faraj*. *Ebn Batrîk* makes him to have been sixty-eight years of age at the time of his death. With regard to his person, he had a thin long beard, was tall, lean, and of a swarthy complexion. He is also said to have tinged himself with something that gave him a darkish hue, and to have changed the colour of his grey hairs every month with two thousand drachms of musk. As to his disposition, he was of a most sweet temper in private; and could bear even with the impertinences of boys; but when he appeared in public, arrayed in his royal robes, even all the senior part of his subjects stood in awe of him. He was a prince of vast prudence, integrity, and discretion, and of a very winning and amiable conversation. He was also magnanimous and brave, and extremely well versed (having improved his natural genius by long experience) in all the arts of government. But these good qualities were not a little sullied by some of a contrary nature. For, he was covetous to such a degree, that several very ridiculous stories have been told of him. He was likewise, on some occasions; truculent and cruel, of a fierce aspect, loaded some of his subjects with irons on bare suspicion, and butchered others of them with greediness and pleasure. He left behind him, in his treasury, 600,000,000 *dirhems*, and 24,000,000 *dinârs*. We are told by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that he paid his cook, by assigning him the heads and legs of the animals dressed in his kitchen for his own use; and that he obliged this servant to procure all the fuel and vessels he had occasion for at his own expence. The following story of him is too remarkable to be passed over in silence here. Whilst he remained in a private station, and before he was elevated to the sovereign dignity of *Khalif*, he ranked amongst his most familiar friends one *Azhar Babeli*, a man of great merit, and considered as one of the most authentic doctors in all points relating to traditions. This person observing that *Abu Jaafar*, when settled upon the throne, did not vouchsafe to enter into any particular conversation with him, as formerly, he resolved to present himself before him at one of his

<sup>c</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 377.

<sup>d</sup> DIONYS. TELMARENS. et Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 115, 116. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 361.



public audiences; which he accordingly did. As soon as the *Khalif* perceived him, he demanded of him what he wanted there. *Azbar* answered, that he was come to congratulate him, and to rejoice with him, upon his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Abu Jaafar* immediately ordered him a purse with a thousand *dinârs* in it, and then dismissed him with the following words: "Don't give yourself the trouble to come here any more." Notwithstanding which, the following year, *Azbar* presented himself again before him. The *Khalif* looked upon him with a very sour countenance, and asked him what brought him thither? *Azbar* replied, "I was informed that your majesty was greatly indisposed, and came hither, as one of your most faithful slaves, to inquire after your majesty's health." Upon which, *Abu Jaafar* ordered him another purse with the same sum in it; and said to him roughly at parting, "Don't come to teize me here any more for the future." But this did not hinder *Azbar* from appearing before him again, the following year. The *Khalif*, as soon as he saw him, said to him, in great wrath, "Will you never cease to importune me?" *Azbar* answered, "Formerly I never received any thing but civilities from your majesty; I come therefore now to learn what has occasioned such an alteration in your conduct." To which the *Khalif* answered, "As the civilities you mention had no manner of foundation, so they left behind them not the least impression in my mind; because, by not seeing you as I used to do, I have contracted a habit of not seeing you at all." In fine, *Al Mansûr* dismissed him, without giving him any thing. This story has been handed down to us by *Yafei*, who tells us, that the *Khalif*, by the patience and liberality exhibited on this occasion, deviated from the general course and tenor of his conduct; as he was, for the most part, both very sordid and avaricious, and of a hasty and passionate temper. He ordered a tax to be levied upon the people of *Cûfa* of a *dawanek*, or *obole*, a small inconsiderable brass coin, a head, to defray the expence of digging a ditch, or intrenchment, round the town, for the security of the place; for which reason, he was surnamed, by way of contempt, *Abu Dawanek*, the father of the *dawanek*, or *obole*, by the inhabitants of that city.

Some other particulars relating to him.

SOME of the eastern writers relate, that a dysentery, or bloody-flux, put a period to this *Khalif's* days, and that he died at *Mecca*; though the latter notion, however positively asserted, was undoubtedly a mistake. *Khondemir* reports, that, a few days before he was attacked by the malady that carried him off, he found four *Arabic* verses inscribed upon a wall, which gave him great uneasiness; the purport of which was to the following effect: "O *Abu Jaafar*, the time of your death is come! Your days are determined, and God's irrevocable decree is arrived. Consult as many augurs, soothsayers, diviners, and astrologers, as you please; your time is soon to expire, and the thread of your life to be cut by the distemper that is to prove fatal to you." These verses mentioned astrologers, because the *Khalif*, who was himself well versed in the knowledge of the stars, had always some philosophers and mathematicians about him. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Al Mansûr* discovered, written upon the wall of a caravansera, or inn, four other verses in *Persic*, the sense of which was as follows: "The kingdoms and riches of this world are not given, but only lent us. Let no one, therefore, think himself sure of them, or value himself too highly upon account of them. Whoever fixes his heart upon them, and places his chief confidence in them, will be covered with shame, when he is obliged to return them to him from whom he received them." Some authors inform us, that this *Khalif's* governors of *Egypt* exacted such enormous sums of money, by way of tribute, of the people of that country, not sparing even the poorest artificers and meanest mechanics, that they were reduced to the extreme poverty, and forced to feed upon dogs and dead bodies. *Al Mansûr* and *Constantine Copronymus*, the *Greek* emperor, are both said to have died within the course of the same year. The former understood the *Mohammedan* law better than most of his age, having been instructed therein by some of the most celebrated *Moslem* doctors, whom he greatly honoured, and did not think it beneath him to be looked upon as their scholar, even after his elevation to the *Khalifat*. Notwithstanding the aversion that reigned between the houses of *Al Abbâs* and *Ommiyah*, *Al Mansûr* frankly owned that the *Khalifs* of the former family had three advantages over him; first, in finding such a general, and governor of a province, as *Al Hejâj*; secondly, in being served by such a secretary as *Abd'al Hamid*; and, thirdly, in meeting with such a *Muedhdhin*, or crier, as *Al Baalbeki*. This *Khalif's* counsellors were *Abu Atiya Al Bâbeli*, *Ayûb Al Marzabâni*, whom he put to death for assuming to himself too much power, and his servant *Rabî*. The captains of his guards were *Abd'al Jabâr Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Azdi*, *Ebn Caab Ebn Mûsa Al Tamini*, and *Al Mofaiyeb Al Zakiri*; his judges *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Safwân*, *Sharîk Ebn Abd'allah*, *Al Hasan Ebn Amâra*, and *Al Hejâj Ebn Artab*; his chamberlains

\* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 219, 220. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 104. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 400, 401. EBN SHOHNAH, YAFEI, DION, TELMARENS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 116. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.



- a *Rabî, Isâ, Al Hasib*, his servants, *Abu'l Khatib Marzûk*, and *Al Rabî*, his freedmen. His brother's son, *Ibrahim Ebn Yahya Ebn Mohammed*, said the usual prayers at the time of his interment. The first day of his reign was *Monday*, and the last *Saturday*. The most illustrious actions of this prince, according to some of the oriental historians, were the conquests of *Armenia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia*; to which others add the erection of the famous city of *Baghdâd*. We are told by *Ebn Shobnah*, that when he took his final leave of his son *Al Mohdi*, he made use of the following terms: "I was born," my son, "in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*; I was proclaimed *Khalîf* in the same month; and I am strongly inclined to believe that I shall die in it; for which reason, I am now endeavouring to perform my last pilgrimage, in order to be rendered a proper object of the divine mercy."

<sup>f</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 220. KHONDEMIR, NICHIAKIST. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 104, 105. EUTYCH. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 378. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 116. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mansur*, p. 552, 553.

## S E C T. XXIII.

- c **W**HEN *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr* expired at *Bîr Maimûn*, he had only his domestics, *Al Mohdi* and *Rabî*, his freed-man, with him. The latter of these, for some time, kept his death concealed, and pretended to have a conference with him; in which, as he gave out, the *Khalîf* commanded him to exact the oath of allegiance to *Al Mohdi*, his son, as his immediate successor, and to *Isâ Ebn Mûsa*, his cousin-german, as the next apparent heir of the crown, of all then present: which having done, he dismissed them, and, soon after the conclusion of that ceremony, communicated to them the news of *Al Mansûr's* death. He also dispatched a courier to *Al Mohdi*, with advice of that event, and of the first step that had been taken at *Bîr Maimûn* in his favour. Upon the arrival of the courier at *Baghdâd*, then the residence of this prince, he was unanimously proclaimed *Khalîf* by the inhabitants of that city. This courier was *Monâra*, one of the late *Khalîf's* servants.
- d Some of the eastern writers inform us, that *Omm Mûsa, Mohammed Al Mohdi's* mother, was the daughter of *Al Mansûr Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Sabar Al Hamyari*, or of the tribe of *Hamyar*. *Isâ Ebn Mûsa*, as soon as the news of *Al Mansûr's* death was imparted to him, began to entertain thoughts of setting up for himself at *Cûfa*, where he then resided; and, in order to facilitate the execution of his scheme, fortified himself in that city. But *Al Mohdi*, having been apprized of his intended defection, sent *Abu Horeira*, with a detachment of 1000 horse, to bring him to *Baghdâd*; which being done, *Al Mohdi* not only prevailed upon him to recognize his authority, but likewise persuaded him to relinquish his right to the succession, in favour of his son *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, for the sum of 10,000, or,
- e according to some of the MS. copies of *Abu'l Faraj*, 10,000,000, *dinârs*. Soon after the new *Khalîf's* accession, one *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim Al Yazam*, declaring against *Al Mohdi*, assembled in *Khorasân* a body of troops, in order to dispute the *Khalîfat* with him. This impostor, pretending to act the prophet, seduced a great number of *Al Mohdi's* subjects at *Busa*, or *Besa*, probably the *Fesa* of *Abu'lfeda*, an antient city of *Persia*, about ten parasangs almost east of *Estakr*, or *Istakbra*, where he first set up his standard. The *Khalîf*, therefore, sent an army against him, which intirely defeated him, dispersed all his followers, and brought him bound to *Al Mohdi*; by whose order he was publicly crucified at *Baghdâd*. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, this *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim Al Yazam* was governor of *Khorasân*; tho', if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, he first set up for a prophet at *Busa*, and
- f was overthrown by *Yezid Ebn Yezid*, one of *Al Mohdi's* most experienced generals. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mansûr's* name at length, with his whole surname annexed to it, was *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs. Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*; though the first part of his name, *Abd'allah*, has been denied him by *Pagias*. It must also be remarked, that *Busa, Besa, or Fesa*, was in the earlier times a city of a very considerable extent <sup>g</sup>.

- g IN the 159th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* appointed *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*, the Syrian, governor of *Egypt*; but presently removed him from that exalted post, and substituted *Mûsa Ebn Ali* in his room. It appears from *Theophanes*, that a body of *Al Mohdi's* troops made an incursion into the imperial territories, and carried off with them some Moslem prisoners, that had been confined in a cave called *Causis*, the present year <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 225. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 105. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 116. PAGIUS, ad an. Christ. 775. EBN ARRAHEB, in Chronic. oriental. p. 72. GOLII not. Alfragan. p. 114, 115. <sup>h</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 106. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 378.



as likewise another, the following year. THE following year, being the 160th of the Moslem æra, the Khalif sent *Isa Ebn Lok-mân Al Yamjami* to govern in Egypt, in the room of *Mûsa Ebn Ali*, dispatched thither for the same purpose the preceding year, whom he thought fit to depose. The Arab forces, under the command of *Othmân Ebn Kaka*, one of the Moslem generals, according to *Theophanes*, made another irruption into the dominions of the Greek emperor, plundered in a dreadful manner the country through which they moved, and conducted from thence several prisoners into the Moslem territories; likewise this year <sup>i</sup>.

The Christians invade Syria. THE next year, being the 161st of the Hejra, the Christians, if we will believe *Theophanes*, invaded Syria with an army of 100,000 men, and defeated a body of Arabs that pretended to oppose them; of whom they killed five Emirs, or principal officers, and 2000 men, upon the spot. At this time, several *dirhems* came out of the mint erected at *Basra*; one of which was found in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, in the year 1722; a particular description of which has been given us by the learned *M. Kehr*. This *dirhem* exhibits on the anterior part the following words, *Bel Basrata abdayni wasettina wameaten*; that is, *At Basra, in the 161st year of the Hejra*; and, on the reverse, *Mohammedon rasûlo-llabi, falla-llabo alayhi wasallama*; Mohammed is the apostle of God; may God be propitious to him, and make him happy! After which come the words, *Al Khalifat o-l' Mohdiyyo Mohammed, In the Khalifat of Al Mohdi, or when Al Mohdi Mohammed was Khalif*. With regard to *Basra*, it may not be amiss to remind our readers, that this city was built by *Atbâ Ebn Arâr*, at the command of the Khalif *Omar*, in the 15th year of the Hejra, and consequently cannot be deemed a place of very high antiquity. It is at present a very famous emporium of the east, and stands upon a thick stony soil, as the word *Basra* itself denotes, about a day and half's journey from one of the mouths of the *Tigris*, by which that river empties itself into the *Persian* gulph, denominated likewise from this town the bay of *Basra*. It is situated between *Persia* and *Arabia*, in the extremity of the deserts of *Irâk*, a little to the west of the *Tigris*, and was first founded for the sake of carrying on more commodiously an extensive commerce between the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Indians*. The circumjacent tract is looked upon by the Arabs as one of the most delightful spots of *Asia*, and even as one of the most beautiful gardens in the world. However, the hot burning winds, that frequently blow there, are very troublesome to travellers, and sometimes overwhelm them with mountains of sand, driven by the force of these winds out of the neighbouring deserts. The city is inhabited by *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, *Catholics*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Chaldean Christians*, commonly called *Christians of St. John*, who are pretty numerous here. The Arabs, according to *Abu'lfeda*, resorted to a street of *Basra*, denominated *Mirbad Al Basra*, in his days, from all parts, in order to repeat both their prosaic and poetical performances. *Basra* has sent out many persons of profound erudition; some of the principal of which were *Al Hariri*, whose style in elegance is supposed to excel even that of the *Korân*; *Hasan Al Basri*, who was servant to *Omm Salma*, one of the prophet's wives, who gave him her own breasts to suck, whilst his mother was employed in her service, a famous scholastic divine, that kept a school at *Basra*, and wrote a piece, intitled, *Noble Traditions*; containing all the principal traditionary precepts of the Moslem law; *Abu Isbak Ismael*, who penned a treatise concerning the law and statutes of the *Korân*; *Yacûb Ebn Ibrahim*, chancellor to the Khalifs *Al Hâdi* and *Harûn Al Rashîd*, who composed a piece concerning the qualities requisite to form a *Kâdi*, or judge; *Abu Becr Mohammed*, who left behind him a collection of narrations, or antient histories; *Helâl Ebn Yakya*, who published a piece upon the ecclesiastical laws of the Moslems, relating to mosques and hospitals, founded for the benefit of travellers and strangers; and *Abu Sa'id Omar*, who composed a treatise upon the Arab poetry. There is also at *Basra* a famous college, or academy, founded by *Nezâm Al Molk*, the *Visir*, or *Wazîr*, of *Moezaddîn Abu'lfetah Mâlec Shab*, the third *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, called the college, or academy, of *Nezâm*. At this time, the city we are speaking of is said to be a flourishing seat of literature, tho' inferior in number of academics to *Demashk*, or *Damascus*, and *Kairo*, or *Al Kabirah*; the latter of which places, if we will believe a certain writer, contains no less than 12,000 Mohammedan students. *Basra* stands, according to the calculation of the Arabic tables, in long. 74° 00', and lat. 31° 00'. The city of *Baghdâd*, though so lately erected, flourished greatly this year. Besides *Ebn Najjâr's* history of *Baghdâd*, intitled *Tarikh Ebn Najjâr Al Baghdâdi*, there is also another history of this capital, to which we find prefixed the title of *Tarikh Baghdâd*, that is, the history, or annals, of *Baghdâd*, consisting of no less than ten volumes. The *Tarikh Al Abbâs* also mentions it in several places, as do in like manner all the *Persian* and *Arabian* geographers. To the learned men produced by this metropolis, already taken notice of, we may add *Ahmed Ebn Ahmed Al Baghdâdi Khattâb Al Hafedh*, *Mamar Ebn Almothâni Al Bagh-*

<sup>i</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 380.



a *dâdi Al Obeidah, Al Imâm Mohammed Al Baghdâdi*, and others; an enumeration of whose names our readers will not expect to meet with here <sup>k</sup>.

In the 162d year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mohdi* removed *Isa Ebn Lokmân Al Jam-jami* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Wadib Ebn Al Mansûr* in his room. About the same time, he commanded *Hasan*, one of his generals, to march into *Phrygia*, at the head of a powerful army, to revenge the loss he had sustained, when the imperial forces broke into *Syria* the last year. *Hasan*, in pursuance of his orders, advanced to *Dorylaeum* in that country, invested it, and attacked it for seventeen days with incredible fury. But finding himself, at the end of that term, greatly distressed for want of provisions, and all his forage consumed, he was obliged to decamp from thence, and retire to *Amorium*; which town likewise for one whole day he closely besieged. But being informed, that the place was amply furnished with all kinds of provisions and military stores, besides a numerous garison to defend it, he thought fit to raise the siege, and return home. The imperial troops were not strong enough to harass him in his retreat; notwithstanding which, he lost a very considerable number of men, without the least advantage gained, this unfortunate campaign <sup>l</sup>.

THE following year, being the 163d of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* sent his son *Harûn Al Rashid*, who was afterwards *Khalif*, with a formidable army, to undertake an expedition against the *Greeks*. The *Khalif* attended his son *Harûn* part of the way, and then took his leave of him; appointing *Tabya Ebn Kbâled Ebn Barmac*, his counsellor, to assist him with his advice. However, he afterwards joined him in the neighbourhood of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*; tho' it does not certainly appear, that he was present at any of the military operations. On the contrary, we find it intimated by *Theophanes*, that he left the army and went to *Jerusalem*, before the opening of the campaign. *Harûn*, after he had conferred with his father in the plains of *Dabek*, advanced to *Samalek*, battered that fortress with his catapults, and made himself master of it after 38 days siege; tho', when he entered the place, he found it little better than a heap of ruins. After the reduction, or rather destruction of this town, *Harûn* returned home; contenting himself with the glory he had acquired. We learn from *Theophanes*, that the *Khalif* raised a violent persecution against both the *Christians* and *Jews* settled at *Hems*, and in other parts of his dominions, this year <sup>m</sup>.

d ABOUT the same time, there happened another event, that, according to *Abu'l Fariaj*, not a little embarrassed the *Khalif's* affairs. One *Hakem Ebn Hâsbem*, originally of *Merû*, in *Khorasân*, who had been an under secretary to *Abu Moslem*, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into *Mawarâ'lnahr*, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the *Arab* writers *Al Mokanna*, and sometimes *Al Borkai*, that is, *the veiled*, because he used to cover his face with a veil, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance; tho' his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as *Moses* did, viz. lest the splendor of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at *Nakhsab* and *Kash*, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together; whence he was also called, in the *Persian* tongue, *Sâzendeh mah*, or *the moon-maker*. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated to himself divine honours, pretending that the Deity resided in his person: and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the *Gholaïtes*, who affirmed a transmigration, or successive manifestation, of the Divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from *Adam* to these latter days (of which opinion was also *Abu Moslem* himself); but the particular doctrine of *Al Mokanna* was, that the person in whom the Deity had last resided was the aforesaid *Abu Moslem*, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of *Al Mokanna*, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above-mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the *Khalif* was at length obliged to send an army to reduce him; at the approach whereof *Al Mokanna* retired into one of his strong fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But being straitly besieged by the *Khalif's* forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family, and all that were with him in the castle, and, when they were dead, he burnt their bodies, together with their cloaths and all the provisions, and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of *aqua fortis*, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him,

<sup>k</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. TARIKH EBN NAJJAR, TARRIK BAGHDAD, TARIKH AL ABRAS, ISM. ABU'LFED. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissert. de Monophyfit. SHARIF EL EDRISI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119—123. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 8—12, 30—32. Lipsiæ, 1724. <sup>l</sup> ABU JAAFAR AI TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. p. 380, 381. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.



except only his hair : so that when the besiegers entered the place, they found no creature a in it save one of *Al Mokanna's* concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed amongst the remaining part of his followers ; for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed old man, riding on a greyish beast ; and that, after so many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession : the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after under the name of *Mobeyyidites*, or, as the *Persians* call them, *Sefid jamehghian*, i. e. *the clothed in white*, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbās*, whose banners and habits were black. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mobdi* removed *Al Mansūr Ebn Tezid Al Ragbbi*, who b succeeded *Wadib Ebn Al Mansūr* in that post, from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Abu Sāleh Ebn Abd'allah Al Jawnani* in his place."

Harūn Al  
Rashid  
invades the  
territories  
of the empress  
Irene.

THE next year, being the 164th of the *Hejra*, after *Abu Sa'id*, *Al Mobdi's* general, had reduced *Al Mokanna's* faction to the obedience of the *Khalif*, *Israhim Ebn Sāleh Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbās* was sent to preside over *Egypt*. The same year, the *Khalif* ordered his son *Harūn Al Rashid* to penetrate into the *Christian* territories, with an army of 95,000 men. *Harūn*, having entered the dominions of the empress *Irene*, defeated one of her commanders, that had advanced at the head of her forces to oppose him ; tho', according to *Theophanes*, the *Greeks* gained the advantage in that action. After this overthrow, *Harūn* c laid several of the imperial provinces waste with fire and sword, spread a terror over the rest, and alarmed even the city of *Constantinople* itself. This induced the empress *Irene* to purchase a peace of the *Khalif*, by agreeing to pay him an annual tribute of 70,000 pieces of gold ; which, at least for the present, delivered her subjects from the courtes and depredations of the *Arabs*. After the signing of the treaty, *Harūn* returned home, loaded with spoils, and covered with glory. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mokanna*, or *Hakem*, of whom we have spoken so largely above, is denominated *Hakem Ebn Alha* by one of the eastern historians. It has been remarked by some of the oriental writers, that, one day in the last *Arab* month of this year, the sun, a little after his rising, totally lost his light, in a moment, without being eclipsed ; when neither any fog, nor any cloud of dust, appeared to obscure him. This frightful darkness, occasioned by this surprizing event, continued till d noon, to the great astonishment of the people settled in the counties where it happened. The same authors likewise observe, that no account of any prodigy like this has been transmitted down to us by any of the historians of former ages °.

Abu Hanifa's  
sect.

IN the 165th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Aug. 26th. 781, the *Hanifites*, or *Hanofites*, of whose founder *Abu Hanifa Al Noomān Ebn Thābet* we have already given our readers a distinct account, made a considerable figure in and about the city of *Baghdād*. To what has already been said of that celebrated *Sunnite* doctor, we shall here beg leave to add the following particulars. *Mālec Ebn Ans*, the author of the second orthodox sect of the *Moslems*, who was born at *Medina*, being once engaged in conversation with *Abu Hanifa*, who was a native of *Cūfa*, told him, that *Ali* had observed the *Cūfans* to be quarrelsome and seditious ; to which e *Abu Hanifa* replied, that the people of *Medina* were taxed with hypocrisy by the *Korān* : which little raillery, that passed between two such great men, has been taken notice of by one of the more reputable *Moslem* writers. Another of them informs us, that, according to the sentiments of this doctor, those points that have been imparted to us by God and his prophet *Mohammed*, are to be received with intire submission ; of those that have been handed down to future ages by the COMPANIONS, or contemporaries, of the prophet, the best are to be chosen ; but that with regard to the tenets and opinions of the doctors who followed them, men are at liberty either to admit or reject them, as the persons from whom they come were weak and fallible like ourselves. *Hosain Waz*, in his commentary upon the *Korān*, relates, that *Abu Hanifa*, having once received a box on the ear, said to the f person who had the temerity to give it him, " I could return you injury for injury. but that " I will not do ; I could carry my complaint to the *Khalif*, but such a part as this I shall " not act ; I could at least represent to God in my prayers the outrage you have offered me, " but against this I shall take care to be upon my guard ; lastly, at the day of judgment, " I could demand vengeance of God for this violence, but far be it from me to pursue such " a vindictive conduct : if that great and terrible day should this moment arrive, and my " intercession could take place, I would not enter paradise without you." The principal

° GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 226. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AUT. LEB. TARIKH, vel LEBTARIKH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Hakem Ben Hakeem*, p. 412, 413, & art. *Mahadi*, p. 530. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 382—385. AUT. LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH.



- a of his works are the *Mefnad*, that is, *the prop*, or *support*, wherein he establishes all the essential points of *Islamism* upon the authority of the *Korân* and the most received traditions; a treatise, intitled, *Filkelam*, that is to say, *scholastic divinity*; and a sort of catechism, or instruction, that bears the title of *Mcallem*, or *the master*. In the last of these pieces he maintains, that as long as a *Moslem* continues in the faith, he cannot become an enemy to God, tho' he may fall into enormous sins; that such sins cannot destroy the validity of faith; and that grace is by no means incompatible with sin. These and such-like propositions induced *Vazai* to attack his notions; which he did in a book, intitled, *Ekbtelef* *ABU HANIFA*, or *the contradictions of ABU HANIFA*. The *Sonnite* doctor, of whom we are speaking, is greatly celebrated by *Al Zamakhshari*, *Korderi*, *Marghinani*, *Dainuri*, *Sabakazmuni*, and
- b others, whose authority is of no small weight with the orthodox *Moslems*. In fine, all the principal eastern historians agree, that *Abu Hanifa* excelled all the learned *Mohammedans* of his age, not only in the knowledge of their law, but in the practice of all the duties it enjoins; that his life was extremely austere, and intirely detached from the things of this world, on which account he has always been considered by the *Sonnites* as the chief and first *Imâm* of the *Moslem* law; and that his sentiments have been rejected by none but the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, who are looked upon as schismatics by the orthodox *Mohammedans*. We shall conclude what we have to say on this head with observing, that *Mûlee Shâh*, third *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, erected a superb mausoleum in honour of *Abu Hanifa* at *Baghdâd*, and joined to it a college for the use of the youth educated in the principles of his
- c sect, in the year of the *Hejra* 485, or of *CHRIST* 1092 <sup>p</sup>.

THE following year, being the 166th of the *Hejra*, *Harûn Al Rasbid*, the *Khalif's* son, Harûn Al Rasbid arrives at Baghdad. arrived from the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, where he had concluded a peace with *Irene* sword in hand, and imposed what terms he thought fit upon that princess, at *Baghdâd*. One of those terms was, that the *Moslem* troops should be supplied with provisions, and furnished with all proper accommodations, as long as they remained in the empress's dominions; as also that they should be conducted from thence to the *Khalif's* territories by some of her subjects who knew the roads, by the best way they could shew them, and not that narrow defile limited on one side by a steep mountain, and on the other by the *Sagaris*, or *Sangarius*, a noted river of *Bitlynia*, through which the *Arab* army had marched to the coast of the

d *Propontis*, where they had struck a terror into the imperial court. The conclusion of this treaty with *Irene* is placed by *Abu'l Faraj*, who seems in this point to be supported by *Theophanes*, in the 165th year of the *Hejra*; tho' that event appears to have been fixed by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* in the preceding year. Had not the empress been intirely governed by her fears, she might have cut *Harûn Al Rasbid* and all his troops to pieces, or starved them to a surrender, since they were in a very distressed and calamitous situation, when the treaty was signed, as we find intimated by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Harûn* entered *Baghdâd* in the month of *Al Mobarram*, and was attended by a considerable number of *Christians*, who had been restored to their liberty by virtue of the preceding treaty. The peace concluded between the *Greek* empress and the *Khalif* continued about three years. Soon after *Al Rasbid's* arrival at *Baghdâd*,

e he was declared the next heir to the crown after his elder brother *Mûsa Al Hâdi*. About the same time, *Al Mobdi* caused diligent search to be made after all his subjects who were infected with *Zendicism*, and put to death as many of them as fell into his hands. Amongst the rest, he ordered *Saleb Ebn Abd'allah* and *Tasir Ebn Yarad* to be executed, under the pretext of their having been suspected of favouring those who professed that species of infidelity. But *Tasir Ebn Yarad* is supposed to have suffered the punishment inflicted upon him, for publishing some satirical verses upon *Al Mobdi* and his counsellor *Takûb Ebn Dawud*, which have been handed down to us by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>q</sup>.

THE next year, being the 167th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mobdi* removed from the government of *Egypt* *Ibrahim Ebn Saleb*, and appointed *Mûsa Ebn Mashaab*, or *Moses* the son of *Musaab*, Ibrahim Ebn Saleb removed from the government of Egypt. as he is called by *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, who had formerly been the *Khalif's* governor of *Mesopotamia*, to succeed him. Every part of that prince's vast dominions seems to have enjoyed an uninterrupted repose, no military operations having been mentioned as happening during the course of it, in any of the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, by the oriental historians, the present year <sup>r</sup>.

IN the 168th year of the *Hejra*, *Musa Ebn Mashaab* was assassinated in *Egypt*. This tragical event happened in the month of *Shawâl*, and was probably occasioned by a tyrannical and oppressive administration. His deputy *Amer Ebn Omar* took upon him the government of *Egypt*, and

<sup>p</sup> LAMAI, in *Dester Lathif*, c. i. Aut. RAEI AL AKHIAR. HOSEIN WAEZ, in comment. ad Al Kor. MOHAM. c. iii. VAZAI, in *Ekbtelef* *Abu Hanifa*. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. KORDER. MARGHINAN. DAINUR. SOBAHAZMUN. AL JANNAB. &c. <sup>q</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR ubi sup. p. 226, 227. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 384, 385. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 1. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 107. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 470. <sup>r</sup> ABU JAAFIAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.



succeeded in  
the govern-  
ment of that  
country by  
Fadl Ebn  
Saleh.

AlMohdi *disc.*

Egypt, till the arrival of *Fadl Ebn Saleh Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbās*, who was sent by the *Khalif* from *Baghdād* to succeed *Mūsa Ebn Mafsaab* in his lucrative and exalted post<sup>a</sup>.

THE following year, being the 169th year of the *Hejra*, and beginning *July* 14th, 785, *Al Mohdi* sent to his son *Harūn Al Rashīd*, then in the province of *Jorjān*, to repair immediately to court; he having formed a design to secure to him the *Moslem* throne immediately after his death, and intirely to exclude his eldest son, *Mūsa Al Hādī*, from the succession; but *Harūn*, looking upon this as an iniquitous step, would not comply with his father's order; so that the *Khalif* found himself obliged to undertake a journey into *Jorjān*, in order to have a conference there with his younger son *Al Rashīd*. When he arrived at *Arud*, or *Al Rud*, in the district of *Māfabdād*, one of his favourite mistresses, whom he had commanded to attend him, gave him a poisoned pear, which had been presented to her by another of the *Khalif's* concubines, named *Hafana*, who thought she had too great an ascendant over him, and therefore resolved to destroy her; which, appearing very beautiful to him, he could not forbear eating it, not in the least suspecting that any noxious quality was inherent in it. But it had no sooner entered his stomach than he found himself in most exquisite torture, and in a very short time expired; which greatly afflicted *Hafana*, tho' she had no intention to hurt him, when she communicated the poisoned fruit to her hated rival. This tragical accident happened on the twenty second day of the month of *Al Moharram*; and, after it, the *Khalif* was buried near a walnut-tree, under whose boughs he used sometimes to repose himself. He was near forty-three years of age at the time of his death, and reigned ten years, one month, and fifteen days. His son *Harūn Al Rashīd*, who was with him when he expired, said the prayers over him at the time of his interment. Some writers pretend, that, one day, as he was hunting, he pursued a wild beast into an old ruined house; where, being obliged to make a great effort to pass through a low door, his horse carried him with such force against it, that he broke his back; so that, no assistance being at hand, he expired upon the spot. This *Khalif*, in imitation of his father *Abu Jaafar Al Mansūr*, is said to have performed a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, tho' with more pomp than devotion; as he spent in that journey about 6,000,000 *dinārs*. Amongst other things with which he loaded the camels that attended him, he carried such a prodigious quantity of snow, that it served not only to refresh him and all his retinue in the burning sands of *Arabia*, but likewise to preserve all the delicious fruits he took with him in their natural freshness, and to afford him ice water to drink, during his abode at *Mecca*, the inhabitants of which place had scarce ever seen any snow before. Whilst he was there, according to some authors, he enlarged the portico of the *Caaba*, and issued orders for demolishing many houses at *Medina*, to give a greater extent to the mosque containing *Mohammed's* tomb; which was by no means approved of by the superstitious followers of the *Moslem* law. It was at this time also that a *Moslem* brought to him one of the prophet's slippers, and received from him for it a present of 10,000 *dirhēms*; after which, turning himself towards some of his principal courtiers, he said, "*Mohammed* never saw this slipper; but, if I had refused accepting of it, the people would have believed that it had really belonged to *Mohammed*, and that I had despised it; for they are naturally prejudiced in favour of the weak against the strong." This prince often changed the governors of his provinces, and their ministers, lest some of them should usurp too great a degree of power, and even assume to themselves the supreme authority. He likewise restored large sums of money that his father had extorted from his subjects, released a vast number of prisoners, and dispatched most of the affairs of state himself with great diligence and application. He frequently held his bed of justice, in order to punish the violences and oppressions exercised by the grandees upon the lower part of the people, and to make the latter amends for the losses they had sustained. He appointed persons of great gravity and discretion, and such as were extremely well versed in the *Mohammedan* civil law, to assist in the courts of justice, that, by their presence, they might prevent all illegal decisions. Having one day, by way of reprimand, said to one of his civil officers, *How long will you be guilty of these faults?* the other very sagaciously replied, *As long as it shall please God to preserve your life for our good, so long shall we commit faults, and your clemency will pardon them*<sup>1</sup>.

Who were his  
principal coun-  
sellors, or  
prime minis-  
ters.

His first principal counsellor, or prime minister, was *Moāwiyah Ebn Abd'allah Al Asbari*; but he did not continue long in that exalted station. After his dismissal, he advanced to that sublime post *Yākūb Ebn Dawūd Ebn Tabmar*, surnamed *Tabamasb*, a person of great wit and a most charming conversation, who was in such high favour with the *Khalif*, that he did not only trust him with the management of all his affairs, but likewise permitted him to partake of all his diversions. This excited the envy of the principal courtiers, who entered into several cabals against him, and at last found an opportunity of accusing him to *Al Mohdi* of favouring the partisans of the *Alidæ*, or family of *Ali*, and consequently of being an

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 227, 228.

KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 107, 108. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 385. EEN SHOHNAH, SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 117.



- a enemy to the house of *Al Abbās*. This accusation, tho' it did not gain intire credit with the *Khalif*, made nevertheless some impresson upon him. In order, therefore, to try him, *Al Mohdi* commanded *Yakūb* to put to death one of the descendants of *Ali*, whom, he pretended, he could not permit to live any longer; and, to induce him to obey with the greater alacrity this command, he made him a present of 100,000 *dirhēms*, and bestowed upon him in marriage one of the most beautiful ladies of his seraglio. *Yakūb* having communicated to the person destined to suffer the order he had received, he was addressed by him in the following terms: *Give me the life which it is now in your power to take away, and you will by that means avoid the confusion which you must necessarily be in at the day of judgment, when you appear before my great ancestor Ali, if you spill my blood which he regards as his own.* These words
- b so sensibly touched *Yakūb Ebn Dawd*, that he gave the person devoted to destruction the money he had received from the *Khalif*, and enabled him to make his escape. But this having been discovered to *Al Mohdi* by *Yakūb's* new wife, such strict search was made after the prisoner, that he was retaken in a short time, and confined in an apartment fitted up for him in the *Khalif's* palace. After which, *Yakūb* was summoned to appear, and charged with forwarding his escape; which that nobleman denying, and swearing by the head and life of the *Khalif*, that he had put the prisoner to death, the *Shiite*, who had been seized, and put under arrest in the palace, was immediately produced before him. *Yakūb*, being confounded at
- c the sight, had nothing to urge in his vindication, and was therefore immediately ordered by the *Khalif*, who was irritated to the last degree at the perjury he had been manifestly guilty of, to prison, where he remained till the sixth year of the *Khalifat* of *Harūn Al Rashīd*. But that prince having released him, he retired to *Mecca*, and resided there till his death. After *Al Mohdi* had removed him from the honourable post he for some time filled, he substituted *Kabād Ebn Saleh*, a person of uncommon abilities, in his room<sup>a</sup>.

- HASANA, to whom *Al Mohdi's* death has been ascribed by some of the eastern writers, Theophilus Edessenus dies a little before the Khalif. having been commanded by the *Khalif* to attend him in his journey to *Jorjān*, imagined that his intended conference with his son *Harūn Al Rashīd* was owing to the advice of *Theophilus* of *Roha*, or *Edeffa*, the son of *Thomas Edessenus*, a *Christian*, and his chief astrologer,
- d whom he consulted on all emergent occasions. She, therefore, sent him an insolent message; upbraiding him with his past conduct, and wishing that God would soon deliver them from him, by putting a period to his days. To which he replied, that he had never attempted to persuade the *Khalif* to undertake the journey she mentioned; that, with regard to the time of his death, the approach of which she so earnestly desired, he knew it was fixed, and at hand; but that nevertheless this was not owing to her prayers, and that as soon as she should be informed of it, she ought to cover her own head with dust. The meaning of the latter part of this answer she did not understand till twenty days after the astrologer's death, when that of *Al Mohdi* himself likewise happened; but then she easily comprehended the purport of his prediction, which stood in no need of any farther interpretation. To what
- e has been already observed of this *Theophilus Edessenus* we shall here beg leave to add, that the style of the *Syriac* version of the *Iliad* is reckoned very elegant and polite by some of the *Arab* writers; and that he seems to have translated the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Iliad*, into that language, according to *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>w</sup>.

- AL MOHDI had another great favourite besides his principal astrologer, or rather astronomer, *Theophilus Edessenus*, and that was *Isa*, his physician, surnamed *Al Sidalāni*, or the apothecary, because he was originally of that profession, and did not pretend to any great skill in physic. *Al Khizarān*, one of *Al Mohdi's* best-beloved concubines, a native of *Medina*, being indisposed, sent a maid with some of her urine, to a physician, in order to learn the cause of her distemper; giving her a strict charge at the same time not to discover the person
- f from whom she came. The maid went directly to the shop of *Abu Koreish* (for so likewise was *Isa* called) and shewed him her lady's urine; telling him, that it belonged to a poor woman, who stood in great need of his assistance. *A poor woman!* said he; *no, this came from an illustrious princess, who is with child of a king.* The maid immediately reported this to *Al Khizarān*, who afterwards made *Isa* a present of two sumptuous vests and 300 *dinārs*, and promised to procure him admission into the *Khalif's* family, if the latter part of what he had told the maid should prove true. This vastly astonished *Abu Khoreish*, who publicly declared, that what he had said must have proceeded from a divine impulse, since he spoke at random, and in reality knew nothing of the grand personage by whom the maid had been sent on this occasion. However, *Al Khizarān* being brought to bed of a prince, afterwards named *Mūsā Al Hādi*, who succeeded his father in the *Khalifat*, in due time, she

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 108, 109. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, NEZAM AL MULK, in *Wassāia*. <sup>w</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 228. GREG. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 311, 313, 315. ROMÆ, 1721. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 32.



communicated the whole affair to the *Khalif*; who was so well pleased with it, that he sent *a* for *Abu Koreish*, made him his physician, tho', upon examination, he found him not to understand much of physic, and heaped many favours upon him. But notwithstanding his good fortune, *Abu Koreish*, or, if we please, *Isa Al Sidalâni*, was never honoured with a place amongst the principal physicians by the *Arabs* <sup>x</sup>.

*A description  
of Al Moh-  
di's person and  
character.*

As to his person, *Al Mohdi* was tall, handsome, though he had a white speck in his right eye, and, like the generality of the *Arabs*, of a swarthy complexion. With regard to his disposition, he was liberal and munificent, or, according to others, prodigal and profuse, as he dissipated in a very short time the immense treasures left him by his father *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. He was also magnanimous and brave, and extremely beloved by his subjects, on account of his impartial administration of justice, and the aversion he always discovered *b* to an effusion of human blood. He has likewise been considered by some of the *Arab* writers as religious and devout; though others of them have not been so willing to admit that part of his character. Being once in the mosque at *Cûfa*, and upon the point of beginning the public prayers, one of the rabble said to him, *I have not yet performed the ablution, and yet I would willingly join with you in the public prayers.* Upon which, the *Khalif* stopped in the middle of the mosque, till the *Arab* had washed and purified himself in a proper manner. In his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, he was attended by a person of great sanctity, named *Al Mansûr Al Hajani*, who being with him in the *Caaba*, when he distributed large sums amongst the people there, the *Khalif* said, *Do you, Al Mansûr, desire nothing of me?* The other replied, *I am ashamed to desire any thing in the house of God but God himself.* *Al Mohdi*, *c* upon his return from the pilgrimage, found himself so touched by the pious sentiments inspired into him by that devout expression, that he threw himself upon the ground, and addressed himself to the Deity in the following terms: *If I, O LORD, am to be punished, I shall cheerfully undergo whatever chastisement I deserve; but, O LORD, look upon none of the faithful as thine enemies on my account.* After which, he made *Al Mansûr Al Hajani*, for the reproof he had given him, by suggesting, that he ought never to confound earthly with heavenly things, a present of 10,000 *dinârs*. It has been regarded likewise as an instance of this *Khalif's* liberality, as well as of his inclination to encourage learned men, that he ordered *Merwân Ebn Abu Hafas*, one of his subjects, for seventy distichs of *Arabic* verses that he had composed, the sum of 70,000 *dirhems*. The following remarkable story, that *d* has been told of him by *Ahmed Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwîni*, may also be considered in a similar light, and is too entertaining to be omitted here <sup>y</sup>.

*A pleasant ad-  
venture be-  
falls this  
Khalif.*

*AL MOHDI*, being one day engaged in a hunting-match, strayed from his attendants, and, being pressed with hunger and thirst, was obliged to betake himself to an *Arab's* tent that he discovered, in order to meet with some refreshment. The poor man immediately brought out his coarse brown bread and a pot of milk to the *Khalif*. *Al Mohdi* asked him if he had nothing else to give him; upon which, the *Arab* went directly to fetch a jug of wine, and presented it to him. After the *Khalif* had drunk a good draught, he demanded of the *Arab* whether he did not know him? The other having answered, that he did not; *I would have you know then*, replied *Al Mohdi*, *that I am one of the principal lords of the Kha-* *e* *lif's court.* After he had taken another draught, he put the same question to the *Arab* as before; who thereupon answering, *Have not I already told you that I know you not?* *Al Mohdi* returned, *I am a much greater person than I have made you believe.* Then he drank again, and asked his landlord the third time, whether he did not know him? To which the other replied, that *he might depend upon the truth of the answer he had already given him.* *I am then*, said *Al Mohdi*, *the Khalif, before whom all the world prostrate themselves.* The *Arab* no sooner heard those words than he carried off the pitcher, and would not suffer his guest to drink any more. *Al Mohdi*, being surprized at this action, asked him why he carried off his wine? The *Arab* replied, *Because I am afraid that, if you take a fourth draught, you will tell me you are the prophet Mohammed; and if by chance a fifth, that you are God* *f* *ALMIGHTY himself.* This gentle wipe so pleased the *Khalif*, that he could not forbear laughing at it; and being soon rejoined by his people, he ordered a purse of silver, and a fine vest, to be given the poor man, who had entertained him in so hospitable a manner. Upon which, the *Arab*, in a transport of joy for the good fortune he had met with, said to the *Khalif*, *I shall henceforth take you for what you pretend to be, even though you should make yourself two or three times more considerable than you have done* <sup>z</sup>.

*Some other  
particulars  
relating to  
him.*

WE have already observed from an *Arab* author of good repute, that *Al Mohdi* died in a village called *Al Rud*, in the territory, or district, of *Masabdan*; and that he was buried in the same place. He also affirms this *Khalif* to have been but 39 years of age at the time

<sup>x</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 229, 230.

<sup>y</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 107, 108. KHONDAMIR, AUL. RABI AL ABRAR. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403, 404, 405.

<sup>z</sup> AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI. in *Nigharij*.



a of his death; which runs counter to what has been advanced on that head by other writers. Another historian, or rather annalist, informs us, that *Madi* (for so he calls *Al Mobdi*) had also the name of *Mohammed*, and was succeeded by his son *Moses*, or *Mûsa*. The first day of his reign was *Sunday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The captain of his guards was *Nasr Ebn Nofair Ebn Mâlec Al Khozâ'i*, and, after him, *Hamzah Ebn Mâlec Ebn Abd'allah*; his judges *Mohammed Ebn Aba'allah Ebn Alafa* and *Afiya Ebn Yezid*, who exercised their function together in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*; and his chamberlains *Salâm Abwasb*, *Fadl Ebn Al Rabia*, and *Al Hosein Ebn Râshed*. Lastly, the inscription of his seal was, *God is my sufficiency, or My sufficiency is of God* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 385. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 109.

## S E C T. XXIV.

b **H**ARUN AL RASHID, *Al Mobdi*'s second son, being with his father at the time of his death, obliged all the people about him, and particularly those who were members of the house of *Hâshem*, to take the oath of allegiance to his brother *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, and sent advice of this into all parts of the empire; upon which, he was unanimously proclaimed *Khalîf* by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*. *Harûn* likewise dispatched an express to his brother *Al Hâdi*, then in *Jorjân*, with an account of what had happened, and advised him to make all possible haste to *Baghdâd*; where, after his arrival, he constituted *Al Rabî*, or *Rabia*, his prime minister, or *Visir*. The same year, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, he massacred great numbers of his subjects who had embraced *Zendicîsm*, because they ridiculed the pilgrims who went in procession round the *Caaba*. The *Arabs*, who professed *Zendicîsm*, if we will believe *Ebn Kassef*, were a sort of *Sadducees*, or rather *Manichees*, who maintained the existence of two principles, *LIGHT* and *DARKNESS*, and permitted marriage to be contracted between the nearest relations. At first, the *Zendicees* taught, that men ought to preserve themselves from sin, applied their thoughts intirely to the other world, despised the good things of this, and abstained from all animal food. But, in process of time, they introduced the worship of the two principles above-mentioned, denied that the first degrees of consanguinity prohibited marriage, and despised all the other religions of the country where they lived. Amongst others infected with *Zendicîsm*, *Al Hâdi* put to death *Yacûb Ebn Al Fadl Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Abbâs*; whose daughter *Fâtema*, after her father's death, confessed that she had been got with child by him. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Al Hâdi* undertook an expedition into the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Mazanderân*, or *Tabaristân*, in his father's life-time; and that he was in the former of those provinces when that prince died. It also may be inferred from some of those authors, that *Al Mobdi*, a little before his death, sent him with a body of troops in quest of the *Zendicees*, in order to bring them to a condign punishment; which orders he executed with honour, and to the *Khalîf*'s entire satisfaction. We must not omit observing here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a great mistake, when he asserts *Al Mobdi*, in direct contradiction to all the best *Arab* historians, to have died at *Baghdâd* <sup>b</sup>.

c THE same year, that is, the 169th of the *Hejra*, *Al Hâdi*, by his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*'s influence, was inaugurated, without any opposition, at *Baghdâd*. Here he arrived from *Jorjân* and *Mazanderân*, called sometimes by the *Arabs* *Tabaristân*, the inhabitants of which provinces he had reduced to the obedience of the *Khalîf Al Mobdi*; who, from the measures he intended to have pursued at the time of his death, in favour of *Al Rashîd*, seems to have been jealous of him. Soon after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Al Hâdi* removed *Al Fadl Ebn Saleb* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Ali Ebn Solimân Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* in his room. The courier dispatched by *Harûn Al Rashîd* to his brother *Al Hâdi*, after his father's death, was *Salmat Al Wasîf*, *Al Mobdi*'s freed-man. The person who headed the rebels of *Mazanderân*, or *Tabaristân*, was *Madâr*, the lord of *Hormuz*, or *Hormaz*. It has been already observed, that the mother of *Al Hâdi* was called *Khizarân* by *Abu'l Faraj*. She was the daughter of *Atâ*, one of *Al Mobdi*'s servants, and has been denominated *Hinzarân* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>c</sup>.

f SOON after his accession, *Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Hasan* rebelled against *Al Hâdi*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalîf* at *Medina*; the inhabitants of which city declared openly for him. From thence he marched to *Mecca*, and put to the sword all the pilgrims there known to be members of the house of *Al Abbâs*. This revolt, nevertheless, cost the family *Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Hasan* rebels against him.

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 230. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. EBN KASSEM. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 404, 405. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Hadi*, p. 415.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113. GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 227, 229, 230. YAKUT, EUTYCH. ubi sup.

of



of *Ali* very dear. For the *Khalif*, having defeated *Hosein*, cut off his head, as well as those of a great number of his adherents, and deprived his family of all the pensions and appointments that they had enjoyed by a particular privilege. *Hosein* had the character of a valiant and very liberal prince. He is said to have distributed 40,000 *dinârs*, which the *Khalif* had one day given him, amongst the citizens of *Baghdâd* and *Cûfa*, and afterwards to have retired to his house at *Medina* in a furred vest only, without so much as a shirt under it. Before he took up arms against the *Khalif*, he ordered a proclamation to be made, whereby he manumitted all the slaves who should desert their masters, and take on in his service. By this means he formed a considerable army, which he flattered himself would enable him to dispute the *Khalifat* with *Al Hâdi*, and even enable him to mount the *Moslem* throne. But he was not a little mistaken in this; for his forces were overthrown by a handful of disciplined and regular troops sent against them by the *Khalif*. *Theophanes* calls this prince *Moses*, and his father *Mohammed*, as well as *Madi*; but he says not a word of *Hosein's* defection, nor of the decisive action consequent thereupon <sup>d</sup>.

*Al Hâdi dies.*

THE next year, being the 170th of the *Hejra*, *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, finding himself now settled upon the throne, formed a design to exclude his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*, notwithstanding the good offices he had done him, from the succession. His view herein was to advance his own son *Jaafar* to the *Khalifat*, who was not yet arrived at the age of puberty. But *Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barîmac*, a person of great reputation for his prudence, and who filled the important post of *Visir*, endeavoured to dissuade him from carrying such a design into execution, by representing to him, that the *Moslems* would not be satisfied with a *Khalif*, who could not perform divine service in the mosque, conduct them in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and march at their head against an enemy. The *Khalif* pretended to be convinced by his reasoning, and to approve of his advice; but he gave *Harthamah*, a person in whom he could intirely confide, private orders to kill his brother *Harûn*, and *Yabya* his *Visir*. For that purpose, he kept him one night concealed in his palace. But, about midnight, *Harthamah* heard the voice of *Khizarân*, the *Khalif's* mother, calling him by his name, and bidding him come see *Al Hâdi* dead upon his bed. That prince died suddenly of a cough, which seized him after he had drank a glass of water. He was jealous of his brother *Harûn*, and the more so, as their mother had discovered a greater affection for the latter than the former on several occasions. But she prevented his project from taking effect, by giving him a subtle poison that carried him off by coughing and sneezing. *Assadi*, a *Perfian* poet, composed a distich upon this tragical event, wherein he says, that *the blood of two brothers is the same, as being formed of the same milk, and that the brother who sheds this is a homicide of his mother as well as of his brother*. We are informed by an *Arab* writer, that when *Yabya* attempted to persuade *Al Hâdi* not to alter the order of succession, he told him, that if he prevailed upon the people to violate their engagements to his brother *Harûn*, this would give them a mean opinion of public faith; but that their veneration for such engagements would be heightened by a contrary conduct; that the noblesse, of whom he named a considerable number, would never come into such a scheme; and that consequently this would pave the way to his son *Jaafar's* exclusion from the *Moslem* throne. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that he first endeavoured to destroy his mother, by sending her a poisoned goose; but that this not meeting with success, she soon after smothered him with a pillow, as she attended him in a fit of sickness. Be that as it will, he died at *Baghdâd*, or rather *Isabâd*, a place a little without the city, on *Friday* the 14th day of the latter *Rabî*, after he had reigned one year, two months, and twenty-two days. He was buried near the spot where he died, and his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd* performed the funeral service over him. He is said by some authors to have been, at the time of his death, twenty-four, by others twenty-five, and, lastly, by others, twenty-six, years of age <sup>e</sup>.

*Al Hâdi's mother, according to some of the Arab writers, accessory to his death.*

WHEN *Al Hâdi* commanded *Harthamah* to assassinate his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*, and *Yabya* his *Visir*, he assigned the following reason for that order, viz. because the latter was his declared enemy, and had, by his seditious discourses, attempted to alienate the affections of his subjects from him, as well as used his utmost endeavours to engage them in favour of the former. He also commanded him, after that double execution, to put to the sword all the descendant of *Ali* that could be found in any part of his dominions, and then, with a body of his troops, to surprize the city of *Cûfa*; to which, after he had drawn from thence all the partizans of the house of *Al Abbâs*, he was to set fire, and reduce it intirely to ashes. *Harthamah* would have excused himself from being concerned in so bloody a scheme, by alleging, that he had not a number of troops sufficient to execute such a grand design. But the *Khalif* threatened him with death if he did not comply with his orders, left him abruptly, and retired into the private apartments of his palace; from

<sup>d</sup> KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 385. p. 110. KHONDEMIR, ASSAD. poet. Pers. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 231. EUTYCH, ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

whence



a whence a few moments after arrived the news of his expiring suddenly in the manner already related. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Khiazarân*, who governed with an arbitrary sway, having one day pressed *Al Hâdi*, with an unusual warmth, to grant her a favour she had promised to obtain for one of her dependents, which he refused to do, she went off in a heat; declaring she would never for the future put up any petition to him. Upon which, he said to her, in an angry tone, "Keep within your doors, and mind your own business; if I should hereafter be informed, that any of my officers apply to you for favours, I will order his head to be cut off. How comes it about, that my courtiers attend your levee, from morning till evening, in such crouds? What is the meaning of this? Have you not a wheel and a distaff wherewith to employ yourself, or a book to put you in mind of your duty, or, lastly, a house to reside in?" This infuriating her to the last degree, she instantly vowed revenge; and accordingly ordered the maids she sent to attend him, in a fit of sickness that soon ensued, to suffocate him, as related above. As soon as he was dead, she commanded *Harthamah* to apprize her younger son *Harûn* of what had happened, that he might have an opportunity of immediately asserting his right to the *Meslem* throne. Hence it appears, that different accounts of this prince's death, as well as the true cause of it, have been handed down to us by the best oriental historians <sup>f</sup>.

With regard to his person, *Al Hâdi* had a large mouth, contracted his upper lip, was tall, corpulent, and of a fair complexion. He was likewise extremely robust, and an excellent horseman. As to his disposition, he was magnanimous and brave, as well as liberal on some occasions; though he has not been represented by any of the *Arab* writers as very profuse of his favours. He one day repeated an *Arabic* verse, and desired *Yusef Al Sokail*, a pretty noted poet, to produce some others of the same sort; which he did, and received for a reward no more than ten *dirbêms*. However, we are told by another author, that *Merwân Ebn Abu Hâfedh*, a very celebrated *Arab* poet, having once presented some of his pieces to him, this prince, who was a good judge of such performances, as evidently appears from some of his poems still extant, discovered such beauties in them, that he was extremely pleased, and said to him, *Chuse for your trouble, by way of recompence, either to receive immediately 30,000 dirhêms, or 100,000, after you have gone through all the delays and formalities of the exchequer.* The poet answered pleasantly, *Give me 30,000 now, and 100,000 hereafter.* Which repartee was so well taken by *Al Hâdi*, that he ordered the intire sum of 130,000 *dirbêms* to be immediately paid him. The captain of his guards was *Abd'allah Ebn Hazem Ebn Hozaimah Al Tamimi*, and, after his abdication of that post, *Abd'allah Ebn Mâlec Al Khozâ'i*; his counsellors *Rabî Ebn Yûnas* and *Omar Ebn Al Rabî*; his judges *Abu Yusef Yakûb Ebn Ibrahim*, a person intimately acquainted with *Abu Hanîfa*, who went, as we may term it, the western circuit, and *Sa'id Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, who went the eastern; and his chamberlains *Al Rabî* and *Al Fadl*, his son. In the first year of his *Khalîfat*, *Abuna Yabya* was elected patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, and continued in that post thirteen years. He is said to have been born, elected patriarch, and died, on the same day of the month. The church at *Alexandria* enjoyed an uninterrupted repose during the time he presided over it. He was very charitable, and distributed amongst the poor of that city a vast quantity of corn, when a grievous famine raged there. At *Antioch* died, in *Al Hâdi's* reign, *Dawd*, or *David*, bishop of *Dara*, who had by violence intruded into the patriarchate there; which enabled *George*, the lawful patriarch, who had been incarcerated at *Baghdâd* many years, to exercise his patriarchal function at *Antioch*, in the same manner as before the commencement of the aforesaid schism. *George* was succeeded by a person named *Syriacus*, or *Cyriacus*, a man of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life. The first day of *Al Hâdi's* reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Friday*; and the inscription of his seal, *God is my Lord*. It has been already remarked, that the followers of *Abu Hanîfa* acquired a great degree of reputation, by being taken under the protection of *Abu Yusef*, his chief justice, in the *Khalîfat* of this prince <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nigbiarist*. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 231. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 111, 112. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 404—407. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman ubi sup. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou-Hanifah*, p. 21, 22.

## S E C T. XXV.

g **A**L HADI's death was no sooner known than *Harûn Al Rashîd* was saluted emperor of *Al Hâdi* as the faithful, in the night between the 14th and 15th of the latter, according to *Abu Ja'far Al Tabari*, or, if we will believe *Eutychius* and *Abu'l Faraj*, the former *Rabî*, by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*; and those of the provinces soon followed their example. *Al Rashîd* was at the same time about twenty-two years of age, and a great favourite of his mother



*Khizarân*, who not a little contributed to his accession. One of the first things he did was, a  
to order some divers to search for a ring given him by his father, worth 100,000 *dinârs*,  
that, to prevent its falling into his brother's hands, he had thrown into the *Tyrris*; which  
being found, without much difficulty, he was highly pleased. The night that *Al Hâdi* died,  
*Khozaima Ebn Hâzem* rushed into his son *Jaafar*'s bed-chamber, dragged him out of bed,  
and threatened immediately to cut off his head, if he did not instantly acknowledge *Harûn*  
*Al Rashîd* for his sovereign; which, to save his life, he was glad to do. As *Jaafar*'s recog-  
nition of the new *Khalîf*'s authority was attested by some *Moslems* of distinction, that *Kho-*  
*zaima* had brought with him for this purpose; the service done *Harûn Al Rashîd*, on this  
occasion, proved extremely acceptable to that prince. *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, being b  
informed of *Al Hâdi*'s death, came to *Al Rashîd* to acquaint him with the news, soon after  
his brother expired; and, before his departure, another of the new *Khalîf*'s friends arrived,  
to congratulate him upon the birth of a son, called first *Abd'allah*, and afterwards *Al Maimûn*,  
who, after his brother *Al Amîn*, ascended the *Moslem* throne. So that the same night was  
famous for the death of one *Khalîf*, the accession of another, and the birth of a third. *Al*  
*Rashîd* had likewise another son, named *Mohammed*, and afterwards *Al Amîn*, born in the  
month of *Shawâl* this year; who, though he was younger than *Al Maimûn*, succeeded his  
father in the *Khalîfat*. This young prince's mother was *Zebeida*, the daughter of *Jaafar*,  
the son of the *Khalîf* *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. *Al Rashîd* called *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Bar-*  
*mac* his father, and, for his close and faithful attachment to him, constituted him his prime  
minister, or *Visir* <sup>h</sup>.

The new Kha-  
lif appoints  
Mûsa Ebn Isa  
to preside over  
Egypt.

In the 171st year of the *Mohammedan* æra, beginning June 22d, 787, *Al Rashîd* con-  
ferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Al*  
*Hâshemi*, as a person every way qualified for so important a post. The surname *Al Rashîd*  
denotes *the righteous, the director, or the just*. We are told by some of the eastern writers,  
that when *Harûn* was apprized of his brother's death, and consequently of his own exalta-  
tion to the *Khalîfat*, he gave himself up intirely for some time to the reading of the *Korân*.  
As the night of *Al Hâdi*'s death was so remarkable for the relation it bore to three *Khalîfs*,  
it has been denominated by some of the *Arabs*, *the night*, or rather *the day, of the family of*  
*Hâshem*. It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Al Rashîd*, being extremely troubled with the  
head-ach, commanded *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, his *Visir*, to send for *Bakhtishua*, the d  
son of *George* above-mentioned, from *Naisabûr*; whom, after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, he  
presented with a sumptuous vest, besides many other things of great value, and made him  
the chief of his physicians, the present year <sup>i</sup>.

The western  
Khalîf dies.

THE following year, being the 172d of the *Hejra*, commencing June 11th, 788, the  
*Khalîf Al Rashîd* appointed his younger son, *Al Amîn*, his successor in the empire; and, after  
him, settled the right of succession upon his elder son, *Al Maimûn*. He also made the lat-  
ter of those young princes the prefect of *Khorasân*, and all the adjacent regions, extending  
as far as *Hamadân*; and committed to *Jaafar Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* the care of  
his education. About the same time, the daughter of the king of the *Khazars*, or *Kha-*  
*zarites*, known likewise by the name of the *Khâkân*, being brought to *Fadl Ebn Khâled Ebn* e  
*Barmac*, died at *Barthaa*; and her attendants returned to her father's court, where they  
gave out that she was poisoned. This induced that prince to make preparations for a war  
with the *Khalîf*. Soon after, a body of the *Moslem* forces made an irruption into the impe-  
rial territories, and penetrated as far as *Ephesus*. *Al Rashîd* also removed *Mûsa Ebn Isa*,  
during the time of this irruption, from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Moslema*  
*Ebn Yahya* in his room; appointing *Amru Ebn Mabran* collector of the tribute there. But  
he soon deposed *Moslema*, and sent *Mohammed Ebn Zahar* to succeed him. We must not  
forget to observe, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Abd'almelec Ebn Mer-*  
*wân*, the western *Khalîf* of the house of *Ommiyah*, died this, and not the preceding, year,  
as we find asserted by *Roderic of Toledo*, after he had reigned about thirty-three years, in f  
*Spain* <sup>k</sup>.

A civil war  
in Spain.

THE next year, being the 173d of the *Moslem* æra, the *Khalîf* deprived *Mohammed Ebn*  
*Zahar* of the government of *Egypt*, and conferred upon *Yezid Ebn Hâtem* that honourable  
and lucrative post. In the month of *September*, this year, the *Arabs* made another irruption  
into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and defeated a *Christian* army sent by that prince  
to oppose them. *Diogenes*, an imperial officer of great merit and bravery, together with  
several other commanders, and a vast number of foldiers, perished in the action. About

<sup>h</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 231. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 112. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 389.

<sup>i</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Haroun Al Rashid*, p. 431. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 235. GREG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 23.

<sup>k</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 232. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 305. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xviii. p. 18. KAZEM DEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abd'alrahman*. &c. p. 9.



a this time, a civil war broke out between *Heshâm*, *Abd'alrahmân's* eldest son, who succeeded him in the western *Khalifat*, and his brother *Solimân*, who presided over the principality of *Toledo*, in *Spain*. The armies commanded by those two princes came to a general action near a fortress called *Bulche*; where, after a sharp engagement, *Solimân* was overthrown, with very great slaughter, and *Toledo* obliged to open its gates to the victor, after it had sustained a pretty vigorous siege. The battle of *Bulche*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, so often cited here, seems to have been fought towards the close of the present year <sup>1</sup>.

In the 174th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* sent a powerful navy, with a strong body of land-forces on board, to invade the island of *Cyprus*; which was met and attacked by the *Christian* fleet, under the conduct of *Theophilus*, duke or prince of *Cibyra*, off the *Chelidonian* promontory. The *Christians*, after a vigorous action, were intirely defeated, and *Theophilus* himself taken prisoner. Being brought before the *Khalif Harun Al Rashîd*, called *Aaron* by *Theophanes*, and refusing to embrace *Mohammedism*, he was put to death, by that prince's order, according to this author; which, we must own, to us appears by no means probable, as being directly repugnant to one of the principal *Moslem* institutions. *Solimân*, after the blow he had received at *Bulche*, fled to *Murcia*, where he resided the greatest part of this year. He also sold to his brother *Heshâm* his pretensions to the principality of which he had been deprived, for 70,000 *dinârs*; after which, he crossed the sea, retired into *Barbary*, and was not seen for some years afterwards in *Spain* <sup>m</sup>.

The following year, being the 175th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* sent *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa Al Hâsbemi* into *Egypt*, to take upon himself the government there. About the same time, *Jaasar Ebn Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* being taken extremely ill, the *Khalif* sent his own physician *Bakhtishua* to attend him; who having cured him, *Jaasar* chose the doctor's son *Gabriel* for his physician, and made him many very valuable presents. *Gabriel* soon after cured *Jaasar* of another disorder, by which he acquired no small degree of reputation. One of *Al Rashîd's* concubines stretching out her hand, in yawning, it immediately grew stiff, and remained extended in such a manner that she could not draw it back. Nor could the application of all sorts of liniments and unguents to it, as prescribed by the most able physicians of the court, relieve her. *Gabriel*, therefore, being recommended by *Jaasar* to her, he waited first upon the *Khalif*, and desired him to command her to appear publicly at his levee; which being done, he immediately approached her, and began, before the whole circle of courtiers, to undress her. This threw her into such confusion, that she made a violent effort with her whole body to prevent him; and, in the hurry and surprize this occasioned, seized upon the garment he seemed to be going to take off with the part affected: upon which, turning to the *Khalif*, he immediately cried out, "O emperor of the faithful, she is cured." Then she was ordered to move her hand upwards and downwards, backwards and forwards, and in all directions, several times; after which, she found the use of it perfectly restored. This not a little pleased *Al Rashîd*, who thereupon made *Gabriel* a present of 500,000 pieces of money. He also desired to know what might be the cause of so strange and unaccountable a disorder. To which *Gabriel* replied, that, during the time of coition, a thin humour, being agitated by the motion and extension of heat, attending this, had diffused itself over all parts of her body, and, upon the sudden cessation of that motion, was congealed in the interior part of the nerves; which had obliged him to make use of the foregoing artifice, in order to dilate the heat, dissolve the humour that was congealed, and restore a perfect soundness to the limb whose use had been lost. This answer wonderfully pleased the *Khalif*, and procured the doctor that prince's perpetual esteem. At this time, *Al Rashîd* had likewise for his physician *Tobana*, or *Yabya Ebn Masawiyah*, a *Syrian*, of the *Christian* religion, who, at the *Khalif's* request, interpreted, or explained, the writings of the antient physicians, and served him and his successors in the same capacity till the reign of *Al Motawakkel*. He was greatly honoured at *Baghdâd*, and composed several physical treatises in a very elegant style. He likewise founded a sort of school, or gymnasium, there, wherein he instructed his scholars, or young students, who were very numerous, in every branch of literature, but especially physic. He was a person of considerable humour, and several of his facetious sayings have been preserved by *Abu'l Faraj*. Contemporary with this *Yabya* was *Saleb Ebn Nabala*, an *Indian*, who performed several remarkable cures, and made no mean figure at *Al Rashîd's* court. But for a farther account of this physician, as well as of *Gabriel*, *Bakhtishua's* son, our readers may have recourse to the author last-mentioned, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction <sup>n</sup>.

The same year, that is, the 175th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* declared *Mohammed Al Amîn Al Amîn* his immediate successor, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*; tho' that event seems to have

<sup>1</sup> *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 391. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.*

<sup>m</sup> *THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 392. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. dis. p. 144.*

<sup>n</sup> *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 225—240.*



Khalif's im-  
mediate suc-  
cessor.

been placed three years higher by *Abu'l Faraj*. The poet *Salem Al Hâshber* made some verses <sup>a</sup> on this occasion, which highly pleased *Al Amîn's* mother *Zebeida*, the grand-daughter of the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*; who thereupon ordered him many valuable presents. We are told likewise, that *Zebeida* founded this very year the city of *Tauris*, in the province of *Aderbijân*, as her husband had before done another, from him named *Harûnia*, on the confines of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Armenia*. About the same time, some disputes, that had arisen between *Heshâm*, the western *Khalif*, and his brother *Abd'allah*, were terminated, by the retreat of the latter, who passed over the sea into *Africa*; which restored peace and tranquillity to the *Moslem* provinces in *Spain* <sup>o</sup>.

A rebellion  
extinguished.

THE next year, being the 176th of the *Mohammedan* æra, beginning *April* 29th, 792, *Yabya Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Husein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* set up for himself, in <sup>b</sup> opposition to the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*, in the province of *Deylam*, and raised a powerful army to support him in his defection. To extinguish this rebellion, *Harûn* sent an army of 50,000 men, under the command of *Fadl Ebn Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Bermac*, whom he had appointed to preside over *Ray*, or *Raya*, *Jorjân*, *Al Jebâl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, and *Tabaristân*. *Fadl*, being arrived in *Khorasân*, wrote a kind letter to *Yabya*, and persuaded him to submit to the *Khalif*; who, upon *Fadl's* application to him, promised to take him into his protection. Upon which, *Yabya* disbanded his troops, and went with *Fadl* to *Baghdâd*; where he at first met with a gracious reception from *Al Rashîd*, but was afterwards put in irons, and closely confined. The same year, the *Khalif* removed *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Ibrahim Ebn Saleh Ebn Ali Al Hâshemi* to suc- <sup>c</sup>ceed him in that post. It may be proper to inform our readers here, that *Deylam* was bounded on the E. by the region of *Tabaristân* and the district of *Ray*; on the S. by the districts of *Ray*, and *Kazwîn*, and the province of *Aderbijân*; on the W. by *Aderbijân*; and on the N. by the *Hyrcanian* sea. It is divided into two parts, one of which is mountainous, going properly under the name of *Deylam*, and the other almost one continued plain, known at this time by the name of *Ghilân*. The inhabitants of this province are called *Dolomites* by *Procopius*, and *Dilinmites* by *Cedrenus*. But, for a more copious description of it, our curious and learned readers may consult the authors here referred to <sup>p</sup>.

The western  
Khalif He-  
shâm's exploits  
in the year  
177.

IN the 177th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* made *Amru Ebn Makhrân* governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Ibrahim Ebn Saleh*, whom he thought fit to depose; but, in a month's time, <sup>d</sup> restored him to his former post. However, *Ibrahim* seems to have been not a little affected with his disgrace, the reason of which has not been handed down to us, as he died soon after. *Abd'allah Ebn Zabar Ebn Almeit*, who came after him, was soon removed, and succeeded by *Ishak Ebn Solimân Al Hâshemi*, whom *Al Rashîd* sent to preside over *Egypt*. In the month of *September* this year, a body of the imperial forces advanced to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, with an intent to invade the *Moslem* territories; but were obliged to retire from thence the following month, without accomplishing their design. *Abd'almâlec*, one of *Heshâm's* generals in *Spain*, likewise marched at the head of a formidable army as far as the cities of *Narbonne*, or *Narbonna*, and *Girona*, made himself master of them, as well as of all the other places of strength situated between them and the *Moslem* frontiers, and acquired such a <sup>e</sup> large quantity of plunder in this expedition, that the fifth part of it, which fell to *Heshâm's* share, amounted to the value of 45,000 *dinârs*. With this that prince finished the great mosque at *Corduba*, which had been founded by his father; and obliged the *Christian* inhabitants of the country he had conquered, and many others of their brethren settled in the neighbouring provinces, to whom he was grown extremely terrible, to carry materials for that purpose to *Corduba*, where he then resided. *Heshâm* also erected several new mosques, and repaired some old ones that were falling to ruin, in other places. He likewise built the famous bridge at *Corduba*, that remained as a monument of his magnificence for several ages. This prince consulting a skilful astrologer, in order to know the length and fortune of his reign, he was told by the artist, that he should not preside over the *Moslems* of *Spain* <sup>f</sup> eight complete years; but that his *Khalîfat* there should be prosperous, and he always prove superior to his enemies. This prediction at first greatly affected *Heshâm*, who remained silent for some time after it was delivered, though he amply rewarded the astrologer for the trouble he had given him. He afterwards also applied himself to the exercise of all political virtues, administered justice to the poor with so much impartiality, and treated the people in general, both *Moslems* and *Christians*, that he governed, with such affability and beneficence, that he was almost adored by the whole body of his subjects. He first invaded *Galicia* in the 175th year of the *Hejra*, where he then committed dreadful devastations; but, on his return home, was met and attacked by *Veremund*, or *Bermudo*, though with what

<sup>o</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 232. GEORG. JAC. KEHR. ubi sup. p. 23. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113, 114. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. GEORG. CEDREN. apud GOL. not. ad Alfragan. p. 205. AGATHIAS, PRO- COP. hist. Goth. lib. iv. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 204—210.



a success we are not told by any good author. Some of the *Spanish* writers, however, inform us, that, after the reduction of *Narbone*, *Girona*, and the other places above-mentioned, he made an irruption into *Biscay* and *Asturias*, laying waste all the country through which he moved; but that at last he received a signal overthrow from the forces commanded by *Alphonfus*, or *Alonzo*, II. who drove him from thence with the slaughter of 70,000 men. It must nevertheless be owned, that this last article has not been so much as mentioned by any of the most authentic *Arab* historians <sup>a</sup>.

THE following year, being the 178th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* ordered *Ishak Ebn Solimân Al Hâshemi* to retire from *Egypt*, and made *Hazima Ebn Ayan* his lieutenant there. But *Hazima* did not long remain in possession of that honourable post; being soon after banished by the *Khalîf* into *Africa*. He was succeeded by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Saleh Ebn Ali Al Hâshemi*, who appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mosabbib* to collect the tribute imposed on those who refused to profess *Islâm*, and the customs there, and on some occasions to officiate for him in the mosque. We must not forget to remark, that when *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa Al Hâshemi* was governor of *Egypt*, he repaired and enlarged the great mosque at *Mesr*, and put it into the form wherein it remained to the time of *Euty chius*. It appears from *Theophanes*, that some commotions happened in *Armenia*; and that the people of that country delivered the fortrefs of *Camach*, or *Kamakb*, into the hands of the *Arabs*, the present year <sup>b</sup>.

THE next year, being the 179th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* consulted all the principal doctors of the law at *Baghdâd*, to know whether he was obliged to undertake a journey on foot to *Mecca*, in consequence of a vow he had formerly made. That prince being in great perplexity and distress, and even almost overwhelmed with the afflictions he found himself obliged to sustain in the *Khalîfat* of his brother *Al Hâdi*, vowed to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* on foot, if it should please God ever to deliver him out of those troubles. However, after his elevation to the *Khalîfat*, many of his courtiers remonstrated to him, that he was under no obligation to visit the *Caaba* in the manner he had proposed. Upon which, he thought fit to apply to the aforesaid doctors for their decision in so momentous a point; and they being unanimously of opinion, that his former vow was obligatory, he set out from *Baghdâd* for *Mecca*, went on pilgrimage thither, and returned to his capital on foot, this present year; which was never afterwards performed by any future *Khalîf*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. We are likewise told, that the roads through which he passed were covered with rich carpets, and a variety of stuffs of very considerable price. About the same time, *Al Rashîd* also appointed his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mobdi*, after the dismissal of *Abd'almâlec Ebn Saleh*, to preside over *Egypt*; but, in a short time, he removed him from that post, and substituted *Mûsa Ebn Isa Al Hâshemi* in his room <sup>c</sup>.

THE same year, that is, the 179th of the *Moslem* æra, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, tho' others are of a different opinion, died *Abu Abd'allah Mâlec Ebn Ans Al Asbehi Al Medini*, the founder of the second orthodox sect, who is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of *Mohammed*. He went amongst the *Arabs* by the name of the *Imâm of the city of the flight*, as he was a native of *Medina*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 90, 93, 94, or 95, (for so much do the *Moslem* writers differ about the year of his birth) and consequently attained to a very old age. Some of those writers pretend, that he was three whole years in his mother's womb. In his last illness, a friend going to visit him, found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep; and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to God that for every question decided by me, according to my own opinion, I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own!" *Al Ghazâlî* thinks it a sufficient proof of *Mâlec's* directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that, being once asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them, was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than God's glory, to make so frank a confession of his ignorance. A certain person having once demanded of him whether it was lawful to use a porpoise, or sea-hog, for food, he answered in the negative; and, in support of his decision, observed, that, tho' it was really a fish, yet the name it bore made it pass for a hog, which every *Moslem* was absolutely forbidden to eat. Nor is this to be wondered at; the imposition of names being, according to a tradition that prevails amongst the *Mohammedans*, of divine original. It may not be improper to observe, that the doctrine of *Mâlec* is chiefly followed in *Barbary* and other parts of *Africa*. The *Moslems* of the west are said to have waged war with *Alonso* II. in *Galicia*, <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 114. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 394. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 472. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii, xix, xx. p. 18, 19. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. tom. i. p. 705, 706. Francofurti, 1603. <sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 395, 396. <sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 431. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 114. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407.



this year, with very bad success; the forces of that prince having sallied out upon them from the mountains, intirely defeated them, cut many of them to pieces, taken a considerable number prisoners, and driven all the rest out of the province. Soon after which event, *Heshâm* departed this life, in conformity to the foregoing prediction, before he had completed the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son *Hakem*, who sat twenty-six years, ten months, and twenty days, upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

Al Rashid invades the territories of the Greeks.

In the 180th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 16th, 796, *Al Rashid* removed *Mîsa Ebn Isa Al Hâshemi* from the government of *Egypt*, and made his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi* the lieutenant of that country a second time. He also entered the dominions of the Greek emperor either this or the following year, with a formidable army, took the city of *Thebasa* in *Lycaonia*, called *Al Safsâf* by some of the *Arab* writers, ravaged the neighbouring territory, in a dreadful manner, and then returned home with an immense quantity of plunder, and without having sustained any considerable loss. This year also, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, died *Heshâm Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, and was succeeded by his son *Hakem Ebn Heshâm* in the kingdom, or *Khalifat*, erected by the *Moslems* in *Spain*. *Hakem*, or *Al Hakem*, was a prince of great prudence and resolution, and attended in most of his enterprizes with good success. His guards *du corps*, or life-guards, consisted of 5000 men, 3000 of which, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, were renegado's, and 2000 of them eunuchs. Part of them were destined for the defence of his person, and other part he placed as a garison in his capital city. He caused justice to be impartially administered to the poorest of his subjects, brought even the greatest to condign punishment for their crimes, and was extremely charitable, liberal, and munificent. We must not omit observing, that the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashid* excessively regretted the death of *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, for whom he always entertained the most perfect esteem. That prince one day desiring *Mâlec* to come to the palace, in order to instruct his sons, the *Moslem* doctor answered, "Knowledge will not wait upon any person, but is itself to be waited upon." "You are in the right of it," said *Harûn*; "and therefore they shall attend you in the place to which other children resort for the benefit of your instruction." And he was as good as his word; for he sent them constantly to the public mosque, where many of his subjects children met for the same purpose, to receive the documents of this celebrated sage. *Mâlec* is reported to have said, that all the masters, whose scholar he had been in his younger years, came to learn of him before their death. The funeral service was performed over him, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, by one of his disciples, or followers, named *Ebn Abu Dawib* <sup>b</sup>.

The occurrences of the year 181;

THE following year, being the 181st of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 5th, 797, the *Khalif* recalled his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi* from *Egypt*, and sent *Ismael Ebn Saleh* thither to take the government of that country upon him. About this time, *dirhems* were struck in the mint that had been set up at *Saurai*, *Sarai*, or *Sariyah*, a very considerable city (A) of *Tabaristân*, or *Tabrestân*; one of them coined there the preceding year having been discovered on the coast of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*, in the year 1722. On one side are seen the following words, *In the city of Saurai, one hundred and eighty*; i. e. *Coined in that city, in the 180th year of the Hejra*; which answers to part of the years of *CHRIST* 796, and 797. The reverse exhibits the following inscription, *MOHAMMED is the apostle of God, may God be propitious to him, and make him happy! In the Khalifat of AL RASHID JAAFAR*. Hence we learn (which not a little enhances the value of this *dirhêm*) that the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashid* was surnamed *Jaafar*, as well as *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Rashid*; which cannot be inferred from any of the *Arab* historians, nor even any of the oriental writers that have supplied *M. D'Herlelot* with materials for his very valuable work. *M. Kebr* imagines, that a great number of those pieces were struck in the 180th year of the *Hejra* by *Al Rashid*, before he set out from *Baghdâd* on his expedition against the *Greeks*, and put into the military chest, in order to animate the soldiery, and induce them to distinguish themselves in an <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL BOKHARI, ISM. ABU'LFED. EEN KHALECAN. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 294—296. AL GHAZALI, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 539, 540. LAMAI, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xx, xxi. p. 19. <sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 396. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxi. p. 19. AL GHAZAL. Poc. not. ad hist. Arab. p. 295.

(A) Some of our learned readers may perhaps take this city, of which *M. Kebr* has given us no manner of account, to have been either *Saura* in *Mesopotamia*, not far from *Amid*, the *Amida* of the antients, or the *Sourâ* of *Abu'lfeda*, placed by that author between *Baghdâd*

and *Cûfa*. However, as nothing relative to the situation of the place where the mint was erected can be collected from the coin, we shall pronounce nothing peremptorily on this head (1).

(1) Ism. Abu'lfed. in descript. Arab. Joannes Marâ. Episc. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in dissertat. de Monophyfit. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid.



a extraordinary manner; in which, perhaps, he may not be very remote from truth. According to *Theophanes*, the *Arabs* received a notable overthrow this year from the *Greeks*, at no great distance from *Ephesus*; but the *Arab* historians have not taken the least notice of this action, of which even the *Greek* author himself has handed down to us very few particulars. *Solimán* and *Abd'allah*, who had been driven by their brother *Heshám* into *Africa*, having been apprized of that prince's death, and of his son *Al Hakem's* accession to the crown, assembled about this time a body of troops, to dispute the western *Khalifat* with the latter, and made the necessary dispositions for returning into *Spain* <sup>w</sup>.

THE next year, being the 182d of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashíd* appointed *Al Leit Ebn Al Fadl*, and of the one of his servants, to preside over *Egypt*. Not long after, the *Khalíf* sent an ambassador, <sup>year 182.</sup>

b with magnificent presents, to the court of *Charlemagne*, or *Charles the Great*, king of *France*, and emperor of the west, who was admitted to an audience at a place between *Vercell*, or *Vercelli*, and *Ivrea*, the *Vercellæ* and *Eporedia* of the antients, and received with great marks of distinction by that prince. It seems to appear from *Theophanes*, that the *Arabs* made an impression, about this time, upon the imperial territories, and penetrated as far as *Amorium* in *Phrygia* with a very considerable force; but they were soon obliged to retire from thence, if we will believe this author, with some prisoners they had taken, and without having effected any thing of note. We are told by *Roderic of Toledo*, that *Solimán* and *Abd'allah* landed with a body of troops in *Spain*, and fixed their head-quarters at *Valencia*, in order to drive their nephew *Al Hakem* from thence, about the present year. The *Moslem* empire consisted now of the extensive provinces of *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, *Natolia*, *Media*, or *Adherbiján*, *Babylonia*, *Affyria*, *Sindia*, *Sijistán*, *Khorasán*, *Tabrestán*, *Jorján*, *Zablestán*, or *Sablestán*, *Mawarâ'lnahr*, or *Great Bukhâria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Mauritania*, and others, that rendered it the most formidable and puissant state in the world. The *Moslems* were likewise now in possession of most of the provinces of *Spain*, together with some part of *France*; tho' the prince that presided over them there seems to have been independent on *Al Rashíd*, who might, at this juncture, with great propriety, have been stiled the *Khalíf* of the east <sup>x</sup>.

IN the 183d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 12th, 799, the *Khákán* sent a numerous army through the *Caspian* straits, called by the *Arabs* *Bâbalabwâb*, or the gate of gates, <sup>The Khákán makes an irruption into the Khalíf's territories.</sup> to make an irruption into the *Moslem* territories. These hostilities were committed against the *Khalíf* by the *Khákán*, in order to revenge his daughter's death; who, having been betrothed to *Fadl Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and coming to *Bartha'a*, to be married to him, died there a natural death: upon which, the retinue that attended her returned home, and gave out, though without the least appearance of truth, that she was privately destroyed. This greatly incensing the *Khákán*, that prince's forces, by his order, entered *Mawarâ'lnahr*, put a vast number of the *Khalíf's* subjects in that province to the sword, and carried off above 100,000 of them prisoners. Either this or the following year one of *Al Rashíd's* generals, called *Abimelech* by *Theophanes*, with a body of troops ravaged the provinces of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*: upon which, a negotiation was set on foot between <sup>e</sup> the *Khalíf* and the empress *Irene*, for an accommodation between the two powers; but without effect. Towards the close of the present year, *Mûsa Ebn Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Táleb*, who had been imprisoned at *Baghdád*, was put to death in the prison where he had been confined, by *Al Rashíd's* order. He left eighteen sons and twenty-three daughters behind him, and was buried in the western, or old, city of *Baghdád*. About this time, *Solimán* and *Abd'allah* assembled their forces at *Valencia*, and had several brisk rencounters with some parties and detachments of *Al Hakem's* troops; tho' nothing decisive happened, during the course of it, in *Spain* <sup>y</sup>.

IN the 184th, or 185th, year of the *Mohammedan* æra, *Abimelech* made another irruption <sup>The Christians defeated by the Arabs, and Al Hakem obtains a complete victory in Spain.</sup> with a body of light-armed troops into the imperial territories, and penetrated to *Mangana*. From thence he sent a detachment to the stables of *Stauracius*, which carried off the horses there, and one in particular that the empress *Irene* herself sometimes used. Another body of the *Arabs* fell into *Lydia*, where they committed terrible depredations, and returned home loaded with booty. A third body of troops of the same nation attacked the imperial forces commanded by *Peter*, a patrician, put them to flight, and made themselves masters of all their baggage, provisions, and military stores. The *Christians* suffered extremely in the action; *Theophanes* seeming to intimate, that a vast number of their men, and amongst

<sup>w</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 21—23. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 396. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. tom. i. p. 707.

<sup>x</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 115. Scriptor. rer. Germanicar. à Carolo M. usque ad Fridericum III. p. 58. ad fin. vit. Carol. M. Argentorati, 1702. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 397, & alib. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 22. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxi. p. 19.

<sup>y</sup> GREG. ABULFAR. ubi sup. p. 232. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 399. RODERIC. TOLLTAN. ubi sup.



them many officers of note, were killed upon the spot. In the 184th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashid*, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, likewise sent *Ibrahim Ebn Aglab* into the western part of *Africa*, to take upon him the government of a tract of very considerable extent there. About the same time, *Al Hakem* gave his uncles battle, and overthrew them with incredible slaughter. *Solimân*, one of them, was killed upon the spot; and *Abd'allah*, the other, with great difficulty made his escape to *Valencia*, where he was shut up by the victor's troops. This memorable battle, fought in the 184th year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe *Roderic*, so often cited here, determined the fate of *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

An account of  
Samarkand,  
where some  
dirhems were  
struck in 801.

THE next year, being the 185th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January 21st*, 801, some *dirhems* were struck in the mint erected at *Samarkand*; one of which was found not far from *Dantzick*, in the year 1722. *Samarkand*, the capital of *Mawara'nabr*, seems to be the *Maracanda* of the antients, said by *Arrian* to be the metropolis of the *Sogdians*, and is placed by *Ebn Hawkel*, or *Ebn Hawkal*, on the southern bank of the river *Sogd*. It has always been esteemed as one of the most renowned cities of *Asia*, being situated in a most delightful tract, denominated the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, on a considerable river, that runs through the town; and twelve parasangs in circumference; at least its walls were of that extent in the time of *Soltân Mobammed Khowarazm Shâh*, before it was reduced by *Jenghîz Khân*. From the charming plain, considered by the orientals as one of the four *Tempe's* of *Asia*, in the southern part of which this city is situated, and going under the name of the *Sogd*, i. e. the plain, or valley, of *Samarkand*, the province in which it stands was called *Sogdiana* by the antients. The people of the country have a tradition, that this capital was founded by one of the princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, settled in *Taman*, that had the general title of *Tobba*, or *successor*, tho' they do not take upon them to determine with any precision the time of its foundation; and, in support of this tradition, they pretend, that an inscription, written in the old *Hamyaritic* character, was dug up near one of the gates of *Samarkand*. If this be admitted by the learned, they must likewise allow, that the kingdom of the *Hamyarites* was formed of several very extensive provinces; the city of *Samarkand* being, according to *Al Berjendi*, the geographer, about 1000 parasangs distant from that of *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Taman*. *Khondemir* and the author of the *Leb Tarikh*, or *Lobb Al Tawârikh*, write, that the castle of *Samarkand* was built by *Kishtash*, the son of *Lorasp*, *Lobrâsp*, or *Loborasp*, king of *Persia*, of the second dynasty, called the dynasty of *Kay*, or the *Kayanians*; who likewise erected a wall 120 parasangs long, that inclosed the district of *Samarkand*, and defended it from the courses of the people of *Tûrân*, or *Turkestan*. But, notwithstanding this, there is some reason to believe that this city was founded by *Alexander the Great*; at least if we will pay any regard to the authority of *Yakût Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Syrian* geographer. Some authors relate, that the *Moslems* first made themselves masters of *Samarkand*, under the conduct of *Katiba Ebn Mōslem*, in the 88th year of the *Hejra*, and not the 85th, as we find asserted by *M. D'Herbelot*; but others believe, that they first reduced that place in the 93d year of the *Mohammedan* æra, the very year in which *Tarif* begun his conquests in *Spain*. It fell afterwards into the hands of the *Soltâns*, or *Khâns*, of *Khowarazm*, and was taken and pillaged by *Jenghîz Khân* in the year of the *Hejra* 617. But *Timûr Beg*, or *Timûr Bek*, the *Tamerlan* of the *Europeans*, restored it, rendered it more flourishing than ever, and made it the seat of his empire in the year of the *Hejra* 771. After which, it continued to be the residence of his descendants, till they were driven from thence by the *Uzbeks*, who have remained in possession of it to this day. If *Samarkand* answers to the *Maracanda* of the antients, as the affinity between those two names may render something probable, it could not well have been founded by *Alexander the Great*; since *Maracanda* was demolished by that prince, as we learn from *Strabo*. Adjacent to this city, denominated *Samaul Han*, *Sa-ma-ban*, and sometimes *Han*, by the *Chinese*, is the little hill *Cubac*, that supplies the inhabitants with large quantities of stones, out of its bowels, with which the streets of *Samarkand* are paved. The plain, or valley, in the language of this country *Sogd*, is, according to some modern travellers, about eight days journey in length, and stretches itself out from the district of *Bokbâra* to the confines of *Al Botom*; beginning above twenty parasangs above *Samarkand*. It is composed intirely of most beautiful gardens, and verdant meads; the former of which the neighbouring rivers perpetually refresh with their salutary irrigations. The walls of this city, being twelve parasangs in circumference, had formerly twelve iron-gates, a parasang distant from each other, and between every two of them a centry was posted. The tops of these walls were adorned with galleries and towers, which rendered the place likewise more capable of sustaining a siege. The inner or interior city had four gates only, contained the citadel and other public buildings, and was watered by a river, carried through leaden pipes into the foss or ditch, that entered the <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 400. EBN SHOHNAH, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 707. Francofurti, 1603.



- a town near the gate of *Kash*. In the days of *Ramisso*, it was as big as *Cairo*, or *Al Kalirak*, the metropolis of *Egypt*, and could at that time send into the field a body of 60,000 horse. The religions formerly tolerated here were the *Christian*, as professed by the *Nestorians*, the *Mohammedan*, the *Magian*, and the *Sabian*; the two last of which have been absurdly confounded by *M. Kehr*. It stands about seven days journey north of the city of *Bokhâra*, and falls short at present of being so splendid as in times past; though it is still very large and populous. It is fortified with strong bulwarks of earth, and its buildings are in much the same condition as those of the city of *Bokhâra*, excepting that more of its houses consist of stone, which is brought from some quarries about the town. The beautiful silk paper made at *Samarkand* is looked upon to be the best in *Asia*, and is much esteemed all over the east. The academy of sciences, that flourishes here, is at present one of the most famous seats of literature amongst the *Mohammedans*. Amongst the learned men produced by this city may be ranked the following: *Shams-addin Mohammed Ebn Asbruf Al Hoseini*, who wrote some observations concerning the method to be used in disputations, as also concerning figures and the elements of geometry, in *Arabic*, together with a recension of the commentaries upon the *Korân*; *Abu Ahmed Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Al Omari*, who penned a treatise in *Arabic* upon the art of disputing; *Abu'l Kasem*, who composed a book upon the deliverance of the mind from error; *Mohammed Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed*, who published a treatise in *Arabic* upon the various readings of the *Korân*; a MS. copy of which work is said to have been brought out of the east by *Signore Pietro Della Valle*, a *Roman* nobleman, and to be still extant at *Rome*, by *Father Marracci*; *Abu'l Leiths Nasr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim*, who wrote a commentary upon the *Korân*, a piece, intitled, *Singular cases and allegations of law*, *Thesaurus Jurisprudentiæ*, a beautiful copy of which is preserved in the duke of *Sax-Gotha's* magnificent library, *The instruction of the ignorant*, a collection of moral histories, and a treatise bearing the title of *Instruction preparatory to prayer*; all which were composed and written in *Arabic*; *Rocn-addin Mohammed*, a famous lawyer and civilian, as well as the author last-mentioned, who published an *Indian* philosophical and magical book in *Arabic*, at *Kanuti*, or *Kanuthi*, a city of *India*, where *Soltân Ali Mîrza*, of the line of *Tamerlan*, reigned. To this piece he prefixed the title of *The cistern of life*. *Nâjibaddin Mohammed Ebn Ali*, who penned a book, intitled, *Synopsis medicinæ practicæ*, treating of the causes, symptoms, and cure, of all diseases; *Imâm Dawlat Shâh Ebn Alâo'd-dawla Bakhti Shâh Al Ghafi*, who wrote the lives of twenty *Arabic* and six *Persian* poets. The famous poet *Al Nassafi*, who composed 2660 distichs upon all the chapters of the *Sonna*, likewise died at *Samarkand*. The celebrated lawyer *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, born at *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, the capital of the proper *Bukhâria*, and from thence surnamed *Al Bokhâri*, who collected the oral traditions of *Mohammed*, that had been propagated by his followers, and reduced them to a sort of system, fled also from the fury of his enemy into the castle of *Kbertenk* at *Samarkand*. This piece has always been intitled by the orientals *Al Sahib Al Bokhâri*. A most antient, elegant, and rare, MS. copy of it may be seen in the public library at *Leipsick*, said to have been written in the year of our LORD 1398.
- e The language spoken at *Samarkand* is a dialect of the *Persic*, though the *Arabic* and *Mongalico-Tartarian* tongues are likewise there very well understood. The *Tartars* of *Bukhâria*, or the *Uzbeks*, now in possession of *Samarkand*, which was taken from the descendants of *Tamerlan* by their ancestors, under the conduct of *Shaibek Khân*, in the year of our LORD 1517, are very fond of learned men, especially those that come amongst them from foreign parts, and greatly admire the calligraphy of the *Persians*. This *M. Kehr* learned from *M. Justus Samuel Scharfschmid*, who had been chaplain to a regiment at *Terki*, and frequently conversed with the *Tartars* of *Bukhâria*. The *Uzbeks* inhabiting this tract are said to be extremely handsome; for which reason, *Arabshah*, in his history of *Timûr*, calls the men moons, and the women suns. They are vastly clean and neat in their attire; and their turbants are looked upon by the people of *Aleppo* as the finest and most elegant of any in the east. The *Bukhârian* merchants resort in great numbers to the marts of *Syria*, and import into that country very considerable quantities of most excellent silk, gold, and other valuable commodities; taking in return cloth, iron, and *English* tin. The district of *Samarkand* also supplies *Persia*, and the territories of the *Great Mogul* with pears, apples, raisins, and melons, which it produces in surprizing plenty, of a most exquisite and delicious taste. As the province of *Mawarâ'nabr* has no particular *Khân*, the castle of *Samarkand* falls insensibly to ruin. When the *Khân* of *Great Bukhâria* comes in the summer to pass some months at *Samarkand*, he usually incamps in the meadows near the town. The river here, which falls into the *Amû* about the 92° of longitude, would be of prodigious service to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring countries, if the inhabitants had but the industry to make it navigable. *Samarkand* stands about seven days journey of *Khojandab*, a city of *Mawarâ'nabr*, situated upon the *Sibân*, or the *Jaxartes*, in a northern direction, and five east of *Ofrushanab*, one of the principal cities of *Mawarâ'nabr*.
- g



*nabr.* Hence it came to pass, that *Arabshah* placed it between two rivers, that is to say, the *Jibûn* and the *Sibûn*, or the *Oxus* and the *Jaxartes*. Its latitude has been determined by *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, to be  $39^{\circ} 17' 23''$ , though with more precision, by later astronomers,  $41^{\circ} 20'$ , and its longitude  $95^{\circ} 00'$ .<sup>a</sup>

A description  
of one of those  
dirhems.

THE *dirhém* above-mentioned, on the anterior part, exhibits the words, *Be Samerkanda chamsen wathfamanina wameaten*; that is, *In Samarkand, the 185th year*; and on the reverse, *Mohammedon resûlô'llahi wakkelfatcho'l Emirol' Amîno Mohammedon Ebno'l Emiri l'mo'mennia Jaafara*, i. e. *Mohammed is the apostle of God, and the Emir Al Amîn Mohammed, the son of Jaafar, prince of the faithful, is his successor*. This *dirhém*, therefore, seems to have been struck by the citizens of *Samarkand* in honour of *Al Amîn*, who had before been declared his father's immediate successor, and was this very year acknowledged to have arrived at his majority, according to the custom of the orientals, when he was fifteen years old, and of age to govern the empire; as may very naturally, and without the least torture or violence, be inferred from the inscription preserved on this remarkable coin. As the inscription is written in the *Cûfic* character, the *dirhém* under consideration may not improbably have been one of the same sort with those that had *Cûfic* letters inscribed upon them, and were found, according to *Arabshah*, in the ruins of old *Samarkand*. Be that as it will, this *dirhém* apparently takes notice of a fact that has not been clearly and explicitly mentioned by any of the *Moslem* historians.<sup>b</sup>

The Khalif  
divides the  
government of  
his dominions  
amongst his  
three sons.

IN the 186th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January 10th, 802*, the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd* performed another pilgrimage to *Mecca*; which proved very expensive to him. After the performance of all the prescribed ceremonies at *Mecca*, he went to *Medina*, and distributed large sums of money in alms amongst the poorer inhabitants of both those cities. He also called his son *Al Kasem* to the succession, after *Al Mamûn*, and surnamed him *Al Mutaman*. After this, he is said, by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Khondemir*, to have divided the government of his extensive dominions amongst his three sons in the following manner: To *Al Amîn*, the eldest of them, he assigned the government of the provinces of *Syria*, *Irâk*, the three *Arabia's*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Palestine*, *Egypt*, and all that part of *Africa* conquered by his predecessors, extending from the confines of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* to the straits of *Gibraltar*, with the dignity of *Khalif*; to *Al Mamûn*, the second, that of *Persia*, *Kermân*, the *Indies*, *Khorasân*, *Tabrestân*, *Cablestân*, and *Zablestân*, or *Sablestân*, together with the vast province of *Mawarâ'nahr*; and to his third son *Al Kasem*, *Armenia*, *Natolia*, *Forjân*, *Georgia*, *Circassia*, or *Tcherkassia*, and all the *Moslem* territories bordering upon the *Euxine* sea. With regard to the order of succession, it has been already observed, that *Al Amîn* was to mount the throne after his father, *Al Mamûn* after him, and then *Al Kasem Al Mutaman*. About this time, *Al Hakem* forgave his only surviving uncle *Abd'allah*, permitted him to reside in the city of *Valencia*, settled upon him a pension of 1000 *dinârs* a month, engaged to make him an annual present of 5000 more, graciously received his sons, and gave one of them his own sister in marriage; by which means, peace and tranquillity were intirely restored to the *Moslem* conquests in *Spain*.<sup>c</sup>

The house of  
Barmak dis-  
graced.

THE following year, being the 187th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *December 30th, 802*, *Al Rashîd* put his favourite *Jaafar Ebn Yakya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmak* to death; for which different reasons have been assigned by different authors. Some pretend, that when the *Khâlif* was determined to incarcerate *Yakya Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, he committed him to the care of *Jaafar*, who suffered him to make his escape by night, and even sent a person with him to conduct him to *Fâmîa*; which being resented by *Al Rashîd*, tho' he at first seemed to approve of what *Jaafar* had done, it was the principal cause of his destruction. Others say, that the *Khâlif* being so vastly fond both of *Jaafar* and his own sister *Abbâsa*, that he could not long be absent from either of them, in order to enjoy their company and conversation together with the less inconvenience to them, he gave her in marriage to him; permitting him to look upon her as much as he pleased, but injoining him never to touch her. Notwithstanding which injunction, *Jaafar*, being once drunk, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, or rather both of them being young, as is observed by *Abu'l Faraj*, lay with her, and got her with child.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> GEORG. JAC. KEHR, monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 26—29. Lipsiæ, 1724. EBN HAWKEL, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in geogr. ut et ipse Ism. ABULFED. ibid. ARRIAN. lib. iii. sub. fin. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. YAKUT, STRAB. lib. xi. AHMED EBN WADHEH, HASAN EBN AL MONDHSEER. M. GIO. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, in vol. i. lib. Italic. Delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, &c. ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. pass. PAUL VENET. de regionib. oriental. lib. i. cap. 39. p. 33. JUSTUS SAMUEL SCHARSCHMID, apud Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. p. 28. AL BIRUNI, AL BERJENDI, KHONDEMIR, Aut. LEB TARIKH, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 171—175, & alib. pass. Vile etiam Chorasmiæ, &c. descript. ex tabulis Abu'lfed. &c. & bin. tabul. geographic. NASSIR EDDIN. Perf. & ULUGH BEIGH. Tatar. op. & stud. Joannis Gravii, Oxon. 1711.

<sup>b</sup> GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 26, 29. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 232. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113. ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 115, 116. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB. AL TAWARIKH, EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. p. 19, 20.

After



- a After the expiration of the usual term, she was brought to bed of twins; which *Jaafar* sent to *Mecca*, in order to avoid the fury and resentment of *Al Rashid*. But the *Khalif* being soon acquainted with what had happened, ordered *Jaafar*'s head to be cut off, sent his brother *Al Fadl*, and his father *Yabya*, to prison at *Al Rakka*, where they remained till the day of their death, and commanded his sister *Abbasa*, who had likewise been confined, together with her two children, to be thrown alive into a well, which was afterwards filled up; tho' he is said to have shed tears a little before this command was carried into execution. Others relate that the *Khalif* ordered *Jaafar* to be beheaded, because he had built a house that cost him 20,000 *dinars*; which his master considered as an evident proof of his having
- b embezzled the public money; and, lastly, others affirm, that *Al Rashid* having taken a dislike to the house of *Barmac*, and being afraid of *Jaafar* and his father *Yabya*, as having imparted to them all his secrets, he found himself obliged to treat them in the foregoing manner. But whatever was the motive to this surprizing conduct, *Jaafar* was executed in the palace by *Mafrur* on *Saturday*, in the month of *Al Meberram*, by the *Khalif*'s order, when he had scarce completed the 37th year of his age. Nor could his mother, tho' she had been *Al Rashid*'s nurse, prevail upon the *Khalif* to release her husband *Yabya*, and her other son *Al Fadl*, who had been *Harun*'s counsellors during the space of seventeen years, from their confinement; he persisting inflexibly in his intention to depress that once favourite family, which was now become the object of his aversion, and having written to all the
- c governors of provinces to confiscate the effects belonging to every member of it, that should be found in any part of his dominions. It may not be improper to inform our readers here, that the *Barmacide*, or *Barmecide*, called by the *Arabs* *Baramaca*, or *Barameca*, were one of the most illustrious families of the east, being originally descended, according to some authors, from the ancient kings of *Persia*; tho, if we will pay any regard to the sentiments of *Al Zamakhshari*, they deduced their origin from the city of *Balkh*. This writer relates, that the first of this family erected the stately and magnificent mosque at *Balkh*, called *Neu Bahar*; which name, in *Persic*, signifies *new spring*, or *new garden*; and that they constructed this noble edifice upon the model of the temple at *Mecca*. The outside of it, in imitation of what was done to the exterior part of the *Caaba*, they covered with rich damask, and surrounded the whole with 360 chapels, into which the pilgrims, of whom there was a vast
- d concourse here, usually retired, in order to perform their devotions. As the founders were the proper intendants, or keepers, of this temple, and considered that post as inseparably connected, by the right of patronage, with their family, they assumed from thence the name of *Barmac*, or *Barmec*, and ever afterwards retained both the title and the name. A certain author, however, of considerable note in the east, has not scrupled to deduce the appellation of *Barmac* from a different source <sup>d</sup>.

- THE first who gave a very remarkable lustre to this family, which most eminently distinguished it from many others that had before made a much more considerable figure, was the
- e afore said *Yabya Ebn Khaled*, named at length *Abu Ali Yabya Ebn Khaled Ebn Barmac*, a person endued with all civil and military virtues, and chosen by the *Khalif Al Mohdi* for governor to his son *Harun Al Rashid*. He had four sons, *Fadl*, *Jaafar*, *Mohammed*, and *Musa*, who by no means degenerated from their father's virtues, but raised the glory and reputation of their house to the highest pitch. It may not be amiss to remark, that, after this illustrious family had been abandoned by fortune, and fallen under the *Khalif*'s displeasure, the people had a more lively sense than ever of the important services the members of it had done them. The exalted merit and excellent qualities of those great men then appeared in a stronger light than even when they were in the zenith of their power; insomuch that, in after-ages, they found almost as many historians to celebrate their virtues, and write their lives, as did the greatest conquerors and most powerful princes
- f of the east <sup>e</sup>.

THE elevated sentiments their cotemporaries entertained of their rare and uncommon merit, in some measure appears from the following remarkable story, which has been handed down to us by a *Persian* historian. The *Khalif Harun Al Rashid*, after he had disgraced the house of *Barmac*, forbade his subjects ever to mention that family, upon pain of death, on any occasion. But, notwithstanding this, an old man, named *Mondir*, placed himself one day upon an eminence, that served him for a sort of pulpit, opposite to one of their houses, then deserted, where he entertained all that passed by with a detail of the finest and most amiable actions of those great men; making upon them a panegyric in form. The *Khalif*, being apprized of his boldness, ordered the man to be brought before him, and

<sup>d</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 116, 117, 118. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 232, 233. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in *Rabi Al Abrar*. AUT. MAGMA AL TAWARIKH. <sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, & EUTYCH. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOEB AL TAWARIKH, &c.



condemned him to die for treating with such contempt his prohibition. *Mondir* received <sup>a</sup> his sentence with pleasure, and only desired leave to speak two words to the *Khalif* before his execution. This being granted, the two words he mentioned were drawn out into a long discourse; in which he insisted upon the obligations he was under to the family of *Barmac* with such force, that the *Khalif* heard him without impatience, was touched with his words, and did not only give him his life, but likewise made him a present of a very rich gold plate, that he himself used. But the most surprizing part of the old man's conduct is still behind. Having received this valuable present from the *Khalif's* own hand, and being, according to the eastern custom, prostrate on the ground, he said, by way of acknowledgement, to his munificent benefactor, *See here a new favour that I have received from the house of Barmac!* Which words were so remarkable, that they afterwards passed into a proverb, <sup>b</sup> current in every part of *Asia*, according to the report of the same historian <sup>f</sup>.

Mohammed Ebn Yahya, one of the members of this family, escapes.

THO' almost all the members of the family, of which we have been giving our readers here some account, as well as their domestics, and other dependents, were involved in the common destruction, yet *Mokammed Ebn Yahya* did not meet with the least molestation, nor receive even the slightest injury in the minutest particular. From whence it appears, that his conduct gave no manner of umbrage to the *Khalif*, and consequently that he was not affected by the cause, whatever it might have been, that produced the foregoing alteration in that prince's disposition towards the race of *Barmac*. With regard to *Yahya* himself, he is said, by some authors, to have died in prison at *Al Rakka*, in the year of the *Hejra* 196, and, by others, in the 193d year of that æra. As for *Jaafar*, his son, after *Mafrûr* had <sup>c</sup> struck off his head, his body was cut in pieces, and a part of it fixed upon every one of the gates of *Baghdâd*. The head also, by the *Khalif's* order, was exposed to public view on the bridge over the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of that city <sup>e</sup>.

Al Rashid forces Nicephorus to accept of a peace upon his own terms.

THE same year, that is, the 187th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* received a letter from *Nicephorus*, soon after he had been advanced to the imperial dignity, commanding him to return all the money he had extorted from *Irene*, though this had been secured to him by the last treaty concluded with that princess, or to expect soon to see an imperial army in the heart of his dominions. This insolent letter so incensed the *Khalif*, that he immediately assembled his forces, and advanced to *Heraclea*; laying the country through which he moved waste with fire and sword. For some time, also, he kept that city straitly besieged; which so <sup>d</sup> terrified the *Greek* emperor, who was afraid lest the *Arabs* should over-run all the imperial provinces in *Asia*, that he submitted to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*. Upon this, *Harûn* granted him a peace, and returned with his army to *Al Rakka*. But a hard frost soon after happening in those parts, *Nicephorus* took for granted that the severity of the season would prevent *Harûn* from making him another visit, and therefore broke the preceding treaty. Of which the *Khalif* receiving advice, he instantly put himself again in motion, resumed the military operations, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, forced the emperor to accept of the terms prescribed him, and to pay the tribute that had formerly been imposed upon him. After which, he retired out of the *Christian* territories, and sent *Ahmed Ebn Ismael Al Hâshemi* as his lieutenant into *Egypt*. It appears <sup>e</sup> from a *Persian* historian, that *Nicephorus*, before hostilities commenced, made *Harûn* a present of several excellent swords, all which the *Khalif* cut in two with his famous sword *Samsamab*, as if they had been so many radishes, in the presence of the *Greek* ambassador, who brought them. This *Samsamab* was a sword that had fallen into *Al Rashid's* hands amongst the spoils of *Ebn Dakikân*, one of the last *Hamyaritic* princes of *Yaman*; but is said to have belonged originally to a valiant *Arab*, named *Amru Ebn Maadi Carb*, under whose name it generally went amongst the *Moslems*. By the present of the above-mentioned swords, *Nicephorus* gave *Harûn* plainly to understand, that he was more disposed to come to blows with him, than to pay him the tribute that had been exacted of *Irene*, whom he <sup>f</sup> succeeded in the empire. Some of the eastern writers inform us, that the *Khalif*, upon this provocation, immediately entered the enemy's frontiers, advanced to *Heraclea*, took that city, and even flew like an eagle to the very gates of *Constantinople* itself. The famous sword above-mentioned has been taken notice of by *Ahmed Ebn Yusef* and *Al Jannâbi*, in their history of the *Hamyarites*, as well as by other authors. There did not appear the least flaw in the blade, after the proof *Harûn* had made of it; which clearly evinced the strength of his arm, as well as the goodness of the sword. It is said, that *Amru Ebn Maadi Carb* once gave this sword to a certain prince, who complained that it did not produce the desired effect; upon which, that brave man took the liberty to tell him, that he had not sent him his arm with his sword <sup>h</sup>.

THE

<sup>f</sup> AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiari*.  
TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 117.

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL  
<sup>h</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 233. ABU JAAFAR AL  
TABAR.



<sup>a</sup> THE next year, being the 188th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* sent an army to invade *Nicephorus* some of the imperial provinces, which penetrated as far as *Safsâf*. *Nicephorus*, being informed of this irruption, advanced at the head of his forces against the *Arabs*, and attacked them with incredible fury; but was overthrown with the loss of 40,000 men, and received himself three wounds in the action. After which, the *Moslems* ravaged all the adjacent territory in a dreadful manner, and then returned home laden with the spoils acquired in this successful expedition <sup>1</sup>.

THE same year, as appears from one of them found on the coast of the *Baltick* in the year 1722, several *dirbêms* were struck at *Balch*, *Balkhe*, or *Balkh*, a city of *Khorasân*, or rather of *Great Bukhâria*, situated in the extremity of that province, at no very great distance from the source of the *Jikûn*, the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, upon a fine river, sometimes denominated by the orientals the river of *Balkh*. The *Persian* historians attribute the foundation of this city to *Kay-umarrâz*, the first king of *Persia*, and say that he gave it the name of *Balkh*, because he met his brother upon the spot where it stood, after he had been lost a long time; *balkhiden*, or *balghiden*, in the *Persian* language, signifying to receive and embrace a friend. The first kings of *Persia*, who resided in the province of *Media*, or *Adherbijân*, considered this city, which was in *Bactria*, as one of their principal frontiers on the side of *Scythia*, and *Loborâsp*, *Lorâsp*, or *Lobrâsp*, having resigned his crown to his son *Kishtâsp*, or *Hydaspes*, made it the place of his retreat, and was afterwards killed by *Afrasiab*, the king of *Turkestan*. Hence it came to pass, that *Yâkût Ebn Abd'allah*, of *Hamath* in *Syria*, asserted *Balkh* to have been founded by this *Lobrâsp* about the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* destroyed *Jerusalem*; though there seems to be no foundation for such a notion. Some of the oriental writers make those two princes to have been the same person; and others pretend, that *Lobrâsp* conferred the government of *Chaldea* upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom they therefore consider as his viceroy, or lieutenant, there. The latter take *Lobrâsp* and *Beloch*, or *Balokh*, in the catalogue of *Assyrian* kings, to have been in reality the same prince, and suppose the last name to have been applied to him, because he fixed his residence at *Balkh*. Both the name and situation of this place clearly evince it to have been the *Bactra* of the antients. For, the city of *Bactra*, called likewise *Zariaspa* by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, was situated under mount *Paropamisus*, a part of mount *Taurus*, or *Caucasus*, on this side the *Oxus*, according to the old geographers. And that the city of *Balkh* is seated in a plain about four parasangs from a mountain, and has its suburbs washed by the river *Dehâb*, the *Bactrus* of *Curtius*, *Pliny*, *Polyænus*, and *Strabo*, which, after it has irrigated the gardens and fields in the neighbourhood of this place, discharges itself into the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, about twelve parasangs from *Balkh*, we learn from *Ebn Hawkâl*, who had himself very attentively viewed the situation of this city. Nor can any thing be more common amongst the orientals than the promiscuous use and permutation of the letters *L* and *R*; from whence it will sufficiently appear, that *Bactra* and *Balkh*, *Balkhe* or *Balch*, are words extremely similar, if not altogether the same name. The notion here advanced may also be rendered still more probable by several additional considerations, with which we are supplied by *Sbarîf Al Edrisî*, or the *Nubian* geographer, *Abu'lfeda*, and other eastern writers. We say nothing here of the reduction of *Bactra* by *Semiramis*, 600 years before the death of *Lorâsp*, or *Lobrâsp*, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*; as this historical article intirely depends upon the authority of *Ctesias*, whom we have elsewhere demonstrated to be a fabulous writer. The fertility of the soil in the territory of *Balkh*, which, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was the metropolis of *Khorasân*, blessed with great plenty of water, and producing large quantities of sugar-canes, likewise very well answers to the surprizing fruitfulness of *Bactria*, in conformity to the description of that country handed down to us by the antients. The district of *Balkh* is moreover said to produce hyacinths and rubies, very beautiful to behold, several of which have found their way into *Europe* at different times. Some of the eastern authors relate, that *Lobrâsp's* general *Raham* was no other than *Nebuchadnezzar*, who subjugated *Palestine* in the days of the prophet *Jeremiah*. We are told, that *Kishtâsp*, or *Hydaspes*, was crowned at *Balkh* in the days of the famous *Zoroastres*, or *Zerdusht*, at whose instigation he became a convert to *Magism*, and erected many fire-temples in his kingdom. We are likewise informed, that this monarch afterwards removed from *Balkh*, and fixed his residence at *Estakhr*, or *Istakbra*, the antient *Persopolis*, in the province of *Fars*, or *Farsistân*, that is, *Persia* properly so called; and that he reigned not only over *Persia* and *Turkestan*, or the regions situated beyond the *Caspian* sea and the *Oxus*, but likewise the whole kingdom of *Habasha*, *Habessinia*, or *Ethiopia*. Be that as it will, after a series of long and bloody wars between the oriental *Turks* and the *Persians*, the latter,

TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118. EUTYCH. ubi sup. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighasij*. AHMED EBN YUSUF, AL JANNAB. Vide etiam THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 402. <sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR. AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118, 119.



under their princes of the second dynasty, are said to have made *Balkh* the capital of their empire, as its situation enabled them to dispute more easily with the former the passage of the *Oxus*. The latter kings, however, of the second dynasty, and those of the third, resided constantly at *Eftakbr*, or *Iftakbr*, in the province of *I'ars*, and *Tisfer*, or *Susa*, in that of *Khūzestān*, the *Susiana* of the antients. Those of the fourth dynasty chose to settle in *Jāh*, where they built the city of *Al Madāyen*, upon the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of *Ctesiphon* and *Selucia*. But, notwithstanding this, *Balkh* always remained the capital of *Khorasān*, and was actually so, when it was taken by *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, in the 27th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 647, and not by *Abnāf Ebn Al Kais*, as we find asserted by M. *D'Herbelot*, in the *Khalifat of Otkmān*. Some of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbas*, as well as the *Seljukian* princes, and those of the race of the *Samani*, having resided in other cities of *Khorasān*, as *Nisabūr* and *Merū*; the *Mogul* and *Tartar* princes also, descended from *Jenghīz Khān* and *Tamerlan*, having chosen *Herāt* for their capital; *Balkh*, *Nisabūr*, *Merū*, and *Herāt* were reputed royal cities, and assumed every one of them the title of capital of *Khorasān*. Nevertheless, *Balkh* enjoyed the peculiar privilege of being stiled *Kobbat Al Islām*, the metropolis of Islamism, and extended its jurisdiction over the territories of *Badakhshān*, or *Balakhshān*, *Khotlan*, and *Tekkarestān*; which undoubtedly rendered it, in some respects, the most opulent, famous, and conspicuous city of the vast province in which it stood. The established religion here is *Mohammedisin*, tho' there may possibly be even at present some few *Magians*, whose sacred rites are performed in the old *Persic* language, termed *Peklawi*, or *Peh'lewān*, amongst the *Uzbeks*. That the *Christian* religion was not intirely unknown at *Balkh*, in the 8th century after CHRIST, appears likewise from an antient monument of stone, dug up at *Si-nganfu*, the capital of the province of *Shen-si* in *China*, in the year of our LORD 1625, with an inscription in *Chinese*, and another in *Syriac*, upon it; a copy of which is preserved in the *Vatican* library, amongst the *Chinese* books presented by Father *Couplet* to *Innocent XI*. The *Chinese* inscription contains the names of seventy missionaries sent out of *Affyria*, or *Chaldea*, and not *Palestine*, as the *Latin* translator has falsely remarked, into the empire of *China*; amongst which we find an historical memoir in the *Syriac* language, and *Estrangelo*, or round *Chaldean*, character, to the following effect: "In the days of the father of fathers *Mar Ananjesu*, the catholic patriarch, *Adam*, the presbyter, suffragan, and pope, of the *Chinese*, in the year of the *Greeks* 1092 (of CHRIST 781) and *Mar Jazedbuzid*, the presbyter and suffragan of the royal city of *Chumdan*, or *Khumdān*, the son of the blessed *Millesius*, presbyter, born at *Balach*, or *Balakh*, a city of *Adatcburistān*, or *Adatkburistān*, erected this monument of stone, upon which is inscribed the dispensation of our Saviour, and the predication of our fathers to the emperor of *China*." Hence it appears, that several *Christian* missionaries visited *China* even in the eighth century, in order to convert the *Chinese*; and that the city of *Balkh* was then called *Balach*, or *Balakh*. To which we may add, that *Abu'lfeda* is intirely in the right, when he asserts that *Balch*, or *Balkh*, is an *Arabic* contraction of *Balab*, *Balach*, or *Balakh*, as may be very naturally inferred from this inscription; and consequently, that Dr. *Hyde* is absolutely in the wrong, when he finds fault with the *Arab* historian for that assertion, and affirms, that the metropolis of *Khorasān* was never called *Balach*, or *Balakh*. This capital had likewise the name of *Bilabj* given it by *Al Firauzabadi*, or *Al Firūzabādi*, and that of the city of Abraham by the *Persians*, probably, as is insinuated by Dr. *Hyde*, because they pretended to be of the *Abrahamic* religion, and frequently performed a solemn pilgrimage to *Balkh*, which was considered by them as sacred on that account. Dr. *Hyde* thinks, that the words *Baētra*, and *Baētria* were derived from *Bokhāra*, and not from *Balkh*, by the antients; but, for the reasons above assigned, we are by no means disposed to come into his opinion. This author informs us, that *Lohorāsb*, *Lorāsp*, or *Lobrāsp*, erected a most magnificent fire-temple at *Balkh*, denominated by him, from the name of his son, *Adur-Kishtāsb*, or *Adur Gushtāsp*, in which he deposited all the immense treasures he was master of. The same author likewise imagines, that, from its founder, or rather restorer, *Lobrāsp*, or *Labrāsp*, this city received the name of *Laraspe*, or *Laraspā*, supposed by him to have been corrupted by the *Greek* copists, or transcribers, into *Zariaspe*, or *Zariaspa*; in which, perhaps, he may not be very remote from truth. We must beg leave here farther to observe, that *Adam*, the deacon, the son of *Jazedbuzid*, the suffragan, *Mar Sergius*, the presbyter and suffragan, *Sabarjesu*, the presbyter, *Gabriel*, the presbyter and archdeacon, as likewise the ecclesiarch of the cities of *Chumdan*, or *Khumdān*, and *Sarag*, or *Sarug*, and the emperor of *China* himself, whose name was written in *Chinese* characters, are all mentioned in the aforesaid *Syriac* inscription. But, for a more particular account of this, our readers must have recourse to Sig. *Assemani's* notes upon *Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus*, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction \*.

THE

\* GEORG. JACOB. KLHR, ubi sup. p. 13—15. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, ISM. ABU'LFED. in Chorasan.



- <sup>a</sup> THE language spoken at *Balkh* is that most elegant dialect of the *Persic* called *Deri*, <sup>Some further particulars relating to Balkh.</sup> which signifies *aulic*, or *belonging to the court*; it being the dialect chiefly used by the king and nobility of *Persia*, and that which principally obtains at the *Persian* court. The word *Der*, from whence *Deri* is derived, denotes a *gate*, or *port*, as well as *the court*; from which ambiguity proceeds the expression of the *Ottoman Port*, so common in *Christendom*, equivalent to that of *the Ottoman court*, *the court of the Grand Signor*, or *the court of the Othmân Soltân*. The language styled by the *Persians* *Deri*, or *aulic*, which, according to *Ebn Fakhr-addin Andshu*, the *Indo-Persian*, who lived above 200 years ago, in the preface to his work, intitled, *Farbângh Jibângbîri*, written in *Persic*, was spoken here in the days of the *Persian* kings of the second dynasty, some of whom resided at *Balkh*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that this most elegant dialect should be called the language of *Balkh*, the language of *Bâmiyân*, a very antient city, which is supposed to have stood upon the spot occupied afterwards by *Balkh*, or at a small distance from it, and the language of *Merâ-Shakjân* and *Bokbâra*. The *Mohammedans* believe, that either the *Arabic*, or the *Persian* *Deri* will be the tongue spoken in paradise. They also pretend, that, when God speaks gently and mildly to the *Cherubim* about his throne, he uses the latter, but when in a rougher and more authoritative manner, the former of those languages. Amongst the learned men produced by the city of *Balkh* may be ranked the following: *Jamaab*, a *Persian* philosopher, cōtemporary with the famous *Zerdusht*, who wrote a treatise in *Persic* upon the most remarkable conjunctions of the planets, and their most noted effects; which *Lali* translated into *Arabic* in *Egypt*, about the year of our LORD 1280. *Ali Ebn Yûnes*, a person of uncommon learning and piety, who decided all points of right, and all cases of conscience, for some time, amongst the citizens of *Balkh*; but desisted from that practice, after he had been reproached by *Mohammed*, in a dream, for his resolution of a difficulty to his daughter, with which the prophet was by no means pleased; *Sheikh Al Imâm Omar Al Bastâmî*, a person of profound erudition, who lived at *Balkh*, and *sheikh Al Imâm Afis-addin*, the *Musti* of the same place, who have both been taken notice of by *Rashîd-addin Al Wa'wât*, as writers in the sixth century of the *Hejra*, and appertaining to that city; *Abu'l Kassim Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah*, the author of a book, intitled, *Adab Al Jadal*, that is to say, *the laws or conditions to be observed in a dispute*, who had the surname of *Al Balkhi*, and died in the year of the *Hejra* 319. The author of a geographical treatise, that bore the title of *Takwîm Al Belâd*, who is always cited by *Ebn Al Wardi*, and other oriental geographers, under the name of *Al Balkhi*. *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoând Shâh*, or rather *Khawând Shâh*, commonly called by the *European* writers *Mirkhond*, who composed a great historical work, intitled, *Rawdkat Al Safa*, was likewise surnamed *Al Balkhi* by the eastern historians. *Mohammed Ebn Okail*, a celebrated compiler of history, and another learned man famous for his skill in geography, called *Al Balkhi*, were both originally of this city. *Abu Ma'shar*, an astrologer, *Abu Khâtem*, the translator of the *Indian* author *Shanak* upon fishes; *Rashîd*, a celebrated poet; *Anwari*, a famous poet and astronomer; besides many other learned men, that we cannot enumerate here, are said to have been natives of *Balkh*. With regard to the fate this place has at different times met with, our readers will not be displeased to find the following particulars. *Balkh*, with the whole province of *Khorasân*, fell under the dominion of *Ismael Al Samai*, or *Ismael Al Sammâni*, said by some to be descended from the famous *Babram Chubin*, the first prince of the *Sammânian* family, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, towards the close of the third century of the *Moslem* æra. In the year of the *Hejra*, 432, or of CHRIST 1041, *Togrol Beg*, or *Togrol Bek*, a *Turkish* prince of the *Seljukian* dynasty, conquered the whole province of *Khorasân*, and possessed himself of the city of *Balkh*. In the 618th year of the *Moslem* æra, answering to the year of our LORD 1221, this city was taken by the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, under the command of *Jenghîz Khân*, who caused all the inhabitants to be conducted without the walls, and massacred without pity. In the 771st year of the *Hejra*, or of our LORD 1369, *Tamerlan* besieged *Sultan Hosein*, the last prince of the family of *Jenghîz Khân*, in *Balkh*, and obliged him to surrender the place; which his successors kept in their hands, till they were driven from thence by the *Uzbeks*, under the

Chorasm. descript. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, STRAB. lib. xi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. 4. POLYÆN. strateg. lib. vii. c. 11. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. 7. EBN HAWKEL, sive EBN HAWKAL, apud ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. ut & ipse ISM. ABU'LFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176. THEOPH. SIC. BAYER. hist. regn. Græcor. Bactrian. p. 15—19. Petropoli, 1738. BOCHART. Phal. lib. iii. c. 12. Chan. lib. i. c. 33, & alib. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABU'LFED ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. p. 90—95. Univ. Hist. vol. i. part 2. p. 371—383. KHONDAMIR, ubi sup. AUT. LOBB. AL TAWARIKH, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113, 216, et alib. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 181, 182, & alib. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. not. ad Gregor. Bar-Hebræum, in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 255—257. HYD. relig. veter. Persar. hist. append. p. 493—495, & alib. MOHAMMED AL FIRAOUZABAD. RUSTEMI epitomat. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. An account of the present state of North. Asia, p. 466. Vide etiam GREG. BAR-HEBRÆUM, in Chronic. par. iii. fol. 370, & THOM. MARAGENS. EFISC. in histor. monastic. Chaldaeor. par. iv. c. 2. & par. v. c. 4, 7, 10, 14.



command of *Shaibek Khân*, in the ninth century of the *Hejra*, and the fifteenth of the *Christian* æra. It was afterwards redeemed by *Shâh Ismael Sif Shâh*, but finally wrested out of the hands of the *Persians* by the *Uzbeks*, who remained masters of it almost to this day. We are told, that it was lately the subject of almost perpetual wars between the *Persians* and the *Uzbeks*, in the same manner as *Baghdâd* was between the former of these nations and the *Turks*, and the city of *Kandahar* between the *Shâh of Persia* and the *Great Mogul*. It was not long since the residence of a *Khân* of the *Uzbeks*, who posses the southern part of *Great Bukhâria*. Its district must be allowed to be but small, in respect of the territories of the *Khân* of *Bukhâria*; but as this produces very considerable quantities of silk, of which the inhabitants make stuffs, and is extremely fertile and well cultivated, the *Khân* drew lately a very fair revenue from thence. His subjects were the most civilized of the *Mohammedan Tartars* of *Great Bukhâria*, to which the advantageous trade carried on between them, the *Persians*, and the subjects of the *Great Mogul*, not a little contributed. The town of *Balkh*, at present the most considerable of any possessed in those parts by the *Mohammedan Tartars*, is large, fair, and populous; and its buildings are for the most part of stone or brick. The fortifications consist of bulwarks of earth, fenced without with a strong wall high enough to cover those employed in the defence of those fortifications. As this place is the resort of all the business transacted between the *Indies* and *Great Bukhâria*, has a fine river passing from the S. S. E. through its suburbs, which is of vast service to the town, and, in time of peace, all foreign merchants, and other travellers, have free liberty and permission to manage their affairs in it, trade flourishes briskly at *Balkh*. The aforesaid river falls into the *Amû* about  $38^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, upon the confines of *Great Bukhâria* and *Khowarazm*. The *Khân's* palace, or castle, is a large edifice, built after the oriental manner, and consists almost intirely of marble, of which there are very fine quarries in the neighbouring mountains. The jealousy that has long subsisted between the neighbouring powers preserved, till very lately, the *Khân* of *Balkh* in a state of independency, and not a little forwarded the extension of the trade carried on by his subjects. But he was at last obliged to submit to the *Persian* forces, under the command of *Riza Kouli Mirza*, detached by his father *Nadir Shâh* against the *Uzbeks*, in the year of our LORD 1737, and finally to *Nadir Shâh* himself, in the year 1739, upon his return from his *Indian* expedition. We shall conclude our account of this city with observing, that the longitude of *Balkh* has been determined by *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, to be  $101^{\circ} 00'$ , and its latitude  $36^{\circ} 41'$ ; though according to the more accurate determination of the later astronomers, it stands in longitude  $92^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 10'$ .

Description of  
the coin.

THE anterior part of this *dirhêm* exhibits the words *Be-Balkha thsamânen wathsamâna wameâten*; that is, *In Balkh, 188, or struck at Balkh in the 188th year of the Hejra, or of CHRIST 804*. The reverse has preserved the following inscription originally impressed upon it: *Mohammedon rasûlo . . . llâbi wamâla namiyyétebi . . . l'Emîro l'Mamûno Abd'allâbi . . . bno Emîri l'Mômenîna âleya waliyy'âmadi l'Moslemîna Yahya*; that is, *Mohammed is the apostle of God, and the plenitude of all his creatures: The prince Al Mamûn Abd'allah, the son of the prince of the faithful, is the high supporter of the pillars of the Moslems: Yahya, or John*. Hence we learn, that *dirhêms* were coined this year at *Balkh*, in honour of *Al Mamûn*, who had been called to the succession after *Al Amîn*, by one *Yahya*, who seems to have been at least the governor of that city, if not of the whole province of *Khorasân*. The title of *the plenitude, or nobility, of all creatures*, here implies that *Mohammed* was the most noble and excellent of all created beings; and that this was one of his singular properties, and a prerogative peculiar to him, who was believed by his followers to have created *Adam* and all other creatures, to have been the first prophet in the order of creation, and the last in the order of mission, to have been the prince and lord of all the sons of *Adam*, to have had the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Izrafil*, or *Ifrafil*, and *Azraïl*, for his *Vizirs*, we are informed by some of the most celebrated *Moslem* authors <sup>m</sup>.

Other dir-  
hêms struck at  
Baghdâd this  
year.

THE same year, that is, the 188th year of the *Hejra*, some *dirhêms* were likewise coined at *Baghdâd*; one of which is said to have been discovered in 1722, on the coast of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*. The following words, at the time of its discovery, were visible upon it: *Bêsmi . . . llâbi dhôreba hasa . . . ddirhemo bemedînati . . . Ssalmali, senata thsamânen wathsamâna wameâten*; that is, *In the name of God, this dirhêm was struck in the city of*

<sup>f</sup> GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 14, 15. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. EBN AL WARDI, KHONDÉMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, ABU'L KASSEM AHMED EBN ABD'ALLAH, in *Adab Al Jadâl*, ARAESHAN, in vit. tim. AL JANNAB. EBN YUSEF, EBN SHOHNAH, An account of the present state of *Northern Asia*, &c. p. 466, 467. Lond. 1729. HANWAY's historical account of the British trade over the Caspian sea, with the revolutions of Persia, vol. iv. p. 148, 105. Lond. 1753. ULUGH BEIGHI tab. geographic. op. et stud. Johan. Cravii, p. 143. Oxon. 1711. Vide etiam. THEOPH. SIGEFRIED. BAYER. histor. regn. Græcorum Bactrian. p. 15—19. Petropoli, 1738. <sup>m</sup> GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 16. AL JANNAB. p. 223. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. 10. p. 365, 370.



- a *peace* (or *Baghdád*) in the 188th year, i. e. of the *Hejra*. The inscription visible on the reverse consists of these words, *Muhammedun rasūlo . . llāhī arṣūlabo bel'hóda wadīni . . Plakki leyodh'shérabo āla . . ddīnī kóllebi wālan káreba . . P'músserekāna*; that is, *Mohammed is the apostle of God, who sent him with direction, or the right way, and the true religion, that he might render this superior to, and more conspicuous than, all other religions, tho' the associaters may abhor it*. Of which inscription we have already given a particular account and explication in a preceding part of this work. M. Kehr seems to think, that the *Khalif Harún Al Rashíd* caused a great number of such silver pieces to be now struck at *Baghdád*, in order to distribute them amongst his troops, during the expedition he thought fit at this time to undertake against the *Greeks*. For a farther account of that expedition, we must beg leave
- b to refer our readers to what has been already observed on this head from *Al Makín* and *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* <sup>n</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 189th year of the *Hejra*, *Harún Al Rashíd* removed *Abmed* <sup>Harún in-</sup> *Ebn Ismael Al Háshemi* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted in his room *Ebn* <sup>tradis Phrygia</sup> *Zeneiba*; whom he soon after deposed, and conferred the post become vacant by his amotion <sup>the following</sup> on *Hasan Ebn Jamíl Al Azdi*. About the same time, a body of the *Khalif's* forces penetrated <sup>year.</sup> into *Phrygia*, overthrew an imperial army sent to oppose them, and retired into the *Moslem* territories without having sustained any considerable loss. It appears from a *dirhém* found
- c on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, that the mint set up at *Balkh* sent out some more of those pieces this year, or at least in the year of the *Hejra* 187. This coin seems to have been struck in honour either of *Al Amín* or *Al Mamún*, one of the *Khalif's* sons, or rather of the latter of those princes, whose name it exhibits, according to M. Kehr. On the first side are observable these words, *Be Balkha, tes'en wathsamánina wameáten, At Balkh, in the year 189*; or *Be-Balkha, sa'ben wathsamánina wameáten, At Balkh, in the year 187*. After the words, *Mohammed is the apostle of God*, on the reverse, another name of the *Moslem* prophet, *wa'alakeyatoho*, and his attendant, occurs; which implies, that he was united with the Deity in such a manner, that the divine and human natures in him were inseparable. The other part of the inscription is the same with that preserved on the reverse of the *dirhém*
- d coined at *Balkh* the preceding year; tho' the *Cúsic* letters, of which those inscriptions are composed, as to their forms, admit of some variation <sup>o</sup>.

- In the 190th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November 27th, 805*, *Harún Al Rashíd* <sup>The Khalif</sup> marched into the imperial provinces with an army of 135,000 men, besides a great number <sup>undertakes a</sup> of volunteers, and others who were not inrolled amongst his troops. He first laid siege to <sup>expedition</sup> *Heraclea*, took it, and reduced it to ashes; after which, he made himself master of several <sup>against the</sup> other towns. He is said to have carried with him from *Heraclea* no less than 16,000 pri- <sup>Greek em-</sup> soners; and, after the conclusion of this expedition, to have made a descent on the island <sup>pior with an</sup> of *Cyprus*, the people of which country he pillaged and plundered in a dreadful manner. <sup>135,000 men.</sup> This success so intimidated *Nicephorus*, the *Greek* emperor, that he immediately sent the
- e tribute due to *Harún*, and concluded a peace with the *Khalif* upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe; one of which was, that the city of *Heraclea* should never be rebuilt. About the same time, or rather whilst *Harún* was employed in the aforesaid expedition, *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith* revolted against the *Khalif* at *Samarkand*, and assembled a considerable force to support him in his defection; which probably induced the latter to grant the *Greek* emperor so speedy a peace; tho' that prince's troops were by no means in a condition at this time to make head against him. It seems likely, from one of them found near *Dantzick* in 1722, with the words *tes'ina wameáten*, i. e. 190, upon it, that the *Khalif* caused a large number of *dirhém*s to be now struck, in order to defray the expence of a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which he performed the following year. The citizens of *Toledo*, at this time, rebelled against the
- f western *Khalif*, *Al Hakem*, in *Spain*. But that prince sent his son *Abd'alrahmán*, then only fourteen years of age, with an army against their city; who, by the assistance of one *Ambroz*, governor of *Saragosa* and *Huesca*, who betrayed them, after they had admitted him into the town, found means to enter the place, without the trouble and fatigue of a siege, put 5000 of them to the sword, after he had decoyed them to an entertainment, and entirely extinguished the rebellion that had begun to shake *Al Hakem's* throne. We are told by *Theophanes*, that the greatest part of a body of light-armed troops, sent by the *Greek* emperor into *Syria*, to act against the *Khalif* there, perished, without effecting any thing this campaign <sup>p</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 191st year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* removed *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn* <sup>Rafe' Ebn Al</sup> *Mákán* from the government of *Khorasán*, probably because he was not sufficiently atten- <sup>Leith makes a</sup>

<sup>n</sup> GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 8—12. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118, 119.

<sup>o</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 406. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 18, 19.

<sup>p</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR ubi sup. p. 234. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 12. ROBERT. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxii, xxiii. p. 20, 21. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 406.



great progress in the conquest of Khorasân. tive to the motions of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith*, and appointed *Hazima Ebn Ayan* to succeed him in that post. The new lieutenant had no sooner entered upon the government of the province assigned him, than he sent his predecessor, who had exercised unheard of tyranny upon the people of *Khorasân*, in chains to *Harûn Al Rasbîd*. The *Khalîf* also deprived of his office *Khasîb*, whom he had constituted collector of the revenues of *Egypt*, the preceding year. It must be here observed, that *Theophanes* places the last mentioned irruption of the *Arabs* into the imperial territories in the present year. He informs us, that *Harûn* advanced to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia* at the head of army, raised in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Libya*, of 300,000 men, seized upon that city, and erected a mosque there; that he also made himself master of *Heraclea*, *Thebasa*, called *Safsâf* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Malacosæa*, *Sideropolus*, and *Andrasus*, the *Androsia* of *Ptolemy*, and detached a body of 60,000 men to ravage all the neighbouring districts. Afterwards he penetrated to *Ancyra*, took a narrow view of that fortress, and then returned home; having laid waste the circumjacent territory with fire and sword. This rapid progress of the *Arabs* obliged the emperor *Nicephorus* to send ambassadors to *Harûn* to treat of a peace; which was at last granted by the *Khalîf*, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of 30,000 pieces of gold, with his own effigies upon them, and 3000 more with that of his son; as also that the fortresses ruined by the *Moslems* should be refortified or repaired. But the *Arabs* were scarce got out of the imperial dominions, when *Nicephorus* ordered those towns to be rebuilt, and strengthened with new fortifications; of which the *Khalîf* being apprized, he immediately returned with a powerful army, repossessed himself of *Thebasa*, made a descent upon the island of *Cyprus*, being assisted therein by a strong fleet, which forwarded the operations of the land-forces, demolished many churches there, and carried off a vast number of *Christians* with him into captivity. Such repeated success could not but intimidate *Nicephorus*, who thereupon was glad to conclude a fresh treaty with the *Khalîf*, upon the same terms with that he had violated before. Soon after *Harûn* undertook a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, with his three sons, and distributed vast sums of money amongst the poor of that city, as well as *Medina*, before his return to *Baghdâd*. We must not forget to remark, that the rebel *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith* made a formidable progress in the conquest of *Khorasân* the present year<sup>1</sup>.

The Khalîf  
sends his son  
Al Mamûn  
against him.

THE following year, being the 192d of the *Hejra*, beginning November 6th, 807, *Harûn* marched against *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith*, who pretended to dispute the *Khalîfat* with him. The general rendezvous of his forces was in the plains of *Rakka*, from whence he advanced at the head of them to *Baghdâd*. Having supplied the troops with every thing necessary at that place, he continued his march to the frontiers of *Jorjân*, where he was seized with an illness which grew more violent after he had entered that province. Finding himself therefore not able to pursue his route, he resigned the command of the army to his son *Al Mamûn*, appointed many experienced officers to serve under him, ordered him to march directly to *Merû* in quest of the rebels, and retired himself to *Tûs* in *Khorasân*, twelve parasangs of *Nisabûr*, not *Tuster* in *Khûzistân*, the antient *Susa*, as we find falsely asserted by Mr. *Kehr*. Before the *Khalîf* assembled his forces at *Rakka*, he deprived *Hasan Ebn Jamîl* of the government of *Egypt*, and sent *Mâlec Ebn Dabâm* to *Mesr* to succeed him in that post. We are told by *Khondemir*, that the *Khalîf* saw in a dream at *Rakka*, before he departed from that place, a hand over his head, full of red earth, and at the same time heard the voice of a person pronouncing these words, *See the earth in which Harûn is to be interred*. Upon which, he demanded where he was to be buried? and was instantly answered by the same voice, *At Tûs*. This greatly discomposing him, he communicated the dream to his chief physician *Gabriel*, the son of *Bakhtishua*, a *Christian*, who told him, that this ought to give him no manner of concern, as dreams were only phantoms produced by the fumes which the humours of the body sent into the brain; and that the expedition to *Khorasân*, in order to extinguish the rebellion of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith* there, he was upon the point of undertaking, had given place to this imagination. To which the doctor added, that no better remedy could be thought of to dissipate his chagrin, than to pursue some favourite diversion that might draw his attention another way. The *Khalîf*, therefore by his physician's advice, prepared a magnificent regale for his principal courtiers, which continued several days. After this, he put himself at the head of his troops, and advanced to the confines of *Jorjân*, where he was attacked by the distemper that proved fatal to him. This increasing, he found himself obliged to leave the army, and retire to *Tûs*; where the prediction communicated to him in his dream was fulfilled, as will soon more clearly appear. In the month of *September* this year, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, the *Arabs* made a descent upon the island of *Rhodes*, committed dreadful depredations there, and at last retired into their own dominions with an immense quantity of spoil. About the same

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 407. 408. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 476—478. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 12. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 412, 413.



- a time, as may be inferred from the date preserved on one of them found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, some *dirbêms* were struck at *Mohammedia*, a city of *Kermân*, famous for the great number of learned men it has produced. The words that determine the place where, and the time when, this piece was coined, are, *Bel-Mohammediata ethsnatayni wata-s'ina wameâten*, i. e. *In Mohammedia, or struck at Mohammedia, in the year of the Hejra 192, of CHRIST 807, or rather 808.* As *Mohammedia* was not at a vast distance from *Tûs*, and our *dirbêm* exhibits the name *Al Amîn*, it seems to have been coined in honour of that prince, a little before his father's decease. As *Al Amîn* was likewise at this time carrying on his military preparations, in order to attack his brother *Al Mamûn*, then commander in chief of the *Khalîf's* forces in *Khorasân*, these pieces might have been struck to enable
- b *Al Amîn* to undertake the projected expedition, immediately after *Al Harûn's* death; or they might have been coined by the inhabitants of *Mohammedia*, not only as an instance of their homage and loyalty to *Al Amîn*, but likewise with a view of making a considerable present to that prince. At least this is the opinion of M. *Kebr*. The language spoke at *Mohammedia* is the *Persic*; which is not to be wondered at, as this city is almost situated in the very heart of *Persia*. Other *dirbêms* were likewise coined this year at *Baghdâd*, as appears from two of them discovered with the former in 1722. We must not forget to observe, that M. *Kebr* is inconsistent with himself, when in one place he affirms *Tûs* to have belonged to *Persia*, and in another to the province of *Khorasân*; and that *Mohammedia* stood in longitude  $90^{\circ} 00'$ , and lat.  $31^{\circ} 45'$ .
- c THE 193d year of the *Hejra*, beginning October 25th, 808, was famous for the death of the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*, who departed this life the third of the latter *Jomada* at *Tûs*; being then, according to *Eutychius*, forty-six, or, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l Faraj*, forty-seven, or, lastly, as others will have it, forty eight years of age. Upon his arrival at *Tûs*, to which place the violence of his distemper obliged him to retire, he sent for his physician, *Gabriel Ebn Baktishua*, and said to him, "Do you remember, *Gabriel*, my dream at *Rakka*? We are now arrived at *Tûs*, the place, according to what was predicted in that dream, of my interment. Send one of my eunuchs to fetch me a handful of the earth in the neighbourhood of the city." Upon which, one of his favourite eunuchs, named *Masrûr*, was immediately dispatched to bring a little
- d of the soil of the place to the *Khalîf*; who soon returned, and brought a handful of red earth which he presented to *Harûn* with his arm half bare. At the sight of which, the *Khalîf* instantly cried out, "In truth, this is the earth, and this the very arm I saw in my dream." Whereupon his spirits failing him, and his malady increasing, he died three days after this frightful sight, and was buried in the same place, where a stately monument was afterwards erected in honour of the *Imâm Ali Ebn Musa Ebu Jaafar*, called by the *Persians* the *Imâm Riza*, going under the appellation of *Mashhad Riza*, or the sepulchre of *Riza*, at this day. Some authors relate, that both these princes were interred at *Senabâd*, a village about a parasang distant from *Tûs*; and that *Sawri Ebn Al Motez*, who presided over the districts of *Nisabûr* and *Tûs* in the days of *Mahmûd Gazni*, adorned the spot
- e where *Harûn* and *Riza* lay inhumed with many superb and magnificent buildings. Which place has since been so beautified and enlarged by the later *Persian* kings, that *Tûs*, with which this is now immediately connected, was at least very lately esteemed the metropolis of *Khorasân*. Nor did the territory of *Tûs* make a mean figure 500 years ago, since we are told by *Yûkûl Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamatbi*, that it then contained about a thousand villages and towns. It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Bashîr Ebn Al Leith*, *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith's* brother, was brought to the *Khalîf* in chains, when that prince was at the point of death; who, at the sight of him, declared, that if he had had only time enough left him to speak two words, he would say, *Kill him*; and immediately ordered him to be cut to pieces in his presence; which being done, he soon after expired. *Harûn* sat about three-and-
- f twenty years upon the *Moslem* throne. As to his person, he was tall, corpulent, and of a fair complexion; he had thick bushy hair, which had begun to grow grey, a handsome face, and a black beard: his head he took care to have shaved as often as he performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. With regard to his disposition, he was a person of such singular humanity, that in this point, he could scarce be paralleled by any of his predecessors, of great liberality, especially to poets, being excessively fond of the *Arab* poetry, and even capable of writing verses himself, magnanimous and brave, and so devout, that he is said to have gone either eight or nine times on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, whilst he was *Khalîf*. He spent a considerable time in prayer every day, except when he was sick, and, during the performance of his devotions,
- g according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l Faraj*, made an hundred incurvations. He also

Harûn Al Rashid's death, and character.

<sup>r</sup> GRIG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 120. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 19, 22. V. de etiam bin. tabul. geographic. NASSIR EDDIN. *Pers.* & ULUGH BEIGH. *Tatar.* op. & stud. Johannis Gravii, Oxon. 1711. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185—183, 216, &c.



distributed every day a thousand *dirbems* amongst the poor, and carried with him an hundred a learned men to *Mecca*; and when he did not go thither himself, he took care to furnish three hundred persons with proper accommodations for such a journey. None of the preceding *Khalifs* had so great a number of counsellors, judges, learned men, and poets, in his palace, as *Harûn Al Rashîd*. *Al Asmaghi* relates, that, on a certain day, he found *Al Rashîd* all in tears, upon discovering a passage in the poetical works of *Abu'l Abâbia*, that he applied to himself, and seemed to interpret as a prediction of his death. The distemper that attacked him with great fury and violence at *Tûs* is said to have been the bloody flux, which at last proved fatal to him. The first and last day of his reign was *Saturday*. His first counsellors were *Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and his two sons *Al Fadl* and *Jaafar*; after whose dismissal, he took *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabî*. He is said likewise afterwards to have delivered the privy seal to b *Ali Ebn Baktar*. *Ismael Ebn Sabîb* also served him in the capacity of prime minister to the day of his death. His judges were *Nûb Ebn Daraj* and *Hafes Ebn Ayât*, in the eastern parts of his dominions; and, in the western, *Al Hosein Ebn Al Hasan Al A'wfi*, and afterwards *Awn Ebn Abd'allah Al Masûdi*. We are likewise told, that *Mohammed Ebn Sama'a*, *Sherik Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Ali Ebn Harmala*, presided over the courts of judicature during some part of his reign. The captains of his guards were *Al Kasem Ebn Najr Ebn Mâlec*, *Hamzab Ebn Hazem*, and *Hafed Ebn Omar Ebn Al Shojair*; and his chamberlains, *Basbar Ebn Maimûn*, his servant, *Mohammed Ebn Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and *Fadl Ebn Al Rabî*. The inscription of his seal was, *Greatness, and power of God*. From what has been already c observed, it sufficiently appears, that this *Khalif* was extremely fond of learned men, and cultivated himself at least some of the sciences. He obliged *Mâlec*, the author of the famous book intitled *Mawthâ*, to write an explication of that piece; who, when the *Khalif* would have shut the door of the chamber wherein that explication was made, boldly told him, that knowledge was of no manner of service to the great, except they communicated it to those of a lower degree. But, in order to have an adequate idea of the state of learning in the *Moslem* empire during this *Khalif's* reign, and perfectly to understand on what foot he set the sciences, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the history of *Tawadûd Khatûn* and *Harûn*, as well as the works of divers other authors, that he caused to be translated into *Arabic*; a detail of which may be met with in the *Bibliothèque* of M. *D'Herbelot* \*.

Harûn finds a ring that he had thrown into the Tigris. It has been observed by some of the oriental historians, that *Al Mobdi* made his son d *Harûn* a present of a most beautiful ruby-ring, which he wore himself, as an earnest of the succession, to which he was called after his brother *Al Hûdi*; and that the last of these princes, immediately after his accession, sent a eunuch to demand it, as of right belonging to him. This unreasonable demand so incensed *Harûn*, that, in the eunuch's presence, he pulled it off his finger, and threw it into the *Tigris*, where it remained till *Al Hadi's* death. But no sooner had he taken possession of the *Khalifat*, than he commanded some divers to search for it; casting a lead-ring, in order to direct them, from the same part of the bridge where he stood before, when the eunuch demanded *Al Mobdi's* ring of him, into the river. The divers were so fortunate on this occasion as to find the thing sought for, without any difficulty or toil; which accident was considered as a certain prognostic of a happy and auspicious reign. e One of these authors relates, that the famous *Saladin*, in the year of the *Hejra* 560, lost a ruby-ring, of almost inestimable value, which was as luckily found again as this of the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd* †.

The Khalif recovers from an apoplectic fit; IN the 180th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* being seized with an apoplectic fit, the physicians met at his palace, to consult about the proper means of relieving him; when *Gabriel*, the son of *Bakhtishua*, a *Christian*, and then but a very young man, declared, that, in his opinion, a vein was immediately to be opened. This was opposed by *Al Amîn*, but agreed to by *Al Mamûn*, as the only expedient that could be thought of to save his father's life. The *Khalif*, therefore, was bled without delay, and recovered; after which, *Al Mamûn* related to him the whole affair, and was ever after his particular favourite. f As for *Gabriel*, *Harûn* was so pleased with his conduct on this occasion, that he made him his principal physician, and settled a pension of 100,000 *dirhems* upon him †.

as does his favourite mistress from another disorder. WHEN *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mobdi*, the *Khalif's* brother, was prefect of *Egypt*, he made a present to *Harûn* of a most beautiful damsel, of whom that prince was passionately fond. This girl being once extremely ill, and the court physicians not being able to procure her any relief, the *Khalif* found himself obliged to apply to his brother for a doctor from *Egypt*. *Abd'allah*, upon this application, sent him the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who had great skill in physic, and who soon cured her of her distemper. This so pleased the *Khalif*, that he

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KHONDAMIR, EBN HAWKEL, ISM. ABU'LFED. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, GOLI. SOL. ad. A. fagon. p. 185—188. AL ASMAGHI & ABU'L ABAHIA, apud AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 453, 855. & alib. pass. † MIRHOND, EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 4, 2. \* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 122.



- a ordered all the churches that had been taken away from the *Melchites* in *Egypt* to be restored them, and gave the patriarch a large sum of money for the cure he had performed. This patriarch, whose name was *Balâtian*, or *Bulatianus*, died in the forty-seventh year of his patriarchate, and was succeeded by one *Estât*, or *Eustatius*, at *Alexandria*, in the sixteenth year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Raschid*. Which *Eustatius* was originally a flax-dresser; but finding a treasure accidentally in the place where he beat his flax, he became a monk in the monastery of *Al Kosair*, was at last made the head of his convent, and built the church of the *Two Apostles*, together with a bed-chamber for the bishop. He lived after his advancement to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, only four years; and, after his death, one *Christopher* was elevated to that high dignity; who, having been afflicted with a paralytic disorder, appointed a certain bishop, named *Peter*, to discharge the duties of his function for him. He continued however, in that sublime post, tho' very infirm, two-and-thirty years. In the eighth year of *Al Raschid*'s reign, *Theodoritus* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and presided over the *Christians* there seventeen years. We are told by *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, or *Eutychius*, that there was so remarkable a solar eclipse, as should seem, at *Alexandria*, after evening-prayer, in *Harûn*'s reign, that the stars appeared, and the people were struck with terror, inasmuch that they fell down upon their knees, and implored the divine protection. For other particulars relating to the churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* in the *Khalifat* of *Al Raschid*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the writers mentioned here; as a detail of such ecclesiastical affairs would by no means be compatible with our present design \*.

- A CERTAIN writer relates, that *Harûn* being one day told that there was a fool at *Baghdâd*, *Harûn*'s son-who pretended to be God, he sent for him, in order to converse with him, and discover *whether he was really a fool or an impostor*. At his first appearance, the *Khalif* said to him, *a fool at Baghdad*. "A man was brought before me some days ago, who made himself a fool, and had a mind to pass for a prophet sent by God. I commanded him immediately to be carried to prison, and from thence brought to his trial; after the conclusion of which being condemned, he had his head struck off." The fool, having heard these words, replied, "You acted on this occasion as became one of my faithful servants; that wretch never received the gift of prophecy from me, nor had he ever any order or mission on my part."
- d The author who has handed down to us this story, adds, that, according to the principles of the *Mohammedans*, one who is besides himself, and has lost the use of his reason, can say nothing but what is true; since it is God who speaks in him. On the contrary, he who pretends to be a prophet, and to be sent by God, when he really is not so, is an impostor, and can utter nothing but lies. The greatest part of the *Moslems* believe, that fools are agitated by the spirit of God, and of course reverence them as saints transported by the divine love; and, in conformity to this sentiment, as M. *D'Herbelot* has rightly observed, it is a saying not uncommon in these western parts of the world, that *truth is in the mouth of children and fools* \*.

- THIS *Khalif*, being in *Egypt*, said once to his courtiers, "The king of this country *He appoints an* formerly boasted himself to be God; I therefore, in abhorrence of such pride, intend *Ethiopian* to confer the government of it upon one of the meanest of my slaves". In consequence *Slave governor of Egypt* of which intention, he chose for this effect one *Hozaib*, an *Ethiopian*, a person of a most rude and clownish disposition. The king hinted at here is *Pharoah*, who is represented in the *Korân* as saying to his people, *I am more great and powerful than all your gods: I am your sovereign God and master*. The *Egyptians* having once complained to this *Hozaib*, after he had been made their governor, that the cotton they had sowed on the banks of the *Nile* was carried away by an inundation of that river, he asked them by way of consolation, why they had not sown wool there? believing that wool and cotton were produced in the same manner. This answer of the governor has been taken for a piece of wit by M. *D'Herbelot*; tho' it has been preserved as an instance of his stupidity by *Sâdi*, an author of good repute amongst the *Moslems* \*.

EBN KASSEM has remarked, that the strong castle of *Safsâf* in *Natolia*, called by the *Turks* at this day *Belejek*, was taken from the *Greeks* by the *Khalif Harûn Al Raschid*, who obliged the emperor *Nicephorus* to pay him tribute, as we have already observed; but that this was retaken from the *Arabs* by the *Greeks*, who kept possession of it till the time of *Othmân*, the son of *Ortogrol*, the founder of the *Othmân*, or *Ottoman*, empire \*. *He took Safsâf.*

AMONGST the remarkable sayings of this *Khalif*, the following has been handed down to us by *Sâdi*, or *Saadi*, the above-mentioned author. *Al Amîn*, his son, having one day desired him to punish a man for speaking ill of his mother *Zebeida*, he consulted his officers *His advice, on a particular occasion, to his son.*

\* EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 408—411. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 123. \* Aut. LATHAIF, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Haroun Al Raschid*, p. 432. † SADI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 432, 433. ‡ EBN KASSEM, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 433.



of justice upon the punishment proper to be inflicted on that offender. After which, he addressed himself to *Al Amîn* in the following terms: "I would advise you, son, to forgive him, as this will be an action worthy a great and magnanimous prince; but if you cannot absolutely repress your desire of vengeance, nor overcome yourself on so fine an occasion, you may treat his mother in the same manner that he has treated yours<sup>a</sup>."

*His adventure with a woman, whose house had been pillaged by some of his men.*

THE *Khalîf* being once marching at the head of his troops, a woman came to him to complain that some of his soldiers had pillaged her house. *Harûn* immediately made answer, "Hast thou not read, woman, in the *Korân*, that when princes pass with their armies through places, they destroy them." True," replied the woman; "but then it is also said in the same book, that the houses of those princes shall be desolate for the acts of injustice they have committed." This bold repartee, and the good sense of the woman, were so well received by the *Khalîf*, that he immediately ordered reparation to be made her for the damages she had sustained<sup>b</sup>.

*He took for his master Asmâi.*

HE took for his instructor in the *Mohammedan* law the celebrated doctor *Asmâi*, or *Asmaghi*, who being willing to examine things to the utmost rigour of the law, would frequently have obliged him to make a false step, if he had not been extremely well upon his guard. On such occasions as these, *Harûn* used to say to him, "You are more learned than I; but I have more sense and prudence than you." This sage's name at length was *Abu Sa'id Abd'almâlec Ebn Koraib Al Asmâi*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 122, and died in the 215th, or 216th, year of that æra, when the *Khalîf Al Mamûn* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. He excelled in the art of grammar and eloquence, was extremely well versed in the most authentic traditions, and had a perfect knowledge of the *Korân*. These fine qualities so endeared him to the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*, that he did not think it beneath him to take him for his master. But the scholar was resolved to give the first lesson, and that such a one as was worthy his high rank and capacity. He ordered *Asmâi* never to offer to teach, or instruct, him in public, and not to be too forward, or officious, in giving him his advice in private; to stay till he was asked his opinion, and then to content himself with giving a clear and precise answer to the questions put to him, without any superfluous additions; above all things, to take care not to attempt preoccupying him in favour of any of his notions, or exacting of him too high a regard for his authority; not to dwell too long on the histories and traditions he should relate to him, without his particular permission; to bring him back with softness, and without any hard words, to the paths of justice, if he should ever depart from thence in his decisions; principally to point out to him the things that were most proper for the discourses he was to make in public, in the mosques and other places; and, finally, never to talk to him in obscure and mysterious terms, such as were not easily to be understood. This doctor was something under a middle size, of great vivacity and penetration, and had a mind capable of the vastest undertakings. He was the author of many pieces; the principal of which were *Offîl Al Kelam*, *The foundations of scholastic divinity*, and *Fahûat-wa-Al-Nadcrat*, *Rare and curious things*. We must not forget to observe, that *Isa Ebn Jaafar* said the funeral service over the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*, at the time of his interment; and that *Al Hefan Ebn Al Tahtâh* was governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Mâlec Ebn Dâham*, whom he removed a little before his death, when he expired<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> SADI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.  
Biblioth. orient. art. *Asmâi*, p. 39.

<sup>b</sup> AUT. RABI AL AKHIAH.

<sup>c</sup> ASMÂI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Asmâi*, p. 39. ABU JAAFAR AL TAHAH. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 120. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 23.

## S E C T. XXVII.

*After Al Rashîd's death, his son Mohammed Mûsa Al Amîn is proclaimed Khalîf.*

UPON the arrival of a courier from *Tûs* with the news of *Al Rashîd*'s death, his son *Mohammed Mûsa Al Amîn* was proclaimed *Khalîf*, or emperor of the *Moslems*, at *Baghdâd*. This happened about twelve days after his father's decease, though he had been declared *Khalîf* at *Tûs* the very morning *Al Rashîd* died. His mother was *Zebeida*, the daughter of *Jaafar Ebn Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. He was at *Baghdâd* when his father expired. *Al Mamûn*, this prince's brother, had been called to the succession after him, by an express declaration which *Harûn*, in order to render it the more authentic, had caused to be hung up in the *Caaba*. He had likewise been indulged by his father with the perpetual government of *Khorasân*, together with the command of all the troops cantoned in that province. Notwithstanding which, *Al Amîn*, after his accession, formed a design to exclude him from the *Khalîfat*, deprived him of the furniture and moveables of the imperial palace in *Khorasân*, which had been left him by *Al Rashîd*, and, in open violation of his father's will, and the former declaration of that prince, which had been renewed a little before his death, ordered the forces in *Khorasân* to march directly to *Baghdâd*. This not a little incensed *Al Mamûn*, who thereupon expostulated with *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabî*, the general



a ral of those forces; but without effect; he punctually obeying the orders he had received from the new *Khalif*. However, *Al Mamûn* took care not to be wanting in his fidelity to his brother. He obliged the people of *Khorasân* to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Amîn*, and reduced to reason some seditious spirits that had actually excited a considerable body of the inhabitants of his province to a revolt. The new *Khalif* caused *dirhems* to be struck immediately after his inauguration, as has been rendered probable by *M. Kehr*; two of which, with the words *thsalathsen wates'ina wameâten, an hundred and ninety-three*, upon them, were found near *Stegen*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, the 2d of June, 1722<sup>d</sup>.

AL AMIN being extremely addicted to drunkenness and gaming, and thereby become The Khalif incapable of all manner of application to business, chose *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabî* for his prime excludes his  
b *Visir*, and intirely abandoned to him the government of his dominions. *Fadl* was a very brother from  
able minister; though, fearing *Al Mamûn's* resentment, if ever he should ascend the Moslem the succession.  
throne, for the ill offices he had formerly done him, he gave his master very bad advice, and such as in the end proved the total ruin of them both. He told him, that his brother *Al Mamûn* had gained the affection of the people of *Khorasân* by the good order and police he had established in his government; that his unwearied application to administer justice to those over whom he presided, had so attracted their esteem, that the forces of the whole province were intirely at his devotion; that his own conduct had by no means been relished by his subjects, whose minds were almost totally alienated from him; and that, therefore, he had only one part to act, which was, to deprive his brother of the right of  
c succession that had been left him by his father, and transfer it to his son *Mûsa*, though then but an infant. The *Khalif*, unhappily for himself, followed the counsel of his prime *Visir*, ordered *Al Mamûn's* name to be omitted in the public prayers on *Fridays*, and in the discourses made afterwards to the people by the *Imâm*, which the *Moslems* call *Khotbah*, and declared *Mûsa*, though still in his tender years, the presumptive heir to the crown. After which degradation of *Al Mamûn*, *Al Amîn* surnamed *Mûsa*, at that time not above five years old, *Al-Nâtik Billah*, *Al-Nâtik Belhak*, or rather *Al-Nâtik B'lhak*, i. e. one who reasons and discourses in a manner agreeable to God, or according to truth. But several of the *Moslems*, after *Mûsa* had been proclaimed his father's immediate successor, by way of ridicule, nicknamed him *Natba Billah*, that is to say, one who, by the grace of God, begins to speak. The  
d *Khalif* also sent for his other brother from *Mesopotamia*, the government of which province his father *Harûn* had conferred upon him; and recalled *Al Mamûn* to court, under the pretext that he wanted his assistance in his councils. This unparalleled treatment so irritated *Al Mamûn*, that he was resolved to come to an open rupture with his brother, in order, if possible, to frustrate his wicked designs. Instead, therefore, of going to *Baghdâd*, as *Al Amîn* had commanded him, he cut off all communication between his province and that capital; pretending, that, as his father *Harûn* had assigned him the lieutenancy of *Khorasân*, he was responsible for all the disorders that might happen during his absence there. He also coined money, and would not suffer *Al Amîn's* name to be impressed upon any of the *dirhems* or *dinars* struck in his province. Not content with this, he prevailed upon *Rafe' Ebn*  
e *Al Leit Ebn Sayâr*, who had been for some time in open rebellion against the *Khalif*, to join him with a body of troops; whose example was soon after followed by *Harthema Ebn Aasan*; which put him in possession of all the vast territory of *Khorasân*. Here he bore an absolute sway, officiated in the mosque as *Imâm*, and from the pulpit constantly harangued the people. *Al Amîn*, about this time, removed *Al Hasan Ebn Al Tahtâb* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Hâtem Ebn Harthema Ebn Aasan* to succeed him in that post. He likewise coined a large number of *dirhems* at *Baghdâd*; to enable him to carry on the war against his brother *Al Mamûn* with vigour; one of which, with the words *arba'en wates'ina wameâten, an hundred and ninety-four*, upon it, was discovered near *Stegen*, in 1722. Theophanes seems to represent the new *Khalif* as a very weak prince; and intimates, that a civil  
f war, between him and *Al Mamûn*, which occasioned a vast effusion of human blood, and many dreadful devastations, commenced soon after his accession. These were the principal transactions, if not the only events of any éclat, that happened in the *Moslem* empire, during the year of the *Hejra* 194<sup>e</sup>.

THE following year, being the 195th of the *Hejra*, beginning October 4th, 810, the *Khalif* *Al Amîn* finding that he had missed his aim, and that his brother *Al Mamûn* set him at defiance, declared war against him, and sent *Ali Ebn Isa* to invade *Khorasân* with an army of 60,000 men. Before his departure, *Zebeida*, as we are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Al Amîn's* mother, and mother-in-law to *Al Mamûn*, intreated that general to consider the latter as her own son, or at least the son of *Harûn Al Rashîd*; and, if he refused to obey the *Khalif's* orders,  
He declares war against his brother.

<sup>d</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 239. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 124. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 13, &c. <sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 124, 125. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOENAH, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 239, 240. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 20, 30, &c. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 409.



orders, three days after they had been imparted to him, to bring him in silver chains to *Baghdád*. Authors, however, differ about the number of forces employed by *Al Amin* in this expedition. Some make them to amount to the number above-mentioned, others reduce them to 40,000, and, lastly, others assert, that *Ali Ebn Isa* set out from *Baghdád* with only a body of 10,000 horse <sup>f</sup>.

His forces  
overthrown  
by those of Al  
Mamun.

AL MAMUN being informed, that *Ali Ebn Isa* had begun his march for *Khorasán*, and even advanced to the frontiers of that province, made the necessary dispositions for giving him a proper reception. He put on foot all the troops he could raise with the utmost expedition, and gave the command of them to *Tabar*, or *Tdaber*, *Ebn Hosein*, afterwards the founder of a considerable dynasty, and one of the greatest generals of the age; who, being a man of undaunted resolution, chose only a body of 4000 men, whom he led against *Ali Ebn Isa*, then incamped on a spot of ground about ten leagues from the city of *Ray*. *Ali*, seeing so small a number of troops, was transported with joy, and promised himself an easy victory over them; not considering that these were all choice men, and the flower of *Al Mamun's* forces. He, therefore, walked about carelessly in his camp, without any manner of precaution. Which being observed by *Dawd*, surnamed *Siyáh*, or, as some of the manuscripts of *Abu'l Faraj* have it, *Sháh*, one of *Tabar's* subalterns, he, with a small party, surprized *Ali* in his camp, cut off his head, and immediately brought it to *Tabar Ebn Hosein*; who instantly dispatched a courier with it to *Al Mamun*, then at *Merú*, the capital of *Khorasán*. The courier made such haste, that he arrived at *Merú* in four days time, tho' that city is near 400 leagues distant from *Ray*, presented the head to *Al Mamun*, and brought him the news of a victory obtained by his general over the enemy without striking a stroke; the *Khalif's* troops betaking themselves to flight, as soon as it was known that *Ali* had been assassinated in his camp. This is the relation of *Al Mamun's* first instance of success handed down to us by the *Persian* historians. But the *Arab* writers relate this affair in a different manner. *Al Mamun*, according to them, joined *Harthema Ebn Aafan* with *Tabar* in the command of his forces, and ordered them to attack *Ali*, then posted on an advantageous spot of ground, about five parasangs from *Ray*. Upon which, those generals, in pursuance of their orders, marched up to *Ali Ebn Isa's* camp, gave him battle, and intirely defeated him. For some time, *Ali's* right and left wings behaved well, and forced those of *Tabar* and *Harthema* to give way; but *Al Mamun's* main body having broke that of the *Khalif* in such a manner, that the troops which composed it could never afterwards rally, and then fallen upon the two wings which had so pushed those of *Tabar* and *Harthema* in the beginning of the action, *Al Amin's* troops could not stand their ground, but were forced to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. And what increased the general confusion, on this melancholy occasion, was the death of *Ali Ebn Isa* himself, who was killed by an arrow let fly at him by the aforesaid *Dawd Siyáh*, in the heat of the action; which absolutely obliged victory to declare in favour of *Al Mamun's* troops. *Ali's* head was afterwards cut off, and sent as a present to that prince, who amply rewarded *Tabar* and *Harthema* for the important services they had done him. If we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, *Ali* thought himself so sure of an easy victory, that he told his men they had nothing farther to do, in order to obtain it (or, as the *Arabic* text of that author expresses it, to break *Tabar* to pieces like a tree) than to march over the hill of *Hamadán*. Hence it appears, that however the preceding accounts may vary in other respects, they seem to agree in this, that the dispersion of the *Khalif's* forces, as well as the loss of *Ali*, was in a great measure, if not solely, owing to a want of precaution in that general; who could by no means be induced to think, that the enemy would have the courage to attack him, or even dare to look him in the face. But however this may be, whether *Ali* was surprized, or overthrown by the bravery and resolution of the enemy, this disaster proved of fatal consequence to *Al Amin's* affairs <sup>e</sup>.

Al Mamun  
assumes the  
title of Khalif.

AL MAMUN, having received advice of the death of *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Máhan*, his brother generals, and the intire defeat of the army under his command, assumed the title of *Khalif*, ordered *Al Amin's* name to be omitted at the time of divine service in his turn, and made the necessary preparations for carrying the war into the very heart of the *Moslem* dominions. For this purpose, he divided his forces into two bodies, and commanded both of them to march into *Irák* by different routes. One of them obeyed the orders of *Tabar*, who directed his march towards *Abwáz*; and the other those of *Harthema*, who took the road of *Holwán*; both of them proposing to meet in the neighbourhood of *Baghdád*, and, after their junction, to form the siege of that city. In the course of their march this year, *Al Mamun's* troops defeated a body of the *Khalif's* forces, and reduced the city of *Hamadán*, together with several other places of strength, without any considerable loss. In the

<sup>f</sup> Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 240. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 125. EUTYCH. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 409.



a mean time, *Al Amîn* removed *Hâtem Ebn Harthemâ Ebn Aafan* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Hâyar Ebn Al Ahab* in his room. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Thaber*, with the body of troops under his command, took post in the territory of *Hekcân*, incamped there, and fortified his camp, to secure it from all insults of the enemy; towards the close of this campaign <sup>h</sup>.

WE must here beg leave to observe, that it seems to appear from a *dirbém* coined at *Some dirbém*  
*Samarkand* the preceding year, and found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, not only that *coined at Sa-*  
some of those pieces were then struck in the mint erected there, but likewise that *markand.*  
*Al Mamûn* assumed the titles of *Imâm*, *protector of the pillars of Islamism*, and *one by friendship*  
*united with Mohammed*, at that time. From whence we may infer, that he probably caused  
b himself to be acknowledged *Khalîf* in *Khorasân* at least a year sooner than that event  
is said to have happened by the *Arab* historians, if not immediately after his father's  
decease. This, if admitted, may serve to correct those writers, and perhaps give us to  
understand, that the *Khalîf Al Amîn* had some other motives to a war with *Al Mamûn*  
besides those they have suggested to us. The words preserved by this *dirbém* are so remark-  
able that we must not pass them over in silence here. On one side it exhibits *bemedinati*  
*Samarkanda senatan arbaa wates'ina wameâtan*, i. e. *At Samarkand; in the year 194*; and on  
the reverse, *Mohammedon rasûlo . . llâhi wama'llîfoko l'Imâmo . . l'Mamûno waliyyo âmadi . .*  
*l'Moslemîna Abd'allahi bno Emiri . . l'momenîna*, i. e. *Mohammed is the apostle of God, with*  
c *whom is united by friendship the Imâm Al Mamûn, the protector of the pillars of Islamism,*  
*Abd'allah, the son of the prince of the faithful.* This piece seems likewise farther to intimate,  
that a considerable number of *dirbêms* were coined by the people of *Samarkand*, with *Al*  
*Mamûn's* name upon them, on account of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leit Ebn Sayâr's* declaration for  
him, and as an instance of their loyalty to him; if it will not evince that prince's first  
victory to have been gained in the year of the *Hejra* 194; though it has been placed by  
the oriental historians in the following year. In either of which cases it must be owned,  
that the ancient coins of the *Arabs* may, on some occasions, illustrate matters of history, as  
well as those of politer nations. With regard to the word *Imâm*, it may not be amiss to  
remind our readers, that it properly denotes the same person as the *Latin Antistes*, or rather,  
for the most part, one that presides over ecclesiastical affairs <sup>i</sup>.

d NOTWITHSTANDING the surprizing progress made by *Al Mamûn's* arms in the year of *And at Mo-*  
the *Hejra* 195, the province of *Kermân*, or at least a considerable part of that province, *hammedia.*  
though not so very remote from *Khorasân*, seems to have persisted in an unshaken fidelity to  
*Al Amîn* several months, if not, as is most probable, through the whole course, of that year.  
For, some *dirbêms* were coined then at *Mohammedia* in *Kermân*, as we learn from one of them  
found at *Dantzick* in 1722; whose anterior face has preserved these words, *belmohammediyyata*  
*chamsen wates'ina wameâtan*, i. e. *At Mohammedia, in the year one hundred and ninety-five*;  
and, on the reverse, we discover the following inscription: *Mohammedon rasûlo . . llâhi*  
*waalakeyatoho . . l'Khalîfato Mohammedon Emiro . . l'mo'menîna al'abido*; *Mohammed is the*  
e *apostle of God, and the Khalîf Mohammed, prince of the faithful, the devout worshipper and*  
*adorer of God, is his attendant.* Where, by the *Khalîf Mohammed*, we are plainly to under-  
stand *Mohammed Abu Mûsa Al Amîn*, the son of *Harûn Al Rasbîd*, who at that time sat upon  
the *Moslem* throne. Hence it appears, that some *dirbêms* were struck at *Mohammedia*, in  
the year of the *Hejra* 195, probably with a design to enable *Al Amîn* to pay the troops he  
had then in those parts on foot; as likewise that the people of this district, at least, were  
intirely in the interest of that unfortunate and indolent prince, when those pieces were coined.  
For a more particular explication of the legend and inscription preserved by the *dirbém* now  
in view, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to what has been published on this  
head by *M. Kehr*, an author to whom we own ourselves obliged for several hints and obser-  
vations, that can by no means be judged unworthy a place in the work we are at present  
f upon <sup>k</sup>.

THE following year, being the 196th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn*, who now openly disputed *The farther*  
the *Khalîfat* with his brother, failed not to improve the great advantages he had gained. *progress of*  
He sent an express to *Thaber*, commanding him to pursue his march with the utmost expe- *Al Mamûn's*  
dition, and reach, if possible, the frontiers of *Irâk*, before *Al Amîn* could send any for- *arms.*  
midable army into the field. That general, therefore, upon the arrival of the express,  
made the necessary dispositions for immediately opening the campaign. But he had no  
sooner moved out of his winter-quarters, in order to recommence the military operations,  
than he received advice of the approach of two armies, consisting each of 20,000 men, that

<sup>h</sup> AUT. LOBE AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 240, 241. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. univer. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 125, 126.  
JAC. KEHR. ubi sup. p. 1, 30, &c. See also SALE's translat. and notes on the Korân. p. 16.  
JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 19, 29.

<sup>i</sup> GEORG.  
<sup>k</sup> GEORG.



were advancing to give him battle; but, by the assistance of his emissaries and spies, he found means to sow the seeds of discord and dissension between *Abmed Ebn Marîd Al Shai-bânî* and *Abd'allah Ebn Hamîd Ebn Kabtaba*, who commanded them; so that, instead of acting in conjunction against the common enemy, as they ought to have done, they turned their arms against one another. This enabled *Thaber* to make himself master of *Holwân*, which he took by capitulation, and then marched directly to *Abwâz*. Here he attacked a body of the *Khalîf's* forces; but being weakened by the loss of a detachment he had left in garison at *Holwân*, under the command of *Hartbema Ebn Aasan*, who had joined him before his arrival at that place, nothing decisive happened on either side. The indolence and supineness of *Al Amîn* had hitherto been one of the principal causes of the surprizing progress of *Al Mamûn's* arms in so short a time, and given such offence to the people of *Baghdâd*, that they were universally disposed to an insurrection. Of which unaccountable negligence, the following most remarkable instance has been mentioned by some of the eastern writers. When a courier arrived from the army, with the bad news of *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâbân's* death and defeat, and imparted it to the *Khalîf*, he found him fishing, and so little concerned at what had happened, that he said to him, *Don't disturb my diversion; for Kuthar, my freed-man, has taken two large fishes, and I none at all.* Being, therefore, become odious to the citizens of *Baghdâd*, by such an infamous neglect of public affairs, they unanimously entertained thoughts of withdrawing their allegiance from him. To which they were farther excited by *Al Hasan Ebn Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâbân*, a person of great power and authority in the army, after his arrival from *Rakka* at *Baghdâd*. They, therefore, deposed him on the eleventh day of the month of *Rajeb*, incarcerated him and his mother *Zebeida*, and took the oath of fidelity to *Al Mamûn*; though afterwards repenting of what they had done, they drove *Hasan* out of the city, took *Al Amîn* out of prison, and placed him again upon the throne. They also, in a little time, seized *Hasan*, and brought him to the *Khalîf*, that he might receive the reward of his late treasonable practices and instigations. That prince, however, did not only forgive him, but likewise, after having supplied him with large sums of money, carriages, horses, arms, and all sorts of military stores, sent him to command the troops posted in the neighbourhood of *Holwân*. But he had no sooner reached the opposite bank of the *Tigris*, than he took to his heels, in order to make his escape. Of which *Al Amîn* being apprized, he immediately sent a detachment in pursuit of him; which at last coming up with him, after a brave defence, cut him to pieces, and brought his head to the *Khalîf*. Two of his servants also that attended him, and in conjunction with him behaved with such unparalleled resolution, that they several times repulsed the above-mentioned detachment, met with the same fate <sup>1</sup>.

*Thaber takes* In the mean time, *Thaber Ebn Hosein* made a most rapid progress with the troops under his command. Having advanced to *Abwâz*, and attacked a body of the *Khalîf's* forces posted there, as has been already observed, he obliged them to retire; though the action by no means ended in their intire defeat. However, it so intimidated the commandant of *Abwâz*, that he thought fit to surrender that fortress to him. This opened him a way to *Wâset* upon the *Tigris*, and facilitated the conquest of that place. After which, he marched with his army to *Al Madâyen*, almost within sight of *Baghdâd*; the inhabitants of which town opened their gates to receive him, upon the first news of his approach. The rapidity of these conquests, and *Al Amîn's* infamous administration, excited the people of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Hejâz*, and *Yaman*, unanimously to declare for *Al Mamûn*, who was thereupon immediately proclaimed *Khalîf* in all those provinces. All things thus apparently tending to a revolution, that prince took upon him to constitute several governors of provinces, and in particular appointed *Ayâd Ebn Mohammed* to preside, in the room of *Hâtem Ebn Hartbema Ebn Aasan*, whom he deprived of the government of that country, over the people of *Egypt*. He also made the proper dispositions for improving the vast advantages he had gained, and even for putting an end to the war in which he found himself engaged the following campaign <sup>m</sup>.

*Some dirhems* To furnish the powers engaged in this war with proper supplies, large quantities both of *dirhems* and *dinârs* were probably coined in several of the principal cities of the *Moslem* empire, the present year. That some *dirhems* were struck at *Ispahân*, or *Isfabân*, the capital of *Persia*, we learn from one of them found near the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722. This city, called by the orientals *Isfebân*, *Isfabân*, *Esfabân*, *Asfebân*, *Isbehân*, *Asbehân*, *Spabân*, *Suffibân*, and *Esbahâna*, seems to be the *Aspa* of *Ptolemy*, placed in *Parthia* by that geographer, though he assigns it and the adjacent places a greater latitude than the eastern astronomers and geographers; most of whom place *Ispahân* in latitude 32° 25', and longitude 86° 40'. This conjecture is not a little countenanced by the affinity of names, as *Spahân*,

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 126. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 241, 243. EUTICH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. &c. <sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121, & alib.



- a *Asfehân, Isfabân, Ispabân, &c.* must be allowed very deducible from *Aspa*; tho' *Al Bicri* seems to derive those names from *Ispâb*, in the plural *Ispabân*, which in *Arabic* denotes *militia, troops, &c.* because, according to him, the *Parthians* assembled all their forces, drawn out of *Persia, Kermân, and Abwâz*, at this place. Some of the oriental writers have ranked *Ispabân* amongst the cities belonging to the fourth climate; tho', if we will believe *Hamdalla*, it has a better title given it to the third by its situation. It stands in a very extensive plain, furrounded by mountains, and has eight districts appertaining to it, that contain about 400 towns and villages. The fertility of the soil, the mildness of the seasons, and the fine temperature of the air, all conspire to render *Ispabân* one of the most charming and delightful cities in the world; for which reason, *Ismael Sûfi*, the first prince
- b of the last royal family of *Persia*, that lost all its power and influence in that country by the dethroning of the late *Shâh Hosein*, when he came to it, gave it the title of *Dar Affultana*, or the royal seat. *Shâh Abbâs* also, his great grandson, was so taken with its pleasant situation, that he fixed his residence there. After which, this city was adorned with a superb edifice, called by the *Persians* *Dawlat-khâna*, the royal palace, a spacious market-place, a stately mosque, a noble garden divided into four parts, an extensive hippodrome, and a royal park, or place, where wild beasts were kept, consisting of 1000 acres of ground. It soon likewise received such farther accessions of grandeur, as enabled it to lift up its head above all the other cities of *Persia*. The three principal suburbs annexed to it are, *Abbâs-abâd*, denominated likewise the mansion of the Taurisians, built by *Shâh Abbâs*,
- c and belonging to the people of *Tauris*; *Julfa*, inhabited by a colony of *Armenians*, called by some *New Julfa*, there having been an antient city going under the same name in *Armenia*, upon the *Araxes*; and *Ghebr-abâd*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Kebr-abâd*, the street of the Magians, occupied intirely by the professors of *Magism*, or the antient religion of the *Persians*. The river *Zenderoud*, having its source on mount *Dimarwend*, separates the city of *Ispabân* and *Abbâs-abâd* from *Julfa* and *Ghebr-abâd*; besides which, another river, called *Abi Kûren*, by means of a passage made for it through mount *Dimarwend* by *Shâh Abbâs*, formerly watered part of the neighbouring tract, and united its streams with those of the *Zenderoud*. Some authors relate, that there are, or formerly were, two other streets, or suburbs, belonging to *Ispabân*; and that the *Persians* have a common saying amongst
- d them, importing, that this city is half of the world. The district of *Ispabân*, which is in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*, is bounded on the east by *Kbûzestân*, the *Susiana* of the antients, whose metropolis *Tuster*, situated in a plain, answers to the *Susa* of *Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo*, and the *Shushan* of Scripture; and on the south by the town of *Semîram*, that stands at almost an equal distance from this capital and *Shîrâz*, the metropolis of *Fârs, Fârsistân*, or, as the antient *Persians* pronounced it, *Pârs*. At first the spot on which *Ispabân* stands was occupied by four towns, or streets, going under the names of *Kirân, Koshec, Jûbâra, and Derdeshta*, built by *Tabmurath*, surnamed the *Demoniac*, because he was supposed to have vanquished and bound the devil, and *Jamshîd*. The *Persian* writers pretend, that *Kayko-bâd*, the founder of the *Kayanian* dynasty, was the first king of *Persia* who fixed his residence here, where he chose his sepulchre; though, according to them, it did not long enjoy the prerogative of capital of that kingdom. Others relate, that the *Jews*, after their dispersion over *Affyria*, and some of the neighbouring provinces, being drawn hither by the salubrity of the water, built a small town near another, named *Jiey*, which was afterwards greatly enlarged, and became a city of very considerable note. Hence it came to pass, that *Tâkût* styled *Ispabân* the larger city of the *Jews*, in order to distinguish it from *Jiey*, two miles distant from it, that had also received the denomination of the *Jewish* city, or rather the lesser *Jewish* city; and hence a probable reason may be assigned why the *Persians* and *Armenians* should affirm, that *Ispabân* had antiently the name of *Jûsh*. Some authors maintain, that the word *Ispabân*, or *Sipabân*, denoted *cavalry*; and that it was
- f applied as a name to the city so called, because the antient kings of *Persia* assembled their cavalry, in which the principal strength of their armies consisted, here. The greatest part of the *Persian* historians attribute the foundation of *Ispabân* either to *Hushenk*, or *Houshenk*, or to *Tabmurath*, two *Persian* kings of the dynasty of *Pishdâd*. It lost its title of capital of *Persia* by the translation of the royal seat, in the days of the *Khosrû's*, first to *Susa*, afterwards to *Estakbr*, or *Istakbra*, the antient *Persepolis*, and lastly to *Al Madâyen* upon the *Tigris*. However, in process of time, it recovered this; for *Jalâloddîn Mâlec Shâh*, one of the *Seljukian* princes, quitted *Khorasân* and the *Arabian Irâk*, where his predecessors had seated themselves, in order to fix his residence in this city. Nevertheless, it was afterwards obliged to leave this honour, upon the decline of the *Seljukian* dynasty, to *Shîrâz*, which the *Modhafferian*, or *Mothafferian*, *Soltâns* of *Persia* had made the capital of their dominions in the days of *Tamerlan*; tho' after *Ismael Sûfi* had seated himself upon the *Persian* throne, it grew more flourishing than ever, and was not only made by his descendants the metropolis of *Persia*, but likewise one of the most magnificent cities of *Asia*; especially after *Shâh*  
*Abbâs*



*Abbās* I. had joined to it the suburbs, or streets, above-mentioned, and established there a several colonies of *Georgians*, *Ghebrs*, and *Armenians* <sup>a</sup>.

The modern  
state of Ispahān  
before the  
commencement  
of the rebellion  
in 1721.

WITH regard to the modern state of *Ispahān*, before the commencement of the dreadful rebellion in the year 1721, since which time the once flourishing kingdom of *Persia* has been almost one continued scene of blood, ravages, and confusion, in order to give our curious readers a general idea of it, we shall here beg leave to lay down the following particulars. This city was distinguished, no less for the magnificence of its buildings, than for the vast tract it inclosed; the circumference having been ordinarily computed at twenty-four miles, including its gardens and suburbs. It was situated in a plain to the north of the *Zenderoud*, which separated it from *Julfa* and *Ghebr-abād*, as already observed. The source of this river is distant only three days journey: there are various accounts concern- b ing the course of it; but it is agreed to be of very small extent. *Abbās* the Great caused a chanel to be cut through the mountains, thirty leagues distant; by which means the waters of the river *Mahmoud Ker*, called by some of the eastern geographers *Abi Kūren*, as has been above remarked, were conveyed into the *Zenderoud*; which renders it, according to a very curious modern traveller, as wide and deep, upon the melting of the snows in the spring, as the *Seine* is in the winter at *Paris*. This work, which was carried on by some thousands of men, was finished in fourteen years time, at an immense expence. There is a communication between the two banks of the river by different bridges. The largest and finest was that of *Julfa*: it was 360 geometrical paces in length, and thirteen in breadth; the two extremities of it were flanked by four round towers, with a covered gallery, which c ranged on both sides the length of the bridge; the whole decorated with the richest ornaments of *Persian* architecture. It was joined by two causeways, made with a gentle descent to a double row of trees, above 3000 paces long. This delightful alley was lined with terrasses and plane trees: it was called *Toherbag*, or *four gardens*, and bordered with gardens belonging to the king. The length of it was terminated by a large pavilion towards the town, and on the opposite side by a building, in the royal garden, called *Hazar Jerib*, or *thousand gardens*. The town, or suburb, of *Julfa* on the one side, and that of *Abbās-abād* on the other, stretched along the *Zenderoud*. From the bridge of *Julfa* to the bridge of *Abbās-abād* was about a mile and a half. The last received its name from the neighbour- d ing suburb, and served as a communication to the western extremity of the town. The bridge of *Barbaroui*, which was less distant than that of *Abbās-abād* from the bridge of *Julfa*, was the third met with descending: like the latter, it was lined with galleries, and not so much inferior to it in architecture as in length. About a mile further, advancing eastward, was the bridge of *Shîrâz*, or *Shirafs*, so denominated, because it was the road-way from *Ispahān* to that city; and near it was the village of *Cheerestān*. The city of *Ispahān*, or *Isfahān*, was then in its highest pitch of splendor, and esteemed the largest, if we except some of the cities of *China*, and most magnificent in *Asia*, with 600,000 inhabitants, exclu- sive of those crowds who had fled thither for shelter from different parts of the open coun- try, and were reckoned near 100,000 souls. *Julfa* was a town situated only a mile and a half south of *Ispahān*, on the south banks of the river *Zenderoud*, or *fresh river*; on the side c of which it extended almost three miles. The *Armenians* having revolted against the *Turks*, in the reign of *Abbās* the Great, and submitted to that prince, he removed part of the inhabitants of *Armenia* into different provinces of *Persia*. Those of the antient *Julfa*, a town on the banks of the *Aras*, or *Araxes*, were transported to *Ispahān*, from whence they afterwards removed, and settled in this place; to which they gave the name of their former residence. The people who had been drawn from *Erivan*, *Shirvan*, and the lower *Armenia*, had settled in the other suburbs of *Ispahān*; but *Abbās*, desirous of improving this new colony, obliged them to remove to *Julfa*, together with some *Persees* of the neighbourhood of *Kermān* and *Yezd*; by which means, four new quarters were formed. Most of the *Persees* took occasion f to retire from thence; so that of 1500 families, which were at first computed in their quarter, there remained only 300, all composed of artificers and labouring-men. But the *Armenians*, being an industrious active people, applied themselves to commerce, and, by their care, this colony soon arose to a flourishing condition. They were greatly encouraged by *Abbās*, and some of his successors, insomuch that *Julfa* had the appearance of a republic, founded in the midst of a foreign nation. But the *Persian* court at length, forgetful of its own interests, grew tired of favouring them; and, in *Shâh Hosein's* reign, their privileges, which had suffered some diminution under his predecessors, fell into contempt. This was the situation of the *Armenians* at *Julfa*, whose colony there, by such conduct, was reduced

<sup>a</sup> GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 24—26. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 214—218. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. 5. AL BICRI, HAMDALLAH, SHARIF AL EDRISI, MOMAMMED EBN KOTHAIR AL FARGANI, YAKUT EBN AED'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, HEROD. lib. v. c. 54. STRAB. lib. xv. PAUSAN. Messen. c. xxxi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 27. NEHEM. i. 1. ESTH. i. 2. DAN. viii. 2. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. KHONDAMIR, Aut. LOBE AL TAWARIKH, AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF. Vide etiam ARAESHAN, in vit. Tim. aliosque scriptor. oriental. plur.



- a to a pretty low ebb, when the surprising revolution happened in *Persia*, in the year 1722 ; of which, together with its dreadful consequences, the world has been but too well apprized. However, if we will believe a very celebrated modern author, who was himself upon the spot, the inhabitants of *Julfa* amounted to 30,000 souls, had thirteen churches, and above an hundred priests, and paid the *Persian* court 200 *tomans* yearly for the free exercise of their religion, not many years before that tragical event happened. *Abbâs-abâd* is situated to the west of the city, and derived its name from *Abbâs* the Great, its founder, and has always, at least for the most part, been inhabited by *Mohammedans*. *Ghebr-abâd* was intirely occupied by the *Magians*, or *Persees*, of whose religious tenets we have already given a full and ample account, who are said to have retained the same habit and attire that were used
- b in the days of the antient *Persian* kings, and to have amounted lately to about 600 families, consisting only of labourers and farmers. Some of the streets were broad, handsome, and of a very considerable length ; such were many of those that composed *Abbâs-abâd*, some of those that formed the town of *Julfa*, and a few of those belonging to *Ghebr-abâd* ; but others of them were narrow, crooked, aloft, and arched, to the great conveniency of those walking in them. Others of them again, though extremely narrow, as well as turning and winding many ways, were of an incredible length, and resembled so many labyrinths. The broad and handsome streets were frequently beautified with trees planted in them, with fountains and canals in the middle of them. At a small distance from the town there were likewise public walks, adorned with rows of plane-trees on each side, ways paved with
- c stone, fountains, and cisterns. There were also above an hundred caravansera's, for the use of merchants and travellers, many of which were built by the king and prime nobility of *Persia*. The ground was plain and even, except in that part of the city bordering upon the river, which seemed a little lower, and approaching nearer a sort of descent, than the rest. As very little rain fell here, the streets of *Ispahân* were frequently full of dust ; which circumstance rendered this place disagreeable, during a considerable part of the year. However, in order to remove this inconvenience, or at least to make it more tolerable, the citizens often watered them in the summer-time, and whenever the weather was warmer than usual here. The natives admired a castle in the eastern part of the town, which they took to be impregnable, and called *Kalabi-berûk*, that is, *the citadel of benediction*. The public
- d money, and most of the military stores, were said to be kept here ; for which reason it went amongst some by the name of *Jébbekhoneh*, *the armory*, or *magazine*. The building was itself extremely rude, and the penthouses belonging to it resembled a human nose. The baths and caravansera's, or inns, of lesser note in this city were almost innumerable, though there was but one public hospital, which was capable of containing a pretty large number of infirm people. Most of the public buildings were rather neat than magnificent ; though the great *Meidan*, or market-place, called by the *Persians* *Meidan-besorg*, the royal palace, and the alley denominated *Tober-bag*, adjoining to it, made a very grand appearance. The *Meidan-besorg* was 660 paces long, and 212 broad ; and was situated in the south-west part of the city. The antient *Meidan*, or market-place, going under the name of *Meidan-koboneh*,
- e was 300 paces long, and 100 broad ; and had its situation likewise in the south-western quarter of the town. The former *Meidan* inclosed the royal mosque, called *the mosque of the Imâm Al Mohdi* ; the building denominated *Kaiserieh*, where all sorts of foreign commodities were exposed to sale ; and the mint stiled by the *Persians* *Serraab-khoneh*, where the current money of the kingdom was coined. Besides the native *Persians*, there were, according to Dr. *Kæmpfer*, who resided some time here, in *Ispahân*, not many years since, above 10,000 *Indians*, all supported by trade ; 20,000 *Georgians*, *Circassians*, or *Cherkassians*, and *Tartars* of *Dagestan*, or *Lesgees* ; a considerable number of *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, together with a few of the *French* nation. The *Capuchins*, *Discalceated Carmelites*, *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, and *Austin Friars*, had likewise their convents here ; though they found it impossible to
- f make any converts in this place. The mosques and public colleges amounted to above an hundred, when Dr. *Kæmpfer* was in this city. It may not be improper to observe, that *Ispahân* has produced an incredible number of learned men, amongst whom the following seem to merit our principal regard : *Abu Ismael Tograi*, a celebrated poet, and privy-counsellor to *Al Mûlec Mas'ûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mûlec Shûb Al Seljûki* ; whose fifty-nine verses, ending in L.I. were published by the learned Dr. *Pocock*, at *Oxford*, in 1661. *Shams-addîn Mahmûd Ebn Abu'l Kâsem Al Asbâri*, who wrote a commentary upon the *Korân*, and annotations upon *Al Beidawi's* commentary on that book, besides several other treatises of good repute. The first of the pieces here mentioned is said to contain every thing valuable in the *Kesbaf* of *Al Zamakhsbâri*. *Abu'l Kâsem Ismael Al Esfahâni*, who composed a piece, intitled, *Targhib wa-Tarhib*, i. e. *concerning the things that are to be sought after, or avoided*. A
- g copy of this is to be seen in the *French* king's library. *Sbarf-addîn Abd'al Mo'men Shakerûn Ebn Hebatallah*, who wrote a piece, intitled, *Athbâk adksdkscheb*, i. e. *Golden leaves*, containing the lives of some of the most pious *Mohammedans*. *Abu'l Faraj Ali Ebn Hosein Al Esfahâni*, who published a treatise upon the morals of travellers, as likewise the life of



*Jahedh*, of the family of *Barmac*, and a piece exhibiting the conduct of the most illustrious men of *Persia*. *Abu'l Kâsem Hasan Ebn Mohammed*, who penned a book, intitled, *Akblâk Ragheb*, i. e. *The manners and disposition of a curious person*. *Abu Nâim Ahmed Abd'allah*, who wrote a treatise containing his sentiments of the qualities of a sincere friend; wherein he gave a true portrait of many persons who deserved that character. *Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim*, who wrote upon the *forty traditions*. *Kamal-addin Al Esfabâni*, a celebrated poet, who obliged his countrymen with an elogy upon *Soltân Jalâl'oddin*, and some other works held in good esteem. *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Ebn Mandab Al Esfabâni*, who composed the history of the city of *Ispahân*. *Omad Al Khattâb Abu Abd'allah Mohammed*, who compiled a history to which he prefixed the title of *The splendor of Syria*. He likewise drew up certain annotations and questions upon the *Sonna*. *Abu Thâber Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Salefi Al Esfabâni*, who drew up a piece, intitled, *The forty traditions applied to travellers*. *Abu Zakaria Tabya Ebn Abd'allah Al Esfabâni*, sometimes called *Ebn Mandab*, who wrote the history of *Ispahân*, and the circumjacent region. *Kawâm-addin*, *Dawd Al Esfabâni*, and many other eminent writers, whose names and works we are not permitted so much as to mention by the limits prescribed us here °.

Some farther particulars relating to Ispahân.

SINCE the fatal period above-mentioned, the suburb of *Julfa* has been almost totally abandoned by the *Armenians*, who inhabited it in very considerable numbers before. The government of *Ispahân*, twenty-four leagues long, and as many broad, comprehending the districts of *Techi*, *Marbin*, *Kieraridge*, *Kahab*, *Baraan*, *Perbavar*, *Elkhan*, and *Roundester*, some of which were formerly well peopled, appeared a few years since little better than a desert; most of the inhabitants of that fertile and delightful tract being fled or dispersed. Multitudes of them had taken a precarious refuge in the mountains of *Loristân*, or *Lûristân*, a particular territory lying between *Ispahân* and *Tuster*; whose lands were left untilld, and their houses mouldered into ruins. In short, all the distresses of an unsuccessful war, or the invasion of a barbarous enemy, could not have plunged the people of *Ispahân* into greater misery than the victories of their tyrannical king, *Nadir Shâh*, who seemed more solicitous to humble his own subjects than his enemies. *M. Kehr* gives us to understand, that the name *Ispahân* was deduced from the word *Sabahan*, *Sabians*, “because,” says he, “many *Sabians*, *Magians*, or fire-worshippers, have their habitations in this city.” But nothing certainly can be farther fetched than this; as the *Sabians* and *Magians*, whom he here absurdly confounds, are two very different sects; the former paying an adoration either to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose reside in them, and govern the world under the Supreme Deity; and the latter thinking fire worthy of divine honours. Besides, though the *Magians*, or *Persees*, with whom, according to him, *Ispahân* abounds, might at first have settled here in great numbers; yet this can by no means be allowed to hold true of the *Sabians*, who were by far more numerous in other parts of the east than in *Persia*, where *Magism* principally, if not solely, prevailed. Nor has *Ispahân*, at least, for several ages, abounded with *Magians*, or *Persees*, as this author pretends, in support of his hypothesis; that sect having been, ever since the reign of *Abbâs I.* confined to the suburb of *Ghebr-abâd*, as has been already observed. The latitude of *Ispahân* has been defined by *Dr. Kämpfer* to be  $32^{\circ} 40'$ ; whereas this city has been placed by *Nassir Eddin*, or *Nassir Khoja Al Tûsi*, and *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, in latitude  $32^{\circ} 25' P$ .

Description of the above-mentioned dirhêm.

THAT a mint was erected here, and consequently that *Ispahân* was a town of considerable note, in the earlier times of *Mohammedism*, though it made a much more considerable figure in later ages, the aforesaid *dirhêm* itself, exclusive of what might be collected on this head from the eastern writers, is a sufficient proof. This *dirhêm* exhibits the words *Benedinati Esfabâna setten wates'ina wameâten*, i. e. *In the city of Ispahân, 196*; and on the reverse, *Mohammed is the apostle of God, all direction is from God*. The last of which expressions is apparently equivalent to the following assertion, *God alone is the true leader and director*. As the two *Arabic* terms in the inscription importing this may either be read *Lellabi sarifaton*, or *Lellabi sarimaton*, for *saramaton*, they may either be rendered *All direction is from God*, or *In God is strength*; the last of which versions makes the words perfectly equivalent to the following aphorism of the *Mohammedans*, *Lâ haula wala kuwata élla bellâhi*, i. e. *There is no strength or fortitude but in God*. As neither the name of *Al Amîn*, nor that of *Al Mamûn*, occurs in this *dirhêm*, we cannot certainly say by which of those princes partisans it was coined. However, as *Thâber Ebn Hojein* reduced *Abwâz*, as well

\* HANWAY's historical account of the British trade over the Caspian sea; with the revolutions of Persia, vol. iii. p. 114, 115, 116, 121, 122. Lond. 1753. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 214—218. ENGELBERT. KÄMPFER. amœnitat. exotic. &c. p. 163—206, &c, Lemgovizæ, 1712. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 25. See also OLEARIUS's travels into Persia. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Esfaban & Esfabani*, p. 323, 324. & alib. pass. PETR. DELLA VALLE, TAVERN. CHARD. voy. de Perse, &c. P HANWAY, ubi sup. vol. iv. p. 230. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 216. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 24. ENGELBERT. KÄMPFER. ubi sup. p. 163. HYDE, hist. relig. vet. Pers. p. 128, & alib. PRID. connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Testam. p. i. b. 3. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sabi*, p. 725, 726. SALE's prim. disc. p. 14, 15. NASSIR-EDDIN. & ULUGH BEIGH, in bin. tabul. geog. p. 105, 137. Oxon. 1711.



- a as *Wâset* and *Al Madâyen* upon the *Tigris*, and obliged the province of *Fârs* to submit to *Al Mamûn* in 196, the city of *Ispahân* must undoubtedly have opened its gates to that prince's troops the same year<sup>a</sup>.

THE next year, being the 197th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn*'s forces, under the command of *Al Mamûn*'s *Thâber Ebn Hosein* and *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, appeared upon the banks of the *Tigris*, in the <sup>forces from the</sup> neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and formed the siege of that capital. As the *Khalîf Al Amîn* <sup>siege of Bagh-</sup> *dâd*, himself was shut up in the place, and it had a numerous garison, the besieged made a vigorous defence, and destroyed the enemy abundance of men. The besiegers, however, played upon the town incessantly with their catapults, and were in their turn not a little annoyed by the garison with the same sort of military machines. The latter likewise made

b continual sallies, and fought like men animated by despair, though they were always at last beaten back into the town with considerable loss. In fine, the siege continued through the whole course of this year; during which, the greatest part of the city called *Asker Al Mohdi*, or the camp of *Al Mohdi*, erected on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, was either demolished or reduced to ashes by *Al Mamûn*'s troops. The citizens also, as well as the garison, were reduced to the last extremity by the length and violence of the siege. The subjects of *Al Hakem* seem to have enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity and repose throughout the whole extent of the *Moslem* dominions in *Spain*<sup>c</sup>.

IN the beginning of the 198th year of the *Hejra*, commencing September 1st, 813, the *Al Amîn* *Khalîf Al Amîn*, having been deserted by his troops, as well as the principal men of *Bagh-* <sup>assassinated.</sup> *dâd*, who had kept a private correspondence with *Thâber Ebn Hosein*, found himself obliged to retire to the old town on the western bank of the *Tigris*, called the city of *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. However, he did not take this step before the citizens of *Baghdâd*, intimidated by *Thâber Ebn Hosein*, had formally deposed him, and proclaimed his brother *Al Mamûn* *Khalîf*. *Thâber*, receiving advice of this, caused that town to be immediately invested, planted his catapults against it, and at last starved it to a surrender. *Al Amîn*, being thus reduced to the necessity of putting himself into the hands of one of *Al Mamûn*'s generals, chose to implore the protection of *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, whom he judged to be of a more humane disposition than *Thâber Ebn Hosein*; which having obtained, he embarked in a shallop, or small vessel, upon the *Tigris*, in order to arrive at that part of the camp

d where *Harthema* was posted. But *Thâber*, being informed of his design, which he imagined, if carried into execution, would eclipse the glory he had acquired, laid an ambush for him, which he had not the good fortune to escape. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Harthema*'s tent, *Thâber*'s soldiers rushed out upon him, sunk his boat, drowned all his attendants, and incarcerated him in *Ibrahim Al Talbi*'s house. Here he was soon after massacred by some of *Thâber*'s servants, who cut off his head, and carried it in triumph to their master; by whose order it was the next day exposed to public view in the streets of *Baghdâd*. *Thâber* afterwards sent it to *Al Mamûn* in *Khorasân*, together with the ring or seal of the *Khalîfat*, the scepter, and the imperial robe; at the sight of which, that prince fell down on his knees, returned thanks to the ALMIGHTY for his good success, and made the

e courier who brought them a present of a million of *dirhems*<sup>c</sup>.

SOME of the eastern writers relate, that *Al Amîn*, a little before his death, imagined him- <sup>Some farther</sup> self in a dream to sit upon a very high thick wall, and saw, as he thought, at the same <sup>particulars re-</sup> time *Thâber* sapping its foundations. Nor did he appear to desist from that operation, till the wall he undermined was absolutely levelled with the ground. This had such an effect upon *Al Amîn*, as the *Arabs* are naturally superstitious, that he resolved never to deliver himself up to the mercy of that general. Other prognostics likewise, according to the oriental historians, preceded this prince's death. Finding a moth in his cloaths the very day he was killed, as soon as he saw it, through an unaccountable impulse, he cried out, God deliver me from every great misfortune that may happen! *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* being

f one night along with him, a little before the surrender of old *Baghdâd*, called the city of *Al Mansûr*, in the golden palace there, he sent for one of his singing girls, named *Da'f*, to entertain them with some of her songs. After they had exhilarated themselves with a few glasses of wine, she sung some verses taken out of the works of the celebrated poet *Al Nabigha Al Ja'di*, that have been preserved by *Al Makîn*; which he could not forbear considering as presages of his approaching fate, and which obliged him to speak with a sigh the following words: *When destiny defeats our projects, we ought to look upon as useless all precautions.* The same night, which did not precede this prince's murder above two or three days,

<sup>a</sup> GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 24—26. ASIF-ADDIN ABU ADD'ALLAH MOHAM. EBN EDRIS AL SHAFEI, in *Raudh arreyûbîn fi hekâyât-affalebîn*, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 241. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxiv. p. 21.

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127, 128. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 241, 242. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 421.



*Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* and the *Khalif* heard a voice clearly and distinctly pronouncing these words, from the neighbouring bank of the *Tigris*, *The subject of your consultation is determined*; which, being afterwards repeated, threw the latter into such an excess of inquietude and grief, that he immediately fell out of his seat. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Al Amin* was supplied with the vessel in which he attempted to escape out of *Thaber's* hands, by *Hartbema Ebn Aasan* himself, who attended him therein; that *Thaber's* men, who gave chase to them in little boats, attacked them with stones and naphtha, and at last sent their shallop to the bottom of the river; that *Hartbema* was with much difficulty saved, being dragged out of the *Tigris* by the hair of his head; that the *Khalif* was taken with only an old ragged mantle over his shoulders, his breeches on, and a turban upon his head, at no very great distance from *Basra*; that he was incarcerated in a house, to which *Thaber's* soldiers conducted him, till midnight; and that several *Persians*, sent by *Thaber* for that purpose, then entering the room wherein he was confined, with drawn scymitars in their hands, immediately dispatched him, and cut off his head, which was soon after carried by a courier to *Al Mamun* in *Khorasan*. The aforesaid tragedy was acted either on the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth day of the month *Al Moharram*, before *Al Amin* had completed the thirtieth year of his age, and after he had reigned four years and about seven or eight months. He had a handsome face, little eyes, and thick bushy hair. He was tall, fat, extremely robust, and of a fair complexion. Some of the eastern writers have represented him as vastly liberal, though at the same time as rash, imprudent, cruel, intirely attached to his pleasures, and indolent to the last degree. As a farther instance of his infamous supineness, it may be observed, that he and his freed-man *Kutbar* were playing at chess, without the least apprehension of any impending danger, when *Al Mamun's* forces pushed the siege of *Baghdad* with so much vigour that the city was upon the point of being carried by assault. Soon after his accession, he purchased for large sums of money great numbers of eunuchs, who were brought from all parts of his dominions to *Baghdad*, constantly attended him day and night, and had, together with his free women, of whom he was likewise extremely fond, the principal share of his favours. Nay, he is said to have divided all his jewels, besides many other things of inestimable value, amongst them. He also commanded the different provinces of the empire to send to his court all such persons as were the most expert at chess, and other games then in vogue amongst the *Arabs*, allowed them pensions, and spent the most considerable part of his time amongst them. Of the vessels which he constructed on the *Tigris*, one resembled a lion, another an elephant, another a vultur, another a serpent, and another an horse. He scarce ever associated either with his officers or relations; but gave himself up almost intirely to women (ten of which, that understood music, used frequently to perform on the lute together before him) wine, and diversions of various kinds. His principal counsellors, or *Vizirs*, were *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*, *Ismael Ebn Sabih*, and others; his judges, *Ismael Ebn Hamad Ebn Abu Hanifa*, *Abu'l Bakra Ebn Wahab*, and *Mohammed Ebn Sama'a*; the captain of his guards *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Maban*; and his chamberlain *Al Abbas Al Fadhl Ebn Al Razi*. The inscription of his seal was, Mohammed trusteth in God. In his days, according to *Eutychius*, the emperor *Nicephorus* departed this life; and, in the third year of his *Khalifat*, if we will believe the same author, *Thomas*, surnamed *Tamrik*, was advanced to the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, in which sublime station he remained about ten years. In fine, as this *Khalif*, whose body was buried at *Baghdad*, most shamefully neglected all affairs of government, no very memorable event, or action of *éclat*, happened, during the whole course of his reign<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> KHONDEMIR, AL NABIGHA AL JA'DI. apud Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 129, 130. ut & ipse ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, & AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 242, 243. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414—417.

## S E C T. XXVIII.

He is succeeded  
by his brother  
Al Mamun.

THE same day that *Al Amin* was assassinated, the people of *Baghdad* proclaimed his brother *Al Mamun* the second time *Khalif*. His mother was *Marajel Al Badagheisia*. At the time of *Al Amin's* death, *Thaber Ebn Hosein* occupied the eastern, and *Hartbema Ebn Aasan*, the western part of *Baghdad*. *Hamid Abd'al Hamid Al Tusi* was posted also with a body of troops at a place about four parasangs from that city. Soon after his accession, the new *Khalif* removed *Thaber Ebn Hosein*, whom he appointed to preside over *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, from the government of *Irak*, and substituted *Al Hosein Ebn Sabal* in his room. He likewise deprived *Ayad Ebn Mohammed* of the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, and sent *Al Motaleb Ebn Abd'allah Al Ferai* to succeed him in that post; but this governor being soon deposed, *Al Abbas Ebn Musa Ebn Isa Al Hashemi* was dispatched to *Egypt*, to take upon himself the direction of affairs there. About the same time, the new *Khalif*, whose name at length was



- a was *Abu'l Abbās Al Mamūn Abu Jaafar Abd'allah Ebn Harūn Al Rashīd* constituted *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal* his *Visir*; or rather, according to the *Persian* historians, confirmed him in that exalted charge, to which he had advanced him before his elevation to the *Moslem* throne. The *Khalif* also gave *Al Fadl* the title, or surname, of *Dbī'l Riyāsatain*, i. e. *the person having two principalities, or sublime employments*, because he committed to his care the civil and military government of all his dominions <sup>u</sup>.

THE following year, being the 199th of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 21st, 814, the Mohammed new *Khalif*, who resided still at *Merū* in *Khorasān*, was alarmed with the news of commo- Ebn Tabātībā rebels against the *Khalif*. tions brought him from several parts of the empire; the most dreadful of which was that excited by *Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ismael Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein Ebn*

- b *Ali Ebn Abu Tāleb*, commonly called *Mohammed Ebn Tabātībā*, at *Cūfa*. The people of that city being incensed at *Al Mamūn*, for permitting *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, his *Visir*, to manage all things solely by his own authority, were easily prevailed upon by *Mohammed Ebn Tabātībā* to espouse the interest of the house of *Ali*, or, as they termed it, that of the prophet himself. *Mohammed*, therefore, found it no difficult matter to assemble a considerable body of the malecontents; the command of which he gave to *Abu'lsarāyā*, an officer who had served under *Harthema Ebn Aasan*, the preceding year. This officer, not thinking himself rewarded according to his merit, left *Harthema* in disgust, retired to *Cūfa*, and took the oath of allegiance to *Mohammed Ebn Tabātībā*, as the prophet's lawful successor, there. Being now at the head of his new master's forces, he drove *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*'s deputy c from *Cūfa*, and in several engagements defeated the troops sent against him by the *Khalif*'s governor of *Irāk*. This enabled him to advance to *Basra*, which he possessed himself of without any considerable loss. By these signal advantages, *Mohammed Ebn Tabātībā*'s forces, under the conduct of *Abu'lsarāyā*, began to grow formidable, and to give no small inquietude to the *Khalif*; especially since the scene of action, as well as the neighbouring tract now wholly occupied by the rebels, was situated at so small a distance from the city of *Baghdād* itself <sup>w</sup>.

- It seems to appear from *Roderic of Toledo*, that the people of *Calaborra*, the *Calaguris* of d the antients, rebelled likewise, about this time, against *Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, in *Spain*. Upon receiving advice of which revolt, that prince sent *Abd'alkarim*, one of his generals, with an army to bring them to a sense of their duty. It may also be inferred from *Theophanes*, that one usurper made himself master of *Damascus*, with the territory appertaining to it, another ravaged *Palestine*, a third set up for himself in *Egypt*, and a fourth in the western part of *Africa*, the present year. But we shall content ourselves with barely mentioning these rebellions here, as no clear and distinct account of them has been handed down to us by any of the *Arab* historians <sup>x</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 200th of the *Hejra*, was remarkable for several material occurrences that happened in it. *Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irāk*, having finished his military preparations for reducing the rebels of that province to the obedience of the *Khalif*, sent *Harthema Ebn Aasan* with a powerful army against *Abu'lsarāyā*; who, after the e death of *Mohammed Ebn Tabātībā*, had caused the authority of *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tāleb* to be recognized by the troops under his command. *Abu'lsarāyā*, finding himself not able to make head against the *Khalif*'s forces, fled to *Cūfa*, and even abandoned that city upon their approach. After *Harthema Ebn Aasan* had possessed himself of the place, and taken the inhabitants under his protection, he sent a detachment in pursuit of *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid* and *Abu'lsarāyā*, who had made their escape; which soon came up with them, took both of them prisoners, and conducted them, by *Harthema*'s order, to *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irāk*. Several of their accomplices likewise, who were taken at the same time, attended them, under the same escorte, to the governor's residence. After they had been brought f before him, and he had had some conversation with them, *Al Hasan* sent *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid* to *Al Mamūn*, then at *Merū* in *Khorasān*; but ordered one of his executioners to cut off the head of *Abu'lsarāyā*. Notwithstanding what is insinuated to the contrary by *Theophanes*, the province of *Egypt* seems to have enjoyed a profound repose under the administration of *Al Motallab Ebn Abd'allah*, who succeeded his predecessor *Al Abbās Ebn Mūsā Al Hāskemi*, and *Assari Ebn Al Hakem*, both this and the preceding year. After the extinction of the rebellion in *Irāk*, *Harthema Ebn Aasan* took a journey to the *Khalif*'s court at *Merū*; where he accused *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, his *Visir*, of concealing from him the true state of his affairs, and advised him to reside at *Baghdād*, that he might be,

<sup>u</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 131. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 243. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 416—419. AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. hist. gen. AL JANNAB.

<sup>w</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 131, 132. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 120—124.

<sup>x</sup> RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 21. THEOPHAN ubi sup. p. 421.



as it were, in the centre of his empire, and consequently much nearer the greatest part of a his frontiers. On the other hand, *Al Fadl*, being apprized of this accusation, told the *Khalif*, that *Harthema* had excited *Abu'lsarâya* to the late revolt, and done him many ill offices in other respects. This so exasperated *Al Mamûn*, that he commanded *Harthema* to be first severely drubbed, and afterwards thrown into prison; where he was soon put to death by an assassin sent thither by *Al Fadl* for that purpose. About the same time, *Abd'alkarim*, after he had besieged *Calahorra* in *Spain*, obliged the people of that place to submit to *Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, and ravaged the territory belonging to them in a dreadful manner, returned to that prince's residence loaded with spoil. The calamities attending the distracted state of the *Arabs* at this juncture obliged many of the *Christians*, according to *Theophanes*, to abandon *Palestine* and *Syria*, and to take refuge in the island of *Cyprus*. b *Ibrahim Ebn Mûsa Ebn Jaafar* caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalif* in *Yaman*, as did *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar* at *Mecca*, the present year. But as neither of these usurpers was long supported in his attempt, the commotions in those parts were appeased without any great effusion of *Moslem* blood <sup>y</sup>.

Great commotions at Baghdâd.

In the 201st year of the *Hejra*, beginning July 30th, 816, *Al Mamûn* called *Ali Ebn Mûsa Ebn Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, after his death, to the succession, gave him his daughter *Omm Habîba* in marriage, and ordered him to repair immediately to his court at *Merû* in *Khorasân*. He also surnamed him *Al Radi min Al Mohammed*; alluding thereby to his being one of *Ali's* descendants, and of the family of *Mohammed*. He moreover commanded his troops to lay aside their black cloaths, c such as the members of the house of *Al Abbâs* constantly wore, and to put on others of a green colour, the principal characteristic of the prophet's family, in their room. He likewise wrote to the governors of provinces, to let them know, that he had found none either of the race of *Al Abbâs* or *Ali* more pious, excellent, or learned, than *Ali Ebn Mûsa*; and therefore had nominated that young prince to succeed him in the *Khalifat*. He sent an express to *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irâk*, in particular, with orders to him to repair forthwith to *Baghdâd*, to oblige the inhabitants of that capital to dress themselves in green, and to exact of them a recognition of *Ali Ebn Mûsa's* right to the succession. This step, however, greatly alarmed the members of the house of *Al Abbâs*, who were found the preceding year to amount to above 30,000 souls, and threw the whole city into confu- d sion; many of the *Moslems* there absolutely refusing to comply with the *Khalif's* orders. Nay, the principal officers of the families of *Al Abbâs* and *Hâshem* assembled on this occasion, resolved formally to depose *Al Mamûn*, and to proclaim his uncle *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* emperor of the faithful in his room. It is intimated by some of the eastern writers, that *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, the first officer of the empire, made profession of the sect of *Ali*, entertained the highest veneration for the family of that *Imâm*, and inspired his master with the same sentiments; which produced the aforesaid impolitic conduct. It must here be observed, that the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, look upon this *Ali Ebn Mûsa* as one of the twelve great *Imâms*, whom they regard as the twelve great pillars of *Islamism*. However, the measures pursued at this juncture by the *Khalif* now in view might have proved the e total ruin of his affairs <sup>z</sup>.

*Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* proclaimed *Khalif* there.

THE following year, being the 202d of the *Hejra*, the forces cantoned about *Baghdâd*, excited to this revolt by the friends of the houses of *Al Abbâs* and *Hâshem*, withdrew their allegiance from *Al Mamûn*, and created his uncle, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi*, *Khalif*. However, the troops commanded by *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irâk*, persisted in their fidelity to the former of those princes, and even attacked *Ibrahim's* forces several times; tho' nothing decisive happened on either side. After his inauguration, *Ibrahim* made a speech to the people; wherein, like others in the same situation, he promised them all the happiness and advantages that their hearts could desire. Upon which, *Cûfa*, with its dependencies, submitted to him. *Ibrahim's* exaltation, and the courage of his faithful f subjects in *Irâk*, hastened *Al Mamûn's* journey to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival at *Sarkhas*, or *Sarakhas* (which is undoubtedly the true reading in *Al Makin*) a town of *Khorasân*, and not at *Baghdâd*, as is intimated by some of the *Persian* historians, he gave private orders to an assassin to murder *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, his *Visir*, who had been the chief cause of all the disturbances in the empire, in a bath; and afterwards put the murderer to death, for the perpetration of a crime which he pretended to abhor. This *Al Fadl* is said to have been the first *Arab* who inserted his surname in the letters that he wrote. The people of *Corduba* in *Spain* rebelled this year against *Al Hakem*, the *Khalif* there; but were reduced to his obe-

<sup>y</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 132, 133. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 418, 419. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 21—23. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. AL JANNAB. <sup>z</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 133. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 243. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 512, 513. EBN SHOHBAH. See also SALE's prelim. disc. p. 175—178.



a dience by *Abd'alkarim*, his general, who entered their city by force at the *new gate*, cut off all the ringleaders, hanged above 300 of the rebels, and suffered some of them to escape. *Al Hakem*, however, according to his usual clemency, pardoned the wives and children of those who had been concerned in the revolt. This rebellion is attributed by *Roderic* to the opulence, luxury, and pride, of the *Moslems* settled in that part of *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

THE following year, being the 203d of the *Hejra*, commencing *July* 9th, 818, *Ali Ebn Músa Al Radi*, called by the *Persians* *Riza* the *Imám*, having taken a surfeit, by eating too many grapes, or, as others write, having been poisoned, died at *Tús* in *Khorasán*, the last day of the month *Safer*; and was buried, by *Al Mamún's* order, near the sepulchre of his father *Harún Al Rashíd*. This *Ali Ebn Músa* has been represented by the Arab writers as a most abstemious and religious youth. His death not a little affected the *Khalif*, who therefore continued the remainder of the year at *Tús*. In the mean time, great commotions happened at *Baghdád*. The troops there deposed *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mobdi*, surnamed by them *Al Mobarak*; who, in order to escape their fury and violence, was obliged to hide himself about the middle of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, and to remain concealed till *Al Mamún's* arrival at *Baghdád*. That usurper, whom some likewise call *Ebn Shaklab*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, sat upon the *Moslem* throne at *Baghdád* almost two whole lunar years <sup>b</sup>.

THE next year, being the 204th of the *Hejra*, beginning *June* 28th, 819, the *Khalif Al Mamún* entered *Baghdád*, at the head of his forces that had attended him from *Khorasán*, and were all, in compliance with his former order, dressed in green. However, in about a week's time after his arrival at *Baghdád*, he thought fit to revoke the order he had made three years before, and to command both the people and the army always to appear in black, as heretofore; which produced the desired effect, and intirely conciliated the affections of all his subjects to him. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the famous *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Edrís*, surnamed *Al Sháfí*, the author of the third orthodox sect of the *Sunnites*. He was born either at *Gaza* or *Ascalon* in *Palestine*, in the year of the *Hejra* 150, the same day, as some will have it, that *Abu Hanífa* died, and was carried to *Mecca* at two years of age, and there educated. He died in *Egypt*, whither he went about five years before. Some authors relate, that he came to *Baghdád* in 195, and performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, from whence he returned in 198, and afterwards took a journey into *Egypt*, where he had formerly heard that celebrated doctor and *Imám*, *Málek Ebn Ans*. He is held in the highest repute amongst the *Sunnites*, for his excellency in all points of learning, and was much esteemed by *Ebn Hanbal*, his cotemporary, who used to say, that *he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body*. *Ebn Hanbal*, however, had so ill an opinion of *Al Sháfí* at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him; but some time after, one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after *Al Sháfí*, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him, and did it himself? To which *Ebn Hanbal* replied, *Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule, thou wilt profit thereby*. *Al Sháfí* is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method; one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of *Mohammed* were asleep, till *Al Sháfí* came and waked them. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been observed by a good author. *Al Ghazáli* tells us, that *Al Sháfí* used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him, that he never so much as once swore by God, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, *I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue*. The following saying is recorded of him, viz. *Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time, is a liar*. He also used to say, that for sixteen years together, he never rose from table satisfied, as imagining that a full meal would disqualify him both for study and devotion. We are informed, that when his mother was with child of him, she dreamed that the planet *Jupiter* fell out of her womb into *Egypt*, and that a part of it passed from thence into several other regions; from whence the interpreters of dreams, whom she consulted on this occasion, inferred, that she should be brought to bed of a son who should first instruct the *Egyptians* in all kinds of useful knowledge, and afterwards impart the same instruction to other nations. He wrote a book upon the foundations of *Islamism*, which comprized all the essentials both of the civil and canon law of the *Moslems*; as also two others, one of which was intitled *Sunan*, or *Sunnan*, and the other *Mefnad*, upon the same subject. His doctrine was held in such high repute amongst the *Sunnites* in the time of

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 133, 134. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 418, 419. GOLII not. ad Aliragan. p. 185. AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDAMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 134. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 244. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 418, 419



*Saladin*, that he founded a college at *Cairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, in which no other was permitted to be taught. The magnificent mosque and college erected at *Herât* in *Khorasân* by *Gaya-tho'ddin*, third *Soltân* of the *Gaurian* dynasty, was appropriated to the use of the doctors of *Al Shâfeî's* sect: and the doctors of the city of *Farab*, or *Pariab*, in the *Transoxana*, according to an eastern writer of good note, were all of the same sentiments. There is a history of these doctors, or followers of *Al Shâfeî*, that bears the title of *Thabakat Al Shafeiât*, in which they are ranged in different classes. The *Shâfeîtes* were formerly spread in *Mawarâlnahr*, and other parts eastward, but are at present almost intirely confined to *Arabia*. With regard to the *Moslem* traditions, it is said that *Al Shâfeî* received them from *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, and transmitted them to *Zohari*. For, it is looked upon as a point of no small importance by the *Mohammedans* to know the canal by which those traditions, that deduced their source from the prophet himself, have been conveyed down to them. We must not forget to inform our readers, that *Affari Ebn Al Hakem* likewise departed this life in *Egypt*, over which country he had been sent by *Al Mamûn* to preside, and was succeeded there by his son *Mohammed Abunafr*, the present year <sup>c</sup>.

The province of Khorasân is settled upon Thâher Ebn Hosein, and his descendants.

In the 205th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *June* 17th, 820, nothing very material happened in the *Moslem* empire, as far as can be collected from the oriental historians. We are told however, that *Al Mamûn*, now finding himself in peaceable possession of the *Khalîfat*, conferred this year upon *Thâher*, and his descendants, the government of *Khorasân* with almost an absolute and unlimited power, in order to recompence the signal services done him by that general. Some of the eastern writers also relate, that *Al Shâfeî* was alive, and continued to propagate his doctrine, as usual, throughout the whole course of the present year <sup>d</sup>.

Al Hakem and Mohammed Abunafr Ebn Affari die.

THE following year, being the 206th of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Abunafr Ebn Affari*, lieutenant of *Egypt*, died at *Meſr*, or *Al Fostât*, and was succeeded by his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Affari*, whose pretensions to the government were supported by the soldiery. The same year, *Al Hakem Ebn Heshâm Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, king of *Spain*, or rather the western *Khalîf*, likewise departed this life at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, in the 27th year of his reign. He left behind him nineteen sons and twenty-one daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Abd'alrahmân*, then about forty-one years of age. During some of the last years of *Al Hakem's* reign, the *Christians*, animated by the dissensions that reigned in the *Moslem* part of *Spain*, took *Barcelona* and other places, and committed dreadful ravages in their dominions. However, an end being put to those dissensions, *Al Hakem* was making preparations for war, in order to recover the places that had been lost, when he was surprized by death. But an accurate and particular account of the *Moslem* transactions in *Spain*, during this period, has not been handed down to us by any of either the eastern or western historians <sup>e</sup>.

As does likewise Thâher Ebn Hosein.

THE next year, being the 207th year of the *Mohammedan* æra, that renowned general *Thâher Ebn Hosein* died at *Merû* in *Khorasân*, after he had been two years governor of that vast province. He was liberal, prudent, magnanimous, and brave, and had all the great qualities requisite to form a consummate general. He is said, by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, to have given an *Arab* poet 300,000 *dinârs* for a few verses he brought him, intended as a panegyric upon some of his heroic actions; and to have told him, that he would have made him still a larger present, had his verses been more numerous. This *Thâher Ebn Hosein*, according to some of the oriental authors, was the founder of the dynasty of the *Thâherians*; for a particular account of which, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Persian* historians. It appears from *Cedrenus*, that the *Moslems* of *Spain* had landed a body of troops in *Crete*, defeated the imperial forces sent against them, and made themselves masters of at least a considerable part of that island, before the present year <sup>f</sup>.

According to some authors, Al Shâfeî dies in 208.

WE meet with no remarkable events in the year of the *Hejra* 208, recorded by the eastern historians; unless we will admit, that the famous *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Edris Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Othmân Ebn Shâfeî*, surnamed *Al Shâfeî*, who, according to some, was born in *Yaman*, and of whom we have already given a particular account, died this year, as certain authors pretend <sup>g</sup>.

Abd'allah rebels against

In the year of the *Hejra* 209, nothing remarkable happened in the eastern territories of the *Moslems*; at least no material event has been mentioned as happening there at this

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN, AL ZAFARANI, apud Pockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 296, ut & ipse Poc. ibid. AL GHAZALI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Shafei*, p. 766. & Poc. ubi sup. p. 197. 295—297. <sup>d</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 545, 546, & alib. EBN SHOHNAH, AUT. LOBB. AL TAWARIKH, Poc. ubi sup. p. 296. <sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 21, 22. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 9. <sup>f</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 135. AUT. LOBB. AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 545, 1017, 1018, & alib. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 508—511. <sup>g</sup> AL GHAZALI, Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 296, 297.



- a time by any of the most celebrated *Arab* historians. However, it appears probable from *Abd'alrah-Roderic of Toledo*, that *Abd'allah*, *Al Makin's* uncle, who had resided many years at *Valencia*, about this very time rebelled against *Abd'alrahmán*, that prince's son, who was then settled upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*. But *Abd'alrahmán* marched against him, dispersed the troops he had assembled, and forced him to betake himself to a precipitate flight; a few days after which defeat *Abd'allah* expired. The rebellion being thus extinguished, *Abd'alrahmán* ordered *Abd'allah's* wives and children to be brought before him, and very liberally supplied them with every thing they stood in need of. He likewise ordained, that, for the future, children should always inherit their parents estates and effects; and that these should never devolve to brothers and sisters, or other near relations, and much less to persons of another family, when issue was left by the deceased, as had sometimes formerly happened amongst the *Moslems* in *Spain* <sup>h</sup>.

THE following year, being the 210th of the *Moslem* æra, beginning *April* 24th, 845, *Ibrahim Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* was taken in women's cloaths by night, together with two of his wives, in the latter *Rabî*, after he had lain concealed near seven years. The centry they attempted to pass, who was an *Ethiopian*, asked them who they were, and what they did there at so unseasonable an hour? The answer returned by *Ibrahim Al Mohdi* not being satisfactory, the centry carried them all three before the officer that was upon duty; who ordering *Ibrahim's* face to be uncovered, his beard immediately appeared. This induced the officer to send him under an escorte to the *Khalif's* palace, where he continued till the next morning under arrest; and being then brought before *Al Mamûn*, that prince not only pardoned him, but admitted him likewise to his entertainments, and made him a present of ten thousand *dinârs*. As to the particulars of the conference held between *Ibrahim* and the *Khalif*, on this occasion, as they have been related at large by *Al Makin*, we shall not insert them here, but refer our curious readers to that author himself for their farther satisfaction in this matter. This year *Al Mamûn* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Hosein*; who, towards the close of it, set out for that country from *Baghdâd*, in order to fix his residence there <sup>i</sup>.

THE next year, being the 211th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 13th, 826, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Hosein* arrived in *Egypt*, and, in the month of the former *Rabî*, entered upon the government there. After the amotion of *Abd'allah Ebn Assari*, he also appointed *Ayâd Ebn Ibrahim* his *Visir*. About this time, *Abd'alkarim* retook *Barcelona* from the *Christians* in *Spain*, and reduced the other places the *Moslems* had lost, during the continuance of their late dissensions. The *Khalif* likewise forbade all his subjects to make honourable mention of *Moâwiyah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Ommîyah*, and to prefer him to any of the prophet's companions, the same year <sup>k</sup>.

IN the 212th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 2d, 827, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Hosein* removed *Ayâd Ebn Ibrahim* from the high office of *Visir*, and substituted in his room *Isa Ebn Yezid*. The *Khalif* likewise, this year, commanded his subjects to admit *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to have been the most excellent of all men, except *Mohammed*. This happened in the month of the former *Rabî*. Nay, it seems probable from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that the *Khalif Al Mamûn*, at this time issued, out a public edict, declaring the *Korân* to be created, which was confirmed by his successor *Al Môtasem* and *Al Wâthek*, who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death, those of the contrary opinion. But, at length, *Al Motawakkel*, who succeeded *Al Wâthek*, put an end to these persecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point. We must not forget to observe, that the *African Moslems* made a descent in *Sicily* about the middle of the month *July*, the present year <sup>l</sup>.

THE following year, being the 213th of the *Mohammedan* æra, the *Khalif Al Mamûn* removed *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* from the government of *Egypt*, and sent his brother *Al Môtasem* to take upon himself the government of that country, and *Syria*. He also appointed his son *Al Abbâs* to preside over *Mesopotamia*, and some of the neighbouring provinces. He likewise made a present to each of the new governors, as well as to *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, of 500,000 *dinârs* <sup>m</sup>.

IN the 214th year of the *Hejra*, nothing very material happened in the eastern provinces of the empire; but the western *Moslems* in *Africa* carried on great military preparations, in order to make another descent in *Sicily*. Nay, according to some authors, about this time, they took and destroyed the city of *Selinus*, in that island. The western *Moslems* were now

<sup>h</sup> RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 9. JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 135, 136. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 9. ISM. ABU'LFED. anno CHRISTI 827. ad annum CHRISTI 963. ex codice Arabico Cantabrigiens. edit. à JOANNE BAPTISTA CARUSIO. in hist. Saraceno-Sicul. var. monument. &c. p. 5. p. 136, 137.

<sup>i</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ABU

<sup>k</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi

<sup>l</sup> Chronic. Sicul. ab

<sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



grown in a manner independent on the *Khalif*. *Ibrahim Ebn Aglab*, who had been sent a governor into the western parts of *Africa*, by the *Khalif Harûn Al Kashîd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 184, assumed to himself almost an absolute power in that country, and conquered a large extent of territory for himself and his descendants; over which they presided as sovereign princes about 112 years. It appears from *Abu'lfeda*, that *Al Mamûn* received *Abu Dolaf*, one of his brother *Al Amîn's* friends, into favour, and appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* to preside over *Khorasân*, the present year <sup>a</sup>.

The Khalif  
invades the  
territories of  
the Greek  
emperor;

THE next year, being the 215th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn* assembled a powerful army, in order to undertake an expedition against the imperial territories. Having finished his military preparations, he set out from *Baghdâd*, at the head of his numerous forces, on the 27th day of *Al Moharram*, and made himself master of a fortress called *Karra* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; which he ordered to be dismantled. He also possessed himself of several other places of strength, and then marched to *Damascus*. *Abu Solimân Al Darâni*, a person of uncommon sanctity, *Makki Ebn Ibrahim Al Balkhi*, one of *Al Bokhârî's* doctors, and *Abu Zeid Seid*, a famous grammarian and philologer, according to *Abu'lfeda*, died this year <sup>b</sup>.

and makes  
another irrup-  
tion into them  
the following  
year.

THE following year, being the 216th of the *Moslem* æra, *Al Mamûn* received advice, that the *Greek* emperor had put about 1600 of the citizens of *Tarjûs* and *Al Masfihyah* in *Cilicia*, to the sword. To revenge which affront, he took post with a formidable army before a considerable *Christian* town, which immediately surrendered to him. From thence he detached his brother *Al Môtasem* with a body of troops, to penetrate farther into the imperial territories; who made himself master of no less than thirty of the enemy's castles. He also sent *Iakya Ebn A'lem* with another detachment to *Tawaba*; who carried the place by storm, laid a great part of it in ashes, and then returned to the army, which soon after marched to *Damascus*. *Omm Jaafar Zebeida*, *Al Amîn's* mother, died the present year. In the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, the *Khalif* put himself at the head of the troops to be employed in the *Egyptian* expedition <sup>c</sup>.

Al Mamûn  
reduces the city  
of Taima.

ON Friday the seventh day of the month of *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 217, commencing Feb. 7th, 832, *Al Mamûn* entered *Egypt*, and soon after attacked the city of *Taima*, probably the present *Tameia*, with all his forces. Having obliged it to surrender, he carried away with him all the inhabitants prisoners; and towards the close of the month *Safar*, departed out of *Egypt*, taking the route of *Damascus*, where he arrived in due time, without having sustained any considerable loss. Soon after his arrival here, he received a letter from a member of the house of *Ommiyah* in *Syria*, with an account, that *Merwân*, surnamed *Al Himûr*, had hid a treasure under some pillars at *Hebron*: upon which several labourers were sent, by the *Khalif's* order, to discover them; who, amongst other things, dug up a great number of chests filled with 10,000 waistcoats, the extremities of whose sleeves were greased in a most filthy manner. For, *Merwân* having been extremely fond of sheeps kidneys, and a most voracious glutton, he used to tear that part out of the carcases of the animal, when roasted whole, with his own hand; by which means he so smeared the extremities of the aforesaid garments sleeves, that he could never afterwards wear it. However, he always deposited it in a chest, with others in the same condition, prepared for that purpose, and put on a clean one in the room of it; at least this was the account of the matter given now to the *Khalif Al Mamûn* by the celebrated doctor *Al Asmai*. Which if we admit, we must of course conclude, that M. *D'Herbelot*, or rather the author he follows, is guilty of a mistake, when he makes this *Asmai* to have died in the 215th, or 216th, year of the *Hejra*. The *Khalif*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was so pleased with this piece of intelligence, that he made a present of all those garments to the person he was obliged to for it; who sold them, as curiosities, for a sum amounting to 10,000 *dinârs* <sup>d</sup>.

Two rebellions  
in Egypt.

AL MAMUN undertook the *Egyptian* expedition, in order to suppress the rebellion of the *Al Bimaidæ*, or the descendants of FORTY (as the name imports in *Coptic*) *Christians* of good note, who made a considerable figure when the *Moslems* first conquered *Egypt*. These *Al Bimaidæ*, who were in all likelihood seated at *Taima*, refused to pay the tribute usually exacted by the *Moslems* of those who profess the *Christian* religion: upon which, *Al Mamûn* and his brother *Al Môtasem* marched against them with an army into *Egypt*, in the year of the *Hejra* 217, intirely defeated them, put many of them to the sword, dispersed the rest, and carried away their women and children prisoners to *Baghdâd*. *Al Mamûn* himself, being highly pleased with the success that attended his army in this expedition, made a triumphant entry into *Mejû* and *Al Fostat* on the fourteenth day of the month *Safar*, and departed out of *Egypt* <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> EBN SHONNAH, GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 512, 513. ZONAR. p. 173. Vide etiam JOAN BAPTIST. CARUS. Saracenicar. rer. in Sicil. gestar. epit. 87. Panormi, 1720. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 137. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 215. <sup>c</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 137. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 216. GOLDI not. ad Alfragan. p. 285, 286, 287, 293—296. <sup>d</sup> ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 137. GREG. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. p. 244, 245. Pocock's description of the East, vol. 1. p. 56. Lond. 1743. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 428—431.



- a in the former *Rabî*, the same year, according to *Ebn Batrîk*, or *Eutychius*; tho' these particulars are passed over in silence by other writers. The *Khalîf* likewise, during his residence in *Egypt*, the present year, erected a tower, or castle, on mount *Al Mokattam*, which he called *Kobbat Al Hawa*, the tower of desire; and permitted two of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who were *Christians*, to build a church, denominated first from them the church of the two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and afterwards the church of the *Romans*, upon a spot of ground at a small distance from it. He also erected a *Mikeas*, *Mikiâs*, or measuring pillar, in order to determine the gradual increase of the *Nile*, at *Shûrât*, a place belonging to the village of *Banbanûdah*, in the country of *Al Sa'id*, *Thebais*, or the upper *Egypt*; and repaired another of those pillars at *Akbnîm*, in the same region, which was gone greatly to decay.
- b Some years before the late rebellion of the *Al Bimaida*, *Al Sari*, or *Affari*, *Ebn Al Hakem*, and his son *Mohammed Ebn Al Sari*, or *Affari*, *Ebn Al Hakem*, had withdrawn their allegiance from the *Khalîf*, and usurped the government of *Egypt*; but all the commotions there were appeased by *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, or *Obeid'allah Ebn Thâber*, as he is named by *Eutychius*, sent into *Egypt* by *Al Mamûn* for that purpose, who seized upon all the treasures amassed by those usurpers, and ordered them to be conducted to *Baghdâd*. This *Abd'allah* likewise obtained permission from the *Khalîf* to annex the palace of *Dâr Al Raml*, or *Dâr'l Raml*, to the great mosque at *Mesr*. With regard to mount *Al Mokattam*, we must beg leave to observe, that it consists of a ridge of mountains extending to the eastern part of *Al Sa'id*, or *Thebais*; for a farther account of which, as well as mount *Al Teilemon*, appertaining to the western part of that tract, our curious readers may have recourse to *Yâkût Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathî*, *Ismael Abu'lfeda*, and the rest of the oriental geographers.

- THE same year the *Khalîf* made another irruption into the imperial territories, invested *Lîlîa*, and pushed the siege of that fortress with the utmost vigour for an hundred days together; but being obliged to return home, he left *Ajîf*, or *Ojiaîfâ*, his general, with the greatest part of the troops employed in this expedition, to continue the siege. That commander was so little upon his guard, that he was surprized by a party of the garison, who sallied out of the town, took him prisoner, and after a detention of eight days sent him back to the *Missem* camp. In the mean time, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, advanced with a powerful army to force the *Arab* general to raise the siege; of whose motions the *Khalîf* being apprized, he hastened with a numerous body of troops to the relief of his forces before *Lîlîa*. But *Theophilus* receiving advice, that the whole *Arab* army, commanded by the *Khalîf* himself, was marching to attack him, he immediately drew off; not thinking it proper at that time to hazard a battle with so potent an enemy. This so intimidated the besieged, that they opened their gates to *Ajîf*, without giving him any farther trouble, and were taken under the *Khalîf's* protection. We must not forget to observe, that the *African Moslems* landed a body of troops in *Sicily* the preceding year, and made themselves masters of the city of *Messina* there. They put *Theodotus*, the commandant, who probably made a vigorous defence, to the sword; and plundered *Lipari*, called *Lipara* by the antients, the chief of the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* islands, on the coast of *Sicily*, about the same time. These advantages so animated them, that they advanced to *Panormus*, or *Palermo*, laid siege to that city, and, without any great difficulty, possessed themselves of it, the present year. It appears from *Abu'lfeda*, that the *Greek* emperor made some overtures for an accommodation to the *Khalîf*, after the reduction of *Lîlîa*; and that the terms of peace offered at this time by the *Christian* monarch were rejected by that prince.

- THE object of *Al Mamûn's* last expedition into *Egypt*, according to some of the eastern historians, was the reduction of the rebel *Aydûs*, who had revolted against the *Khalîf*, and began to grow formidable there; which having effected, he penetrated into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, advanced to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and took fourteen or fifteen towns from the *Christians* in that tract. Having finished this expedition, he moved at the head of his forces towards *Baghdâd*; and, in his march, encamped upon the banks of the *Badandûn*, or rather, as some of the oriental writers will have it, near the source of that river. Here he and his brother *Abu Ishaq Al Mutasem* one day went into the water; after which, admiring the clearness and freshness of the stream, he could not forbear saying to his courtiers, "Nothing would give a better relish to the water of this river than some of the fresh dates of *Azad*." Which words were scarce out of his mouth, when it was told him, that some mules were arrived with a considerable quantity of those dates in the camp. This tallying with the *Khalîf's* present appetite, he ate so immoderately of them, and afterwards drank such vast draughts of the water of the *Badandûn*, that a violent fever immediately ensued, which put

<sup>1</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 420. 421, 428—432. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLDI DEE ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101, &c. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, ABU'LFED. &c. See also SHAW'S physie. and miscellan. observations in Egypt, p. 435—436, &c. <sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU' L FAR. ubi sup. p. 244. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. Cod. Arab. Cantabrigienf. et JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 5. & in Saracen. rer. epit. p. 88. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. gen. five chronic. ad an. Hej. 237.



a  
 a period to his days on the nineteenth, or, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the eighteenth, of the month *Rajeb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 218. We are told by *Abu'l Farj*, that, a little before his death, he deprived his brother *Al Kasem Al Muktamen* of the right to the succession that had been conferred upon him by his father *Harun Al Rashid*, and declared his other brother *Abu Isbak Al Motasem* his only lawful heir; tho' this event is said to have happened before *Al Mamun's* last expedition into *Cilicia* by other historians. As soon as this affair was settled, he apprized the provinces of it by a letter, signed by himself and his successor *Abu Isbak Al Motasem Ebn Harun Al Rashid*, which he dispatched to the governors of them at their respective residences with all possible expedition. When he was at the point of death, his physician *Ebn Masawaih* approached him, and another person, who desired him to make a confession of his faith, or to communicate his religious sentiments to the people about him. But his speech failing him, he could only say, "O thou who never diest, have mercy upon me now dying!" After which, he almost immediately expired, and was carried to *Tarsus*, where his son *Al Abbâs* and his brother *Al Motasem* buried him in the house of *Khâkân*, one of *Harun Al Rashid's* favourite eunuchs. Some writers relate, that the astrologers foretold his death should happen at a place called *Rakka*, or *Arrakka*; and that as soon as he was informed by the people about him, that the town, or village, upon the *Badandûn*, where he lay sick, went by that name, he expected there, in conformity to their prediction, to meet with his approaching fate. The same year in which he died, he ordered *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*, the governor of *Baghdâd*, to oblige the judges and masters of traditions to assert the creation of the *Korân*; and to punish, with the utmost rigour and severity, all who should presume to maintain the contrary opinion. Amongst other delinquents, who incurred the *Khalif's* displeasure on this occasion, a celebrated *Arab* historian has mentioned *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, a famous *Sonnite* doctor, and *Mohammed Ebn Nûb*, surnamed *Al Masrûb*, who were loaded with irons, and sent to the *Khalif's* camp; but *Al Mamun* was surprised by death, upon the banks of the *Badandûn*, before his arrival. His successor *Al Motasem*, however, commanded *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal* to be whipt in a cruel manner. We must here observe, that the *Khalif's* son *Al Abbâs*, by his father's order, repaired the city of *Tawaba*, a little before the last irruption into *Cilicia*, and enlarged it with so many additional buildings, that it was a mile square, had three streets and four gates, and was considered afterwards for some time as one of the principal cities in those parts.<sup>c</sup>

Some account  
 of Kailai, Al  
 Mamun's  
 master.

d  
 AL MAMUN was forty-eight, or as others will have it, above forty-nine years of age at the time of his decease. He reigned twenty years, five months, and thirteen days; or above twenty-two years, if we suppose his reign to have commenced at the beginning of the siege of *Baghdâd*. With regard to his person, he was of a middle stature, of a fair complexion, though tinged with yellow, and had a long beard of a greyish colour. Some, however, have represented him as a person of a comely countenance, with a beard perfectly grey, and of a ruddy or sanguine, or, as others will have it, of a swarthy complexion. As for his disposition, the eastern writers have painted him as endued with all royal virtues; as full of sweetness, liberal, of great clemency, a consummate general, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. He is also said to have applied himself particularly to the speculative sciences, and to have made a very considerable progress in them; which induced him, at a vast expence, to encourage learned men to resort from all parts of the world to *Baghdâd*. He likewise spent immense sums in purchasing curious books, written in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, and *Greek*, in order to have them translated into *Arabic*. One of the afore-said authors finishes the portrait of this prince with saying, that he was, without contradiction, the greatest and most renowned prince of the house of *Al Abbâs*, a race more fruitful in heroes than any that ever swayed the sceptre amongst the *Moslems*. Through the whole course of his reign he favoured indifferently all learned men of whatsoever religion they were; who, on their part, in return, contributed to the utmost of their power to raise the glory of this monarch to the highest pitch. This they did by the presents which they made him of their works, collected from all the most rare and curious productions of the learned men of the east, whether *Indians*, *Jews*, *Magians*, or oriental *Christians* of every sect. He seems to have been most famed for his skill in astronomy, and the accurate observations which he made. He used to say, "If men knew what an excess of clemency there was in me, I should be perpetually visited by the most notorious offenders." *Abu'lfeda* relates, that this *Khalif* heaped his favours upon the descendants of *Ali*, and restored to them the territory of *Fadak*, or *Fidak*, that formerly belonged to their common mother *Fâtema*, of which, by the tyranny of his predecessors, they had been so long and so unjustly deprived.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>c</sup> MIRKHOND, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, COLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 253. GEORG JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 17. KHONDENIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 138. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 245, 246. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 218. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 434, 435. <sup>d</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 138, 139. EUTYCH. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 17. KHONDENIR. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 218. Vide etiam D'HERB. Biblioth. orient. p. 546.



a BEFORE we conclude our account of this *Khalif*, we must beg leave to observe, that the master appointed him by his father *Harûn Al Rashîd* was the famous *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Hamzah Bahaman Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Firûz*, a *Persian* by nation, but extremely well versed in all kinds of *Arab* literature. This doctor was a slave of the *Asadites*, and surnamed *Kassâi*, or *Koffâ*, from the decisions he had made against luxury, and in favour of sumptuary laws. He was so excellent a grammarian, that he baffled in a dispute *Sibûieh*, the *Persian*, who was before esteemed the best grammarian of his age. The *Khalif Hcrûn* one day meeting *Koffâ*, asked him in a very civil manner how he did? To which he answered, with a good deal of wit and elegance, "If I had never received any other fruit from my studies than the favour  
b "you do me to think of me, that would be sufficient to make me happy." Another day, *Koffâ* coming to the door of *Al Mamûn's* apartment, in order to instruct him, as usual, that prince, who was then at table with his friends, sent him a distich upon the leaf of a myrrh-tree, importing, "that there was a time for study, and a time for diversion, and that he  
c "was then entertaining his friends." Which *Koffâ* answered by a tetraстich on the back of the same leaf, couched in the following terms: "If you could once perceive the excellency of  
"knowledge, you would undoubtedly prefer the pleasure arising from thence to that  
"which you at present taste; and if you knew who was now at your door, you would  
"immediately get up, come to him, and prostrate yourself on the ground, to thank and  
"praise God for the favour he vouchsafes you." The young prince had no sooner read this than he left his companions, and waited upon his master with the utmost deference and respect. This doctor was the author of a book, intitled, *Nafâis Alarais wa-Keffas Al Anbia*, *The history of the patriarchs and prophets from the creation of the world*; a translation of which into *Persic* is to be met with in the *French king's* library. *Koffâ* died in *Khorasân*, or, according to *Abulfedâ*, at *Ray*, whither he attended the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 189.

AL MAMUN, notwithstanding his amiable qualities and rare intellectual endowments, had the weakness to fall into the errors of the *Môtazalites*, and was blamed by the more severe doctors of the law for not being sufficiently orthodox in the religion of the *Mohamedans*. The same doctors by no means approved of his introduction, or rather improvement, of philosophy and other speculative sciences amongst the *Moslems*. For, the *Arabs* had not yet accustomed themselves to read many books besides those relating to their religion. They did not begin even in earnest to cultivate astronomy before the reign of this *Khalif*, who was himself a great proficient therein \*.

AL MAMUN's first prime minister, or *Vizir*, was *Fadl Ebn Sabal*, surnamed *Dhi'l Riya-Some farther  
satain*, as has been already observed; after whose tragical exit, his brother *Hasan Ebn Sa-hal*, *Omar Ebn Sa'id*, *Abmed Ebn Abu Khâled*, and *Abmed Ebn Yusuf*, successively filled that sublime and important post. Some, however, maintain, that he was his own prime minister, after *Fadl Ebn Sabal's* death; which, in our opinion, very well accords with what has been related of this *Khalif* by the eastern historians. The first captain of his guards was *Zohair Ebn Masaiyeb Al Dobbi*, who was succeeded by *Thâber Ebn Al Hosein*, of whose exploits we have already given our readers a full and ample account. *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim* had also for some time assigned him the command of that corps. His chamberlain, whilst in *Khorasân*, was *Al Hosein Ebn Abu Sa'id*, and afterwards *Ali Ebn Abu Sâleh*, *Abd'alhamîd Ebn Shabîb*, *Mohammed Ebn Sâleh*, *Ismael Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sâleh*, and others who have not been named by the oriental writers. His judges were *Mohammed Ebn Omar Al Wafidi*, *Mohammed Ebn Omar Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Mahrûmi*, *Basbar Ebn Al Walid*, and *Takya Ebn Achem*; the last of whom, by some point of ill conduct, incurred the *Khalif's* displeasure. The first day of *Al Mamûn's* reign is said to have been *Monday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The symbol, or inscription, of his seal was, *Ask of God, and he will give you*. Some of the *Christian* writers inform us, that *Mark*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, died at *Alexandria* in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mamûn*, and was succeeded in the patriarchal see there by one *James*, who presided over those of the *Jacobite* persuasion ten years and eight months. In this patriarch's time, the monasteries, that had been taken from the *Christians*, were restored, and re-occupied by the monks who had been formerly driven from thence. He was a person of uncommon sanctity, and, if we will believe some of the aforesaid authors, restored to life again the son of one *Makâra*, a person of great distinction, belonging to *Nabrûb*; who was so affected with this illustrious miracle, that he distributed the third part of his substance amongst the poor, and built at his own expence a church in *Jerusalem* solely for the use of the *Egyptians* resorting to that place. In the *Khalif's* time, *Dionysius*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, took a journey into *Egypt*, in order to have a conference with *Abd'allah*, or *Obeid'allah*, *Ebn Thâker Ebn Al Hosein* there, and abode for some time in the *Jacobite* patriarch's house. In *Al Mamûn's*

\* AL ZAMAKHSHAR, in *Rabi Al Abrar*, EBN SHOHNAH. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED- in chron. ad an. Hej. 189. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Kissai*, p. 961. \* EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 246, 247.



*Khalifat*, a grievous famine likewise raged at *Jerusalem*, which seems to have been occasioned a by vast swarms of locusts, that devoured all the fruits of the earth, and even every thing green, in the neighbouring tract. The extreme scarcity of provisions, or rather the total want of them, at this juncture, drove almost all the *Moslems* from the holy city; which gave *Thomas*, the patriarch an opportunity of repairing the roof of the church of the *Resurrection* there. For this purpose, he purchased the trunks of fifty tall cedars and firs, which were imported from the island of *Cyprus*. The expence of this reparation, which was very considerable, was wholly defrayed by one *Bocâm*, a rich native of *Bûtab*, or *Bûrab*, in *Egypt*. The patriarch made use of forty beams, or rafters, on this occasion; that number having been suggested to him by forty martyrs, who appeared to him in a dream, and seemed to support the roof that was upon the point of falling down. After the return of *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* to *Jeru-* b *salem*, in his way to *Baghdâd*, the *Christians* were accused of having enlarged, and made an addition to, the aforesaid roof; upon which *Abd'allah* sent for the patriarch, ordered him and many others to prison, and threatened to have them all publicly whipped, if, upon inquiry, he found the *Moslems* capable of supporting their accusation. However, by the intervention of an antient *Mohammedan*, on whom he bestowed a sum of a thousand *dinârs*, and engaged to supply him and his posterity, as long as any of them should remain, with the same monthly allowance of provisions that the priests and deacons themselves were furnished with, out the revenues of the said church, for his assistance in this affair, *Thomas* pacified *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, escaped the ignominious punishment with which he had been threatened, and obtained the absolute approbation of all the principal *Moslems* then c residing in *Jerusalem* of what had been done. After *Thomas's* death, which happened in the seventh year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mamûn*, one *Basilab*, who had received his education from his predecessor, succeeded him in the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and continued in that see twenty-five years. One *Ayûb*, or *Job*, seems to have been constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, in the first year of *Al Mamûn*, according to *Eutychius*; but this does not tally with what has been observed of *Dionysius*, the patriarch of this see, as that author makes *Ayûb* to have presided over the church there no less than thirty-one years. As *Al Mamûn* was convinced, that the improvement of the mind ought to be the principal object of a wise man's attention, and was much preferable to the pursuit of those pleasures which the vulgar, as well as others placed in more exalted stations, do for the most part take their chief delight, d he did not only treat with the greatest marks of distinction those learned men whom he invited to *Baghdâd*, but likewise spent as much time in their company as the affairs of state would permit, encouraged his subjects by his example to read the books they both translated and wrote, and even constantly attended their disputations. The principal astronomers that flourished in his days were *Habash Al Merwazi*, an inhabitant of *Baghdâd*, who wrote three books of astronomical tables, or calculations, intitled, *Al Send Hend*, *Al Momtaben*, and *Al Shâb*; *Ahmed Ebn Kothair Al Fargâni*, or, as others call him, *Mohammed Ebn Keiter Al Fargâni*, known likewise amongst the *Europeans* by the name of *Alfraganus*, whose book, intitled, *Elements of astronomy*, with *Golius's* version and notes upon it, is held in considerable repute amongst the learned; *Abd'allah Ebn Sâhel Ebn Nûbakht*, a person e famous for his skill in astronomy, and much esteemed by the *Khalîf*; *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa Al Khowarazmi*, whose astronomical tables, intitled, *Al Send Hend*, were reckoned sufficiently exact; *Masballab*, the *Jew*, for his uncommon skill in abstruse literature, looked upon as the *phœnix* of his age, who flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mansûr*, and died after *Al Mamûn's* accession to the throne; and *Yakya Ebn Abu'l Mansûr*, of whose skill in astrological matters we have an instance handed down to us by *Abû'l Faraj*. The most celebrated physicians in *Al Mamûn's* days, some of whom he employed in translating into *Arabic* a considerable number of those physical treatises purchased of the subjects of the *Greek* emperor by the *Khalîf*, were *Yakya Ebn Batrîk*, *Al Mamûn's* freed-man, who had a happy talent at translations, with regard to his hitting upon the true sense and meaning of his f author, though he did not write elegant *Arabic*, and was better versed in philosophy than physic; *Sabel Ebn Sâvûr*, surnamed *Al Kawfaj*, who lived at *Abwâz*, and consequently wrote in the dialect of *Kbûz*, or *Kbûzeştân*; *Yakya Ebn Mûsûa*, who likewise made a very considerable figure in his profession; *Jûrgîs*, or *George*, *Ebn Bakhtishua*, of whom we have spoken before; *Isa Ebn Al Hakem*, who also enjoyed a very advantageous character; and *Zakaria Al Tîfûri*, who practised with good success. Besides these, *Al Mamûn* had another physician, called *Gabriel* by one of the *Arab* writers, who attended him every morning before any of the others, and had for some time assigned him a monthly pension of 1000 *dirbêms*; but, falling afterwards into disgrace, he was forbidden to appear in the *Khalîf's* presence, and his pension was reduced to 150 *dirbêms*. We must here beg leave to remark, g that the *Arabs* discovered a passion for the study of physic in the earlier times of *Islamism*; that art being of such vast utility to all ranks and degrees of men, even when they applied themselves almost solely to the study of their own language, and of the *Mohammedan* civil law,



- a law, founded upon the precepts and determinations of the *Korân*. For, this was undoubtedly the state of learning amongst the *Arabs*, whilst the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Ommiyah* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. But, after the elevation of the family of *Al Abbâs* to the *Khalîfat*, the cultivation of the sciences began soon to be in vogue. *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, the second *Khalîf* of that race, did not only attain to a good degree of knowledge in the *Mohammedan* civil law, but likewise made some progress in the study of philosophy and astronomy; which arrived at a much higher degree of perfection in the reign of his great grandson *Abd'allah Al Mamûn*. For, that prince not only hired learned men, whom he had assembled from all parts of his vast dominions for that purpose, to translate the books he had purchased of the *Christians* at an immense expence, but likewise promoted by all possible motives the study of those branches of literature they were written upon, and even pursued with an almost unparalleled ardour that study himself. But, for a more explicit and particular account of this *Khalîf's* thirst after knowledge, as well as of his wonderful propension to favour and animate learned men, we must beg leave to refer our curious and intelligent readers to the authors cited here <sup>y</sup>.
- b

<sup>y</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 139, 140. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 420—437. AL KADI SAED EBN AHMED AL ANDALOS. apud Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. ut & ipse GREG. ABU'L FAR. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 1, & alib. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

## S E C T. XXIX.

- c **A**L MÔTASEM, or *Abu Ishak Mohammed Ebn Harûn Al Rashîd*, surnamed likewise *Bil-lab* by some of the oriental historians, was saluted *Khalîf* the same day his brother *Al Mamûn* died, that is, the 18th or 19th of the month *Rajeb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 218. His mother *Mâredah*, or *Mârudah*, was one of the concubines of the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*. Some of the *Moslem* commanders at *Tarsus* were inclined to favour the interest of *Al Abbâs*, son to the deceased *Khalîf*; but that young prince having himself taken the oath of allegiance to *Al Môtasem*, all the officers of the army, as well as those belonging to the court, soon followed his example. *Al Môtasem* ascended the throne by virtue of *Al Mamûn's* express nomination of him to the *Khalîfat* after his decease, which was made to the prejudice of his own son *Al Abbâs*, and the exclusion of his other brother *Al Mûtamen*; though the latter had been called to the succession after him by their father *Harûn Al Rashîd*. The first thing the new *Khalîf* did was to issue orders for the demolition of the additional part of *Tawâba*, that had been built by *Al Mamûn's* son *Al Abbâs* in the late reign; which were immediately executed, all the arms and warlike stores to be met with in the town carried from thence, and the inhabitants, who had been transplanted thither from other cities, commanded to return to their former habitations. In the beginning of the month of *Ramadân*, *Al Môtasem* arrived at *Baghdâd*, and soon after was inaugurated there. About the same time, the *Khalîf* received advice of the great progress made by the rebels in *Persia*, and *Persian Irâk*, who were beheaded by one *Bâbec*, an enemy both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the *Moslems*. This *Bâbec* was surnamed *Al Horremi*, or *Al Khorremi*, and *Khorremdîn*, either because he was of a certain district near *Ardebîl* in *Adherbijân*, called *Khorrem*, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in *Persian*. He first appeared in the year of the *Hejra* 201, when he began to take upon him the title of a prophet. We do not find what particular doctrine he taught, when he now made open profession of his impiety; but it is said his system of religion differed from all the others then known in *Asia*. He gained a great number of devotees in *Adherbijân* and the *Persian Irâk*, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the *Khalîf Al Mamûn*, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and particularly *Ebn Hamid*, one of them, with his own hand; by which victories he became so formidable, that *Al Môtasem* was obliged to employ the whole forces of the empire against him. The general sent to reduce *Bâbec* was *Hâidar Ebn Kaûs*, surnamed *Affshîn*, a *Turk* by nation, who had been brought a slave to the *Khalîf's* court, and, having been employed in disciplining the *Turkish* militia there, had acquired the reputation of a great captain. As the rebels had made themselves masters of *Al Jebâl* and *Hamadân*, and were very strong, *Affshîn* was resolved to bring them to a battle as soon as a proper opportunity offered; which having done, he overthrew them with prodigious slaughter, putting no less than 60,000 of them to the sword, and driving the rest into the imperial territories. He first marched at the head of his army towards the province of *Adherbijân*, and spent a good deal of time in rebuilding all the castles between the cities of *Arzanjân* and *Ardebîl*, that had been demolished by *Bâbec's*
- d
- e
- f



*Bābec's* troops. This step he judged previously requisite, in order to secure all the passages and defiles, and thereby put a stop to the incursions of the rebels <sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed  
Ebn Al Kāsem  
rebels against  
the Khalif.

THE following year, being the 219th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 1<sup>st</sup>, 834, *Mohammed Ebn Al Kāsem*, one of *Ali's* descendants, appeared in arms against the *Khalif*, and seized upon a considerable part of the province of *Khorasān*. He was, however, at last defeated by the *Khalif's* forces, taken prisoner, and brought to *Al Mótasem* at *Baghdād*. Being sent to prison, he was for some time there confined; but at last, by what means we have not been told, he made his escape, and was never afterwards seen. The same year, *Kendi*, *Al Mótasem's* governor of *Egypt*, died at *Mesr*, and his son *Metasfir*, or *Modassir Ebn Kendi*, was appointed by the *Khalif* to succeed him. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Afshin* made himself master of *Isfahan*, or *Ispahan*, and *Hamadan*, the two principal cities of *Al Jebāl*, or the *Persian Irāk*, and several of *Bābec's* castles, notwithstanding the great annoyance given him by the rebels, though he could not reduce the whole country to the obedience of the *Khalif*, the present year <sup>b</sup>.

Al Mótasem  
persecutes those  
who deny the  
creation of the  
Korān.

ABOUT this time, a very severe persecution was carried on by the *Khalif* against all who denied the creation of the *Korān*. *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, the founder of the fourth sect of the *Sunnites*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, refusing to acknowledge the *Korān* to be created, was scourged in so cruel a manner that he fainted away, having been almost flayed alive, by order of the *Khalif Al Mótasem*, and afterwards imprisoned. The same punishment would have been inflicted upon *Abu Harūn Ebn Al Badā*, had he not escaped it by a notable evasion, which was of signal service to him. He allowed the *Korān* to have been placed, given, or instituted, by God, and that every such thing was created; though he would not in direct terms admit the conclusion naturally flowing from those premises. In fine, he conceded the *Korān* to be endued with one of the essential properties of a created being, though he endeavoured to evade standing to the immediate consequence of such a concession <sup>c</sup>.

A great over-  
throw given  
Bābec by Af-  
shin.

THE next year, being the 220th of the *Hejra*, *Afshin*, having fortified the passes in the mountains, and posted proper detachments of troops there to defend them, descended into the plain, and incamped near a village called *Arfā*, or, as some will have it, *Afshāk*, where he offered the enemy battle. *Bābec*, notwithstanding the great losses he had sustained, accepted the challenge; but, after a sharp engagement, was intirely defeated, and constrained to fly with the shattered remains of his troops first to *Mogān*, and afterwards to *Casbabād*, the place of his nativity, where he had at that time erected his principal fort. His army must have been extremely numerous before the beginning of the action, if, as we find asserted by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, he lost in it above 100,000 men. Be that as it will, *Bābec*, finding no other way to escape, was obliged to retire into the *Gordyeau* mountains, where he fortified several posts; from whence he greatly incommoded the *Khalif's* forces that pursued him thither, frequently intercepting their provisions, and destroying them abundance of men. In fine, *Al Mótasem's* general found it impossible to dislodge him from those posts during the course of the present year <sup>d</sup>.

Bābec still sup-  
ports himself  
against Af-  
shin.

THE following year, being the 221st of the *Moslem æra*, *Mūsa Ebn Abū'l Abbās Al Sha-bāni* was continued by the *Khalif* in the government of *Egypt*, to which post he had been advanced by that prince after the death of *Modassir Ebn Kendi*, the preceding year. *Bābec* still remained in the *Gordyeau* mountains, and defended himself against the *Khalif's* troops. However, *Afshin* took several of his strong-holds, and forced some of his fortified posts, though he could not bring the war in those parts to a conclusion the present campaign <sup>e</sup>.

Bābec reduced,  
and put to  
death.

IN the 222d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *December* 14th, 836, *Afshin* carried on the war with great vigour against *Bābec*, and shut up that impostor in *Casbabād*, *Badā*, or *Al Badb*, as it is sometimes called by the *Arab* historians; which place he straitly besieged. Hither that rebel found himself obliged to retire, after *Afshin* had reduced all his castles one after another with invincible patience, and forced all his retrenchments in the mountainous tract of the *Curds*, as his last resource. The fortress of *Casbabād*, being a place of considerable strength, he defended himself there with great bravery for several months; but at last, finding he should be obliged to surrender the town, he made his escape into a neighbouring wood, from whence he soon after came to *Afshin*, upon that general's promising to procure for him the *Khalif's* protection. But *Afshin* had no sooner got him into his power, than he ordered an executioner, who attended him for that purpose, first to cut off his

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 140, 141. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 436, 437. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 252. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. p. 158, 159.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 141. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 438, 439. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 252, 253. EBN KHALECAN.

<sup>d</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. hist. dynast. p. 253. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 158. <sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



- a hands and feet, and afterwards his head. This is the account handed down to us by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Other writers, however, relate, that, just before the surrender of *Casbabâd* to the *Khalif's* forces, *Bâbec* found means to escape thence in disguise, after he had with great bravery sustained several assaults, with his son *Abd'allah*, and his general *Moâ-wiyah*, into *Armenia*, where he was betrayed in the following manner. *Sabel Ebn Sanbât*, an *Armenian* officer, happening to know him, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, *Sabel* clapt himself down by him; at which *Bâbec* being surprized, asked him, how he dared to take that liberty unasked? *It is true, great king*, replied *Sabel*, *I have committed a fault; for who am I that I should sit at your majesty's table?* and immediately sending for a smith, he
- b made use of this bitter sarcasm, *Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them*. After this, *Sabel* sent him to *Affhîn*, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife, to be ravished before his face; for so *Bâbec* used to treat his prisoners. *Affhîn*, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to *Al Môtasem*, by whose order he was put to an ignominious death. The *Khalif* was then at *Sar Man Ray*, *Sarra Manray*, or *Samarra* (for it went by all those names) a city of *Irâk*, on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, a little above half a degree to the west of *Baghdâd*; where he first ordered *Bâbec's* hands and feet to be cut off, and then his head, after his belly had been ript open in the presence of a great number of spectators. The body was fixed upon a gibbet, erected for that purpose, in the
- c town, and the head sent into *Khorasân*. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the *Khalifs* above twenty years, and had cruelly massacred 250,000 people; it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the *Mohammedans*, or their allies. Amongst the prisoners taken at *Casbabâd*, there was one *Nîd*, who had been one of the ten men employed by *Bâbec* in his executions; and who owned, that, in obedience to his master's commands, he had destroyed above 20,000 *Moslems* with his own hands. To which he added, that vast numbers had also been executed by his companions; but that of these he could give no precise account. *Casbabâd* was taken in the month of *Ramadân* this year; after which, *Ajîf Ebn Anbasa* reduced the *Zatalbdians*, who inhabited *Al Batayeh*, or the fenny tract between *Wâset* and *Basra*, to the obedience of the *Khalif*, and
- d conducted many of them prisoners to *Baghdâd*. The *Khorremites*, not *Horremites*, as they are called by *M. D'Herbelot*, nor *Hazemites*, as they are denominated by *Dr. Pococke*, in his *Latin* version of *Abu'l Faraj*, or sectaries of *Bâbec*, which remained after his death, seem to have been intirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by the oriental historians<sup>e</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 223d of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 3d, 837, the emperor *Theophilus* invaded the *Moslem* territories with an army of 100,000 men. He penetrated as far as *Zabatra*, or *Zabtara*, took and demolished that city, put all the men therein to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity. From thence he advanced to *Malatia* in *Cappadocia*, seized upon that place, killed great numbers of men he found in
- e it, and took about 1000 of the *Moslem* women there prisoners. He also made himself master of several other towns, the inhabitants of which he treated with excessive cruelty, putting out the eyes, and cutting off the noses and ears, of the men, and carrying away the women captives, according to some of the *Arab* historians. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of these hostilities, and of the barbarous conduct attending them, marched against the *Greeks* with a more formidable army than any of those with which his predecessors had formerly made war upon that nation. This army he divided into several bodies, which entered the imperial territories by different routs, and reduced several fortresses belonging to the *Christians*, before any enemy appeared to oppose them. *Ancyra*, in particular, we are told, he took, and laid in ashes; though *Ayûb*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, who attended the
- f *Khalif* in this expedition, could have prevailed upon him to have saved it, had the inhabitants, as he desired, opened their gates to that prince, when he first presented himself before the town. Some of the *Greek* writers, on the other hand, pretend, that the *Moslems* were the aggressors in this war, and made an irruption into the imperial provinces several years before, treating the emperor's subjects with their usual barbarity, without having received either from that prince himself, or any of the people belonging to him, the least provocation. Be that as it will, as *Theophilus*, in ravaging *Syria*, had, according to one of them, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the *Khalif*, destroyed *Zabatra*, or *Sozopetra*, the place of his nativity; he ordered every one of his soldiers to engrave upon his shield the word *Amorium*, the birth-place of *Theophilus*, ranked amongst the cities of *Phrygia* by
- g *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, which he was resolved, at all events, to destroy. These circumstances,

The Khalif makes an irruption into the Greek empire.

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 141, 142. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 253, 254. KHONDAMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 438, 439. D'HERBEL: ubi sup.



however, have been wholly omitted by the *Moslem* authors. The *Khalif* first advanced to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and from thence moved into *Phrygia*; of which the emperor being apprized, he marched at the head of his forces to *Dorylaeum*, distant about three days journey from *Amorium*. There, in a council of war, several of his officers advised him to decline an engagement with the *Arabs*, whose army was far more numerous than that of the *Greeks*, and to transport the inhabitants of *Amorium* to some other place. But the emperor, imagining such a proceeding would reflect no small disgrace upon him, resolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly sent thither a strong detachment, under the command of *Ætius*, general of the East, *Theodorus Craterus*, *Theophilus Bubutzicus*, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the *Khalif*, having made the proper dispositions for investing the city, detached a body of 10,000 *Turks*, with a strong party of *Armenians*, to try the strength of the emperor's forces. The two armies faced each other at *Dazymenum*, and soon came to a general action, wherein the *Arabs* were at first put to the rout; but the *Greeks*, in pursuing them, were so galled by the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the pursuit, but betook themselves to a disorderly flight. A body of *Persians*, however, in the emperor's service, though abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor, who was present in the engagement, made head against the enemy, and at last, by favour of the night, retired in tolerable good order. According to *Abu'lfeda*, the right wing of the *Moslem* army was commanded by *Afshin Ebn Kaïs*, the left by *Ashnas*, and the main body by the *Khalif* himself, in this expedition. *Al Môtasem*, informed of the good success of his troops, marched directly to *Amorium*, and, being there joined by his victorious forces, laid close siege to the place; which, after a long and obstinate resistance, was betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, who had abjured the *Christian* religion. The *Khalif*, enraged at the great loss he had sustained during the siege, which, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, continued about 55 days, put most of the men to the sword, carried the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. Some of the eastern historians relate, that the *Greeks* lost in the aforesaid action above 30,000 men. The *Khalif's* forces being distressed for want of water, in their return home, the *Christian* prisoners rose upon some of them, and murdered them; which so exasperated the *Khalif*, that he put 6000 of the *Greeks*, who had been principally concerned in exciting that commotion, to death. Of the inhabitants of *Amorium* 30,000 were slain, and as many taken prisoners, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. *Al Môtasem* having discovered in his march, that some of his officers had engaged themselves to support *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Mamûn's* pretensions to the *Khalifat*, he forbade his subjects to supply that prince with liquids of any kind; so that, according to *Abu'lfeda*, he died of thirst at *Manbij*, and was buried in that city, the present year. *Zabatra*, *Zabtara*, or *Sozopetra*, whose destruction occasioned the terrible fate of *Amorium*, stood between *Samosata* and *Malatia*, a day or two's journey to the south of the latter, and has been mentioned by *Ismael Abu'lfeda*, *Mohammed Al Firauzabâdi*, and other oriental writers. It must here be observed, that, according to the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, the *Khalif* did not discover the conspiracy that had been formed against him before his arrival at *Sarra Manray*, then the seat of the *Khalifat*, after his return from the *Grecian* expedition. The conspirators, if we will believe those authors, proposed to assassinate his two best friends, *Afshin* and *Ashhab*, and afterwards to elevate his nephew *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne. But their design being detected, they were punished with death; and *Al Abbâs* himself was shut up in a close place, where he had provisions sent him, but was allowed nothing to drink. In this condition he languished for some time, and at last miserably perished with thirst. *Eutychius*, however, seems to intimate, that *Al Abbâs's* death happened whilst the *Khalif* was on his march from *Zabatra*, and consequently before he arrived at *Sarra Manray* <sup>f</sup>.

A rebellion in  
Tabrestân.

THE following year, being the 224th of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, the *Khalif* *Al Môtasem's* governor of *Khorasân*, marched against *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran*, who had set up for himself in *Tabrestân*, with a powerful army, defeated him in several engagements, and at last took him prisoner. This put an end to the rebellion in those parts, and restored the country, that had been the scene of these commotions, to its former tranquillity. As for *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran*, *Abd'allah* sent him to *Al Môtasem*, who ordered him to be whipt to death; after which, his body was affixed to a gibbet, at a small distance from that erected for *Bâbec*. About the same time, the *Khalif* removed *Mûsa Ebn Abu'l Abbâs Al Shaibânî* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Mâlec Al Hindi* to preside over that country in his room. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* died this year, in the month of *Ramadân*; as did

<sup>f</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 142. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 254. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 528—532. JOAN. CUROPAL. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 438—441. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 223. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZAB. in Kam. Ptol. geogr. lib. ii. c. 8. STRAB. lib. xii. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 269, 270. D'HERBEL. & EUTYCH. ubi sup.



a likewise, in the 68th year of his age, *Abu Obeid Al Kafem*, who had rendered himself extremely famous by his skill in the *Arabic* tongue <sup>2</sup>.

In the 225th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 12th, 839, *Abu Dolaf* and *Ali Al Mótasem Ebn Mohammed Al Madáyeni*, two persons of considerable note, departed this life. It <sup>discovers a</sup> appears from some good authors, that *Affbîn*, the captain-general of the *Khalif's* forces, <sup>conspiracy that</sup> endeavoured to excite *Máziâr*, the governor of *Tabrestân*, to a defection; of which the <sup>had been form-</sup> *Khalif* being apprized, as well as of his impiety, he having been actually discovered to be an idolater, and to have a prepuce, he ordered him to be thrown into prison, towards the close of this year <sup>ed against him.</sup> <sup>h</sup>.

b In the year of the *Hejra* 226, *Affbîn* captain-general of the *Khalif's* armies, and his <sup>Affbîn exe-</sup> greatest confident, having been accused of holding a secret intelligence with that prince's <sup>cut for trea-</sup> enemies, was executed for the treasonable practices he had been guilty of. After the execu- <sup>sonable prac-</sup> tion, his body was fixed upon a gibbet, erected near those that exhibited the bodies of <sup>tices.</sup> *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran* and *Bâbec*. This was no sooner done, than some of the *Khalif's* officers searched *Affbîn's* house, and found in it a great number of idols, which they immediately burned. They likewise reduced to ashes several impious books, discovered there, and written to instruct others in his execrable opinions. This year *Al Mótasem* took the government of *Egypt* from *Mâlec Al Hindi*, and gave it to *Asbâs*, one of his menial servants. About the same time, *Abu'l Hodzail Ebn Al Hodzail Al Bafri*, a famous *Mótazalite* doctor, departed this life, extremely regretted by all his sect <sup>i</sup>.

c THE next year, being the 227th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 21st, 841, the *Kha-* *Al Mótasem* *lif Al Mótasem* died at *Samarra*, either in the 48th or 49th year of his age. The distemper <sup>dies.</sup> that carried him off is said to have been a fever; after the first attack of which, he was blooded by his principal physician's order, but without effect. He expired on *Thursday*, the 18th of the former *Rabî*, and left eight sons and as many daughters behind him. He reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days. He was also the eighth *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, was elevated to the *Moslem* throne in the 218th year of the *Hejra*, was born in the month of *Skaabân*, being the eighth month of the year, fought eight battles, possessed 8000 slaves, and had 8,000,000 *dinârs*, and 80,000 *dirhêms*, in his treasury at the time of his death. These circumstances induced the *Arabs* to surname him *Al Motbamen*, d i. e. *the oñonary*, or *the eighth*, according to some of the best oriental writers. As the people of *Baghdâd* disturbed his repose by their frequent revolts and commotions, he took the resolution to abandon that city, and to build another, in order to fix his residence there. The spot he chose for this purpose was called *Katûl*, near the city of *Sarra Manray*, in the *Arabian Irâk*, and not in *Syria*, as we find advanced by *M. D'Herbelot*. Here he erected this new city, which was first called *Samarra*, and afterwards *Sarra Manray*. According to *Mirkbond*, this *Khalif* had 130,000 pied horses in his stables at *Samarra*, about whose necks he ordered sacks full of earth to be hung, which they carried to a place in the city he had marked out for that purpose. The earth brought hither in this manner formed a pretty high terras, on which he built a large saloon, from whence he could easily discover every e thing that passed in the city. This terras gave name to the magnificent palace of *Samarra*, which was ever after called by the *Arabs* *Tel Almekhâli*, i. e. *the hill of sacks*; *Almekhâli*, in their language, denoting a sort of sacks hung about the horses necks, in which they carry their straw and oats, according to the common usage of the east <sup>k</sup>.

f WITH regard to *Al Mótasem's* person, he is said to have had a handsome face, red hair, <sup>Description of</sup> a long beard, a broad breast, and to have been of a fair complexion. He was of a middle <sup>his person, and</sup> stature, and so extremely robust, that he once carried a burden of a thousand pounds weight, <sup>character.</sup> if we will believe some of the *Arab* writers, several paces. As to his disposition, he was brave to a great degree, and punctual in the discharge of religious duties; though he has been represented by some of the oriental historians as intirely attached to the sentiments of the *Mótazalites*. These heretics maintained, as has been already observed, that the *Korân* was created, and stuck not to accuse those of infidelity, as assertors of two eternal beings, who held the contrary opinion. However, they were opposed in this notion by the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Mohammedans*, who believed the *Korân* to be uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of God; or, as others have expressed it, the word of God, and consequently uncreated, as well as the Divine Being from whom it did originally proceed. This *Khalif* kept a greater number of forces on foot, particularly horse, than any of his prede-

<sup>f</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. & ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>h</sup> KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AL

MAKIN, p. 143. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 225. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 254.

<sup>i</sup> KHONDEMIR, EBN

SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 254, 255. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 226.

<sup>k</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 143, 144. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 255. EUTYCH. ubi sup. MIRKOND, EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motafsem*, p. 639. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 230, 231. MOHAM. AL FIRAZFABAD. in KAND. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 227.



cessors. He also vastly increased the number of boys at court, for whom he provided a about 50,000 satchels, or little bags, in which they sometimes carried their provisions. The Moslem historians celebrate this *Khalif* for his greatness of soul, and mention one of his actions that appears in a very singular light. Being once, say they, separated from his companions in the country, he met with an old man standing by his ass, which had fallen down upon the ground, in a very dirty place, with a load of thorns upon his back. This sight so affected the *Khalif*, that he immediately alighted from his horse, in order to assist the old man, and raise up his beast; which having done, though he spoiled his cloaths by this generous action, he rejoined his retinue, and afterwards made him a present of 4000 *dinârs*. He was the first of the *Khalifs* who added the name of God to his own. For, he ordered himself to be surnamed *Bi'llah*, in God, or by the grace of God; in which he was followed by several of his successors, who to their names added the words *Billah*, in God, *Beemri'llah*, by the order of God, *Ala'llah*, on God, and in God, and *Ledin'llah*, for the faith of God, or for the worship of God. When the Greeks took and sacked the city of *Zabatra*, an Arab woman of the house of *Al Abbâs* is said to have been taken prisoner by a horseman there; and, the very moment she was seized, to have cried out, "Succour me, O *Al Môtasem*?" Upon which, the horseman said to her, by way of ridicule, "See, here comes *Al Môtasem* on his pîed horse, to your assistance." This adventure being some time after related to the *Khalif*, who was then at a great distance from *Zabatra*, he instantly swore, that he would not think of any other enterprize before he had released this woman. Accordingly he marched at the head of his forces, in the midst of winter, to that city, and attacked the Greeks posted there with such vigour, that he intirely defeated them. This victory opening him a way to the place where the woman, who cried out to him for relief, was detained, he arrived there effectually to her succour, and delivered her out of the hands of her enemies. But, for a more particular and circumstantial account of this affair, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the eastern historians cited here <sup>1</sup>.

Some further particulars relating to him.

In the fourth year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Môtasem*, *Sophronius* was placed in the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, where he continued about thirteen years. He was a person of uncommon prudence and sagacity, and an excellent philosopher. In the seventh year of that prince's reign, one *John* was also constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*; but, being extremely ill used by the *Christians* there, he soon found himself obliged to retire from that city. Whilst *Al Môtasem* sat upon the Moslem throne, the king of *Ethiopia* was likewise engaged in a war with some of the neighbouring powers; during whose absence, the queen thought fit to banish one *James*, a bishop of that country, and to substitute another bishop in his room. *James*, immediately after his expulsion, fled into *Egypt*, and the *Ethiopians* were visited with a pestilence; which was considered as a punishment inflicted upon them for the violence that had been offered that prelate. The king of *Ethiopia*, therefore, upon his return from the wars, reproved his wife for what she had done, and recalled the bishop from his exile; which occasioned great rejoicings amongst his subjects. About the same time, the patriarch of *Alexandria* sent some bishops, whom he had ordained for that purpose, as missionaries, into the western part of *Africa*, called *Pentapolis* by the antients, and particularly to the city of *Kairwân*, the metropolis of that country. *Dionysius*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, also died in the *Khalifat* of *Al Môtasem*, and was succeeded by one *John* in that patriarchal see. When *Salmarwiyah*, one of the most celebrated physicians of the Moslem court, lay upon his death-bed, the *Khalif* visited him in tears, and asked him who should take care of his health after his decease. *Salmarwiyah* replied, "That busy-body *Yahya Ebn Mâfwiyah*; but take none of his compound medicines." Soon after which, *Salmarwiyah* died; and the *Khalif* was so affected with the irreparable loss he sustained by that tragical event, that he immediately broke out into the following sorrowful exclamation, "I shall soon follow him; for the preservation of my life and health has been intirely owing to his skill." He likewise abstained from all kinds of food the whole day of *Salmarwiyah*'s decease, ordered a bier to be brought into the palace, and the funeral service to be performed, in his presence, with candles and perfumes, after the *Christian* manner. And he had great reason to be under the vast concern he expressed on this melancholy occasion. For, *Salmarwiyah* blooded him twice a year, and, after each venesection, ordered him some cooling physic; by which means, he enjoyed a good state of health as long as that physician lived. *Yahya*, on the contrary, prescribed him a cathartic before he underwent the aforesaid operation; which, not agreeing with his constitution, gradually altered the habit of his body, and at last terminated in his death, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. He is said to have survived *Salmarwiyah* only twenty months by that historian. His first prime minister was *Al Fadl Ebn Merwân*;

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 219, 220. MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHNAH, HAMDALLAH EBN ABU BECR EBN AHMED EBN NASSIR. AL MOSTAWAFI AL KAZWINI, in *Tarikh Khazidah*, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 639, 640.

after



- a after whose amotion, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyat*, the scribe, or secretary, acted in that capacity for him. His supreme judge was *Abmed Ebn Abu Dawd*; and those who acted under him, *Shaib Ebn Sabel*, *Mohammed Ebn Samc'a*, *Abd'allah Ebn Gâleb*, and *Abu Jaafar Ebn Isa Ebn Hasan Al Basri*. The captain of his guards was *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*; his chamberlains, *Simâ*, the Turk, his freed-man, *Wasîf*, the Turk, who bore the same relation to him, and *Bagâ*, one of the same nation. His ordinary chamberlains were *Mohammed Ebn Afem Al Hanaki*, *Yakûb Ebn Ibrahim*, *Atâb Ebn Atâb*, and *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Dankash*. The inscription of his seal was, *God is the confidence of Abu Ishak Ebn Al Rashîd, and he believes in him*. The first and last days of his reign are said to have been *Thursday*; with which observation we shall beg leave to conclude our history of the
- b *Khalîfat* of this potent prince <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 440—443. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 144, 145. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 162—164. HONAIN, apud Greg. Ab'ul Far. ubi sup. p. 255, 256. ut & ipse GREG. ABU'L FAR. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

## S E C T. XXX.

- c **A**L WATHEK BILLAH was proclaimed *Khalîf* the same day his father *Al Môtasem* died, that is, the 18th of the former *Rabî*, at *Sarra Manray*, and inaugurated afterwards at *Baghdâd*. His mother's name was *Karâtîs*, or *Farâtîs*, and his own at large *Harûn Al Wâthek Billah Abu Jaafar Ebn Al Môtasem Ebn Harûn Al Rashîd*. About this time, *Theophilus*, the Greek emperor, died, and was succeeded by his son *Michael*; who being then only six years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the administration. *Abd'alrahmân* still governed the *Moslems* in *Spain*, and seems to have gained several advantages over the *Christians* there. The new *Khalîf* adhered to the errors of the *Môtazalites*, as well as his predecessor *Al Môtasem*; and even, at the instigation of *Abmed Ebn Abu Dawd* and *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, carried on a most fierce and violent persecution
- d against the *Sunnites*, particularly those who denied the creation of the *Korân*. His mother is said to have been a *Greek* by nation. In consequence of his attachment to the *Môtazalites*, he entertained the most favourable sentiments of all the members of the house of *Ali*. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that *Raja Ebn Ayûb*, with a body of troops assigned him for that purpose by *Al Wâthek*, suppressed a rebellion of the *Kaisians* at *Damascus*, and beheaded 1500 of the rebels there, this year <sup>n</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 228th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 10th, 842, *Al Wâthek* dismissed his judges and secretaries of state, and extorted from them, either for real or pretended crimes, very considerable sums of money. According to *Al Noweiri*, *Al Wâthek* undertook this year an expedition against the island of *Sicily*, and landed a body of troops there. Soon after this descent, he laid siege to *Messina*, and in a short time made himself master of that city; which conquest, continues this author, was followed by that of the whole island. However, this invasion has been intirely passed over in silence by the *Chronicon Siculum*, already cited here, which we take to be a piece of exceeding good authority; though it seems to have been mentioned by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Abu'lfeda* observes, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* was then the *Emîr*, or governor, of the island, and resided at *Palermo*. He likewise informs us, that this *Aglabite* commander reduced many cities there, and carried off from thence a very considerable number of prisoners, together with a large quantity of spoil, in the 228th year of the *Hejra*. It is probable, therefore, that *Al Noweiri*, or rather M. D'Herbelot, has mistaken the *Khalîf Al Wâthek* for the *Emîr Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab*; especially as we find not the least intimation of *Al Wâthek's* having undertaken such a *Sicilian* expedition in the *Tarikh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Be that, however, as it will, we may infer from *Abu'lfeda*, that this *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* first took upon himself the government of *Sicily*, and assumed the title of *Emîr* of that island, the present year. It also appears from the *Chronicon Siculum*, that this prince's new subjects were greatly infested by vast swarms of locusts about the same time <sup>o</sup>.
- e
- f

THE next year, being the 229th of the *Moslem æra*, *Al Wâthek* recalled *Ali Ebn Yahya* from *Egypt*, and appointed *Isa Ebn Mansûr* to preside over that country in his room. *Khalîf*

<sup>n</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 145. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 257. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 442, 443. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sub. p. 533, 534, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 152, 153, &c. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxv. p. 22. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 227. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Wâthek*, p. 911. <sup>o</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL NOWEIR. apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. Excerpt. ex chronol. univ. ISM. ABU'LFED. ex codic. Arabic. MS. in Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Eicuria. apud Joan. Baptist. Carus. ubi sup. p. 18. Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigienf. apud Carus, ubi sup. p. 5.



*Ebn Heshâm* died this, and *Abu Tamim Ebn Aws*, a celebrated poet of the tribe of *Tay*, the preceding year. The *Normans* sent a fleet, consisting of fifty-four large ships, and as many galleys, with a body of land-forces on board, according to *Roderic*, at this time, to *Lisbon*, in order to drive *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, out of Spain<sup>p</sup>.

and are driven from thence by Abd'alrahmân's forces. IN the 230th year of the *Hejra*, commencing September 18th, 844, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâbir Ebn Husein* departed this life. He was an excellent officer, a great encourager of learned men, particularly poets, and had been successively governor of *Khorasân*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. This year the *Normans*, called *Magians* by *Abu'lfeda*, advanced with a formidable fleet, and a powerful body of troops on board, from *Lisbon* to *Seville*, and laid siege to that city. From thence they moved to *Cadiz*, and attempted to make themselves masters of that place. But being repulsed in all their attacks both upon that fortress and *Seville*, and receiving advice that *Abd'alrahmân* was marching against them at the head of a numerous army, attended by a strong squadron of ships, they thought fit to retire to *Lisbon* with uncommon precipitation; and were finally driven from thence by that prince's forces without any considerable loss<sup>q</sup>.

A cartel settled between the Christians and the Moslems. THE following year, being the 231st of the *Hejra*, beginning September 7th, 845, a cartel for the exchange and redemption of prisoners was settled, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, between the *Moslems* and the *Christians*, upon the banks of the river *Al Lames*, the *Lamus* of *Ptolemy*, about a day's journey from *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. The person sent by *Al Wâthek* to conduct this affair on the part of the *Moslems* was one *Khâkân*, an eunuch, who received orders from his master not to redeem any of the *Mohammedan* captives, that refused to assert the creation of the *Korân*, and would not deny all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye. The Arab prisoners redeemed on this occasion amounted to 4460 men, besides 800 women and children, and about 100 belonging to the *Khalif's* allies, who all entered the *Moslem* camp on the tenth day of the month *Al Moharram*. *Moharek*, an Arab musician, *Abu Yakûb Yûsef Ebn Yahya Al Bowaitbi*, a disciple of the famous *Al Shâfe'i*, who was incarcerated for denying the creation of the *Korân*, and *Ebn Al Arabi*, a celebrated philologer of *Cûsa*, who left many learned productions behind him, died this year. A body of *Al Wâthek's* troops, in the winter, made an irruption into the *Christian* provinces; but were soon obliged to retire by the severity of the season, and the enemy's detachments sent against them. Of the *Arabs* 200 perished with cold, as many were taken prisoners, and a great number drowned in the *Badandûn*; so that the *Khalif* sustained a pretty considerable loss in this unfortunate expedition<sup>r</sup>.

Al Wâthek dies. THE next year, being the 232d of the *Hejra*, the *Moslems* defeated a large body of the *Sicilian* forces near *Enna*, called at present by the natives *Castro Giovanni*, and put 9000 of them to the sword. After which, they seized upon that fortress, as well as the adjacent territory dependent upon it. They also fortified the citadels of *Modakab*, the *Motuca*, or *Motyca*, of *Ptolemy*, and the *Modica* of the moderns, which they had reduced the preceding year. The *Khalif Al Wâthek* died on the twenty-third, or the twenty-fourth, day of the month *Dhu'lbejja*, and his brother *Al Motawakkel* said the funeral service over him. With regard to the cause of his death, authors are not agreed. We are told by *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*, that, being troubled with the dropsy, he continued for some time in a stove, and found himself thereby greatly relieved; which induced him to stay in it, heated more than usual, the next day longer than before. This, continue the same writers, affected him in such a manner, that he expired upon the spot; though his attendants were not sensible of his death, till they viewed him lifeless in his litter. On the other hand, we are informed by *Abu Ja'far Al Tabari*, that, being extremely addicted to venery, he ordered his physician to prepare him some provocatives, and those of the most powerful kind. The doctor, unwilling to comply with his commands, represented, that they would prove of fatal consequence to him. However, the *Khalif* persisting in his resolution, the physician assured him, that if he would take only three drachms of lion's flesh properly prepared in red vinegar, it would produce the desired effect. This provocative, therefore, he made use of in his drink, and it soon put a period to his days. A little before his death, falling prostrate on the ground, he burst out into the following ejaculation, *O heavenly king, whose reign is eternal, have mercy upon a poor prince, whose reign is fleeting and transitory!* He sat on the *Moslem* throne five years, nine months, and six days, or, as others will have it, five years, seven months, and thirteen days. Some authors relate, that, whilst the people were assembled after his death to elect his successor *Al Motawakkel*, a lizard, or rather newt, came out of the garden adjoining to the palace, plucked out his eyes, and greedily devoured

<sup>p</sup> ABU JA'FAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC TOLETAN. ubi sup. AL NOWEIRI. apud D'Herbel ubi sup. TARIKH AL MACRIE, &c. <sup>q</sup> ABU JA'FAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 146. AL NOWEIRI, RODERIC TOLETAN. ubi sup. ABU'LFEDA. ad an. H. j. 230. <sup>r</sup> GREG. ABU'LFAR ubi sup. COLL. 101. ad Alfragan. p. 253. ABU'LFEDA. ad an. Hej. 231. GREG. CEDREN. lib. sup. p. 541, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi.



- a them; and that this was not perceived before his body was washed, in order to be interred. With regard to his person, he was of a fair complexion, a middle stature, and had a very broad breast. His beard was also extremely thick and bushy, and he had a white speck in his right eye. As to his disposition, he was a prince of great honour, valiant, an admirer of the *Arab* poetry, and a munificent rewarder of those who excelled in that branch of literature. In most points of conduct, he imitated his uncle *Al Mamûn*, particularly in his attachment to the sect of the *Motazalites*. He confirmed the edict made by *Al Mamûn* relating to the creation of the *Korân*, and persecuted with uncommon barbarity all who presumed to maintain the contrary opinion. This greatly alienated his subjects from him; which encouraged *Abmed Ebn Nasser Ebn Mâlec*, surnamed *Al Kborai*, one of the most celebrated of those doctors who bore the title of *Al Hasedb*, that is to say, *the preserver of the* PROPHEPIC TRADITIONS, entered into a conspiracy against him. This doctor found means to engage many of the principal lords of *Baghdâd*, and several other doctors, in an attempt to dethrone *Al Wâtkek*, and to fix himself upon the *Moslem* throne. But the conspiracy being discovered by the governor of *Baghdâd*, he seized *Abmed* in his own house the day before it was to be carried into execution, and sent him in irons to *Samarra*, or *Saria Mamray*, then the residence of the *Khalîf*. Upon his arrival there, he was immediately brought into *Al Wâtkek*'s presence, who, without saying a word of the conspiracy, pressed him to assert the creation of the *Korân*; which he refusing to do, and absolutely persisting in the common sentiment of the orthodox *Moslems*, who unanimously admit the eternity of that book, the *Khalîf* was so enraged, that he instantly drew his scymitar, and cut off the traitor's head with his own hands<sup>s</sup>.
- b
- c

It has been already observed, that *Al Wâtkek* imitated in all things his uncle *Al Mamûn*. He was therefore extremely delighted with the study of the sciences, and not a little carested all men of letters. He was also liberal and charitable to a great degree, having taken great care that no poor people should be found in any part of his vast dominions; insomuch that not a single beggar was to be met with, through the whole course of his reign, either at *Mecca* or *Medina*. He was particularly fond of astrology, and having in his last illness conferred with some of his wise men, who were the most famed for their skill in that art, upon consulting his horoscope, they assured him, that, from the present moment, his reign should be continued fifty years; though he is said not to have lived above ten days after the prediction. The principal of these astrologers was *Al Hasan Ebn Sabel Ebn Nubakht*. This occurrence has been mentioned both by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians<sup>t</sup>.

AN oriental writer likewise relates, that *Abmed Ebn Nazir* having been thrown into prison, because he refused to acknowledge the creation of the *Korân*, and the impossibility of seeing God hereafter in paradise with corporeal eyes, received from the good company he found in the place of his confinement no small degree of consolation. For, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, the *Khalîf*'s *Visir*, who persecuted the *Sunnites* in a cruel manner, filled all the prisons of *Samarra* with orthodox *Moslems*. Amongst these there was one *Abmed Ebn Isrâil*, a famous astrologer; to whom, as well as to many others of his fellow-prisoners, *Abmed Ebn Nazir* related, that a phantom had appeared to him in his dream the preceding night, and assured him that *Al Wâtkek* should die in a month's time. The astrologer then being desired to calculate that prince's nativity, in order to discover what truth there was in this nocturnal prediction, refused to be concerned in so dangerous an affair. However, the last day of the month being come, he said to *Abmed Ebn Nazir*, "What do you say now of your dream, since the term pointed out by your phantom is almost expired?" To which *Abmed* replied, *Many things may still happen before the conclusion of the approaching night*. After which, about the second watch of the same night, a considerable number of people arrived at the prison-door, with advice of the *Khalîf*'s decease<sup>u</sup>.

f OTHER authors inform us, that *Al Wâtkek*, by eating and drinking to great excess, and that frequently when he had no appetite at all, together with his immoderate use of women, brought himself into a dropsy; of which he was cured by a celebrated physician of *Nisabûr*, who advised him to live more temperately for the future, as a relapse must prove fatal to him. But notwithstanding this salutary advice, the *Khalîf* soon began to pursue his former irregular course of life, and was consequently in a short time afflicted with the same distemper, of which, in conformity to the doctor's prediction, he died within the space of a very few months<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. FILIP. PARUT. PTOL. geograph. lib. iii. cap. 4. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 232. GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 258. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 444, 445. KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 911.

<sup>t</sup> JAMALO'DDIN MOHAM. AL AWKI, in *Jamé Al Hakaîât wa-Lamé Al Razaiât*, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU'LFED. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & KHONDEMIR, ubi sup.

<sup>u</sup> JAMALO'DDIN MOHAM. AL AWKI, ubi sup. <sup>v</sup> AHMED EBN MOHAM. AED'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI. MIRKHOND. JETALI, KHONDEMIR, &c.



Had a very terrible eye.

ONE of the same authors remarks, that the *Khalif Al Wâthek* had so terrible an eye, that a having a little before his death cast an angry glance of it upon one of his domestics, who had been guilty of some fault, the man was instantly out of countenance, and fell backwards upon another person that stood at a small distance from him. Which very eye, by a most extraordinary accident, was plucked out of the *Khalif's* head, according to this writer, by an animal resembling a pole-cat, that slipped between his face and a linen cloth which covered it, whilst he lay dead in the palace <sup>x</sup>.

Other particulars relating to him.

SOME of the *Arab* historians have observed, that *Al Wâthek* himself was a tolerable good poet, as well as a rewarder of those who excelled in drawing up poetical compositions; that he sung well, and had an excellent voice. He made, in the second year of his reign, one *Sergius*, who had been a great enemy to those of his own communion, and was for that reason very disagreeable to them, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, where he resided in that capacity sixteen years. He likewise filled the patriarchal see of *Antioch*, which became vacant in the sixth year of his *Khalifat*, with one *Nicholas*, who presided over the *Christians* there twenty-three years. We must not forget to remark, that the above-mentioned *Al Hasan Ebn Sabel Ebn Nubakht* was the greatest astronomer, as well as astrologer, of the age in which he lived, and wrote a treatise upon the *Anwâd*, or mansions of the moon. With regard to this *Khalif's* ministers and servants, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât* was his principal counsellor, or *Visir*; the captain of his guards *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*; his chief judge *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*; and his chamberlains *Aylûb*, the *Turk*, his freed-man, *Bagâ*, the *Turk*, his menial servant, *Wasîf*, the *Turk*, his freed-man, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Dankash*, *Anbâb*, his servant, *Ahmed Ebn Amer*, and *Mohammed Ebn Asem Al Jabali*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The inscription of his seal was, *God is the confidence of Al Wâthek*. Some writers make him to have been thirty-two, others thirty-four, and, lastly, others thirty-six, years of age at the time of his decease <sup>y</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> EEN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI. ubi sup. ubi sup. p. 47. EUTYCH. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

<sup>y</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TAEAR. AL MAKIN,

## S E C T. XXXI.

He is succeeded by his brother Al Motawakkel.

AL WATHEK's death was no sooner known than his brother *Al Motawakkel Ala'llah* was d saluted *Khalif* by the people of *Samarra*, and afterwards acknowledged as such by all the provinces of the empire. His mother *Shajâ*, *Al Môtasem's* concubine, was of *Khowârazmian* extraction. *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*, *Al Wâthek's* principal judge, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, his *Visir*, and *Wasîf*, the *Turk*, together with several other leading men, at first had an intention to proclaim *Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Mohtadi*, *Al Wâthek's* son, *Khalif*; but *Wasîf* afterwards objecting to this, on account of his tender years, they dropped their design, and agreed to invest *Jaafar Abu'l Fadl Al Motawakkel Ala'llah Ebn Al Môtasem*, the late *Khalif's* brother, then about twenty-six years of age, with the imperial dignity. The new *Khalif* removed the governor of *Egypt* from his office, soon after his accession, and conferred upon *Anbâb*, one of his friends, that lucrative post <sup>z</sup>.

Wasîf determines the choice of the grantees in favour of Al Motawakkel.

As *Al Mohtadi*, *Al Wâthek's* son, was incapable of officiating publicly in the mosque, on account of his tender age, *Wasîf*, upon mature deliberation, thought he should be guilty of a great sin, if he concurred with the other principal officers of the empire in advancing that young prince to the dignity of *Imâm*; and therefore determined their choice of a sovereign pontiff, who was to be emperor of the faithful, in favour of *Al Motawakkel*. This *Wasîf* commanded the body of *Turkish* troops, or rather the *Turkish* irregulars, first set on foot by the *Khalif Al Môtasem*; which gave great weight to his representations, and enabled him the more easily to carry his point, notwithstanding the vast influence of *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, the late *Khalif's Visir*, on this important occasion <sup>a</sup>.

Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât put to death by the Khalif's order.

MOHAMMED EBN HAMMAD EBN ABD'ALMALEC AL ZIYAT having treated *Al Motawakkel* ill, in his brother's life-time, that prince resented the injuries he had then met with, soon after he ascended the *Moslem* throne. He, therefore, sent him to prison in the year of the *Hejra* 233, and ordered a person to keep him awake there for several days and nights together. *Mohammed* being after this suffered to take some repose, slept a whole day and a night; and, after he awoke, was thrown into an iron-furnace, lined with spikes, or large nails, heated red-hot, where he was miserably burnt to death. Some authors, however, relate, that he received fifty stripes upon his belly, and as many upon his back, and soon after expired. This counsellor, or *Visir*, spoke his mother-tongue fluently and properly, and was extremely well versed in the *Arab* grammar and poetry. But he was haughty,

<sup>z</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TAEAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 117, 148. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 446, 447. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 259.

<sup>a</sup> KHONDEMIR.

foolish,



a foolish, vain-glorious, iniquitous in his conduct, and intirely void of compassion. He was likewise a stranger to modesty, excessively fond of power, and covetous to the last degree. He never did any person a good office, frequently saying that pity was a natural weakness, and liberality folly. It appears from some of the *Arab* writers, that he composed verses during his confinement, though none of these have been handed down to us. The new *Khalif* appointed his son *Al Montaser* to preside over the peninsula of the *Arabs*; and, about the same time, *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Meain Ebn Awn Al Baghdadi*, a famous *Hafedh* and *Imam*, and a disciple of *Al Shafei*, departed this life, in the 75th year of his age. The *Moslems* reduced *Leontini*, the *Lentini* of the moderns, called by the *Arabs* *Lertinab*, and made a farther progress in the conquest of *Sicily*, during the course of this

b year<sup>b</sup>.

THE following year, the *Aglabite Arabs*, settled in *Sicily*, made themselves masters of the city of *Ragusa* with very inconsiderable loss. About the same time died *Abu Khaitshamah* The western Moslems take Ragusa. *Zobr*, a famous *Sunnite* doctor, *Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaaser*, a celebrated *Hafedh*, and *Mohammed Ebn Mobasbar*, a *Motazalite* of *Baghdad*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, after the death of *Mohammed Ebn Hammad Ebn Abd'almalec Al Ziyat*, began to think of allaying the heats raised amongst the *Moslems* by his predecessors *Al Motajem* and *Al Warbek*, who persecuted with great cruelty those that refused to embrace the tenets of the *Motazalites*. A famine this year made terrible havock amongst the *Arabs* in *Sicily*<sup>c</sup>.

c IN the year of the *Hejra* 235, several remarkable occurrences happened amongst the *Al Motawakkel eastern Moslems*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel* settled the succession upon his eldest son *Al Montaser*, after him upon his second son *Al Mo'taz*, and, finally, upon his third son *Al Mowaiad*. Al kel settles the succession upon his sons, and is angry with the Christians. He also gave each of them two banners, or standards, a black one and a white one; the former of which distinguished them as heirs apparent to the crown, and the latter as their father's vicegerents, who had the government of the empire divided amongst them. To *Al Montaser* the *Khalif* assigned *Africa*, from *Arisb* in *Egypt* to the most western limits of that vast tract, as likewise the provinces of *Kinnisrin*, *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Diyâr Becr*, *Diyar Rabia*, *Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, *Habab*, *Al Ayât*, *Al Khâbûr*, *Karkisia*, *Tecrit*, the region bordering upon the *Tigris*, *Mecca*, and *Medina*, *Al Yaman*, *Hadramaut*, *Yamama*, *Babrein*, *Al Sind*, or *Sindia*, *Abwâz*, *Sarra Manray*, *Cûfa*, *Mâseidân*, *Al Hajrân*, *Sbaruzûr*, *Kom*, *Kâsân*, and *Al Jebâl*, with its dependencies. To *Al Mo'taz* he assigned *Khorasân*, *Tabrestân*, *Ray*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Adherbijân*. And lastly, on *Al Mowaiad* he conferred the provinces of *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*, *Hems*, *Al Ordan*, and *Palestine*. This division has been celebrated by the *Arab* poet *Ibrahim Ebn Al Abbâs*, some of whose verses have been preserved by *Abu Jaaser Al Tabari*. *Al Motawakkel* also about this time commanded all the *Christians* and *Jews* in his dominions to wear a leathern girdle, called by the *Arabs* *zonar*, and a sort of badge on their cloaths, in order to distinguish them from the *Moslems*. He likewise forbid them to make use of iron stirrups, and enjoined them, according to *Eutychius*, to paint the figures of devils, or else of hogs and apes, on the doors of their houses; which, as the same writer will have it, was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of *Bakhtishua*, the *Khalif's* physician, a *Christian*, who had incurred his master's displeasure. About this time, one *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj*, a famous impostor, pretended to be *Moses* resuscitated, and plaid his part so well that several people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*. That prince, having been an ear-witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds. *Hasen Ebn Sakel*, *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim Al Sauli*, the musician, and *Abd'allah Ebn Raghiban*, the poet, died the present year<sup>d</sup>.

f THE next year, being the year of the *Hejra* 236, commencing July 15th, 850, this *Khalif* The Khalif discour-tenances the posterity of Ali. who had openly declared himself an enemy to the house of *Ali*, forbid his subjects, under the severest penalties, to go on pilgrimage to the tomb of that *Imam*. Soon after which, he ordered the sepulchre of *Hosein*, *Ali's* son, called in *Arabic* *Mashhad Hosein*, in the plains of *Kerbela*, where that *Imam* was killed, to be intirely razed; and, in order the more effectually to efface all the traces of it, he was resolved not to content himself with ploughing, or breaking up, the ground on which it stood, but likewise to draw a canal of water over it. However, if we will believe the *Shiites*, he could not carry his design into execution; the water not approaching the tomb, but keeping its distance out of respect.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 148. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 233. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigiens. MEL. lib. ii. cap. 7. PLIN. lib. iii. cap. 8. PTOL. ubi sup. FIL. PARUT. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrig. KHONDEMIR, ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 234. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 640, 911.

<sup>d</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 259. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 448, 449. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



Hence that water was denominated *Haïr*, which signifies *astonished* and *respectful*; a name which has since been applied to the sepulchre itself, on account of this miracle. Notwithstanding which, some pretend, that the place of *Hosein's* interment was always unknown<sup>a</sup>.

*This Khalif's death predicted in a dream, according to the Shiites.* WE are told by an eastern author, in conformity to the *Shiite* traditions, that the night after *Al Motawakkel* had issued this impious order, he saw *Ali* in a dream, who reproached him with the outrages offered to his family, and gave him seven blows with the famous sword *Dbu'l-Fakar*, used by the prophet himself in all his engagements, after the battle of *Bedr*, which he held in his hand. This, according to one of his wise men, well versed in the interpretation of dreams, portended some signal disaster to him, that should happen by way of punishment for the hatred he bore *Ali* and his descendants. And, in consequence of this prediction, continues the same writer, the *Khalif* was assassinated two days after by some *Turks*, at the instigation of his eldest son *Al Montaser*; who, after the perpetration of this horrid parricide, commanded some of his servants to collect the pieces into which his father's body had been cut. These amounting to seven, that prince from thence inferred, that the murder had been clearly foretold by the preceding dream, which was most evidently verified by that tragical event. But here it may not be improper to observe, that this *Shiite* fiction must necessarily be exploded by all persons of the least penetration; since *Al Motawakkel's* edicts, mentioned here, preceded at least eleven years the assassination of that prince<sup>f</sup>.

*A rebellion in Armenia.* IN the year of the *Hejra* 237, beginning July 5th, 851, the *Khalif* sent *Yusef Ebn Mohammed* to preside over *Armenia* and *Adberbijan*; who, upon his arrival at *Ekklat*, or *Akklat*, caused *Bekrüt Ebn Ashút*, an *Armenian* nobleman, to be secured, and sent in chains to *Al Motawakkel*. This so incensed the noblesse of *Armenia*, that, in conjunction with *Músa*, who had married *Bekrüt's* daughter, they assembled a body of troops, in order to take vengeance of *Yusef Ebn Mohammed* for the affront he had offered them. Coming up, therefore, with him at the castle of *Músh*, they attacked him with such bravery, that, after an obstinate engagement, they intirely defeated him, and put both him and the forces he commanded to the sword. The *Khalif* no sooner received advice of this unexpected rebellion, than he sent *Bogú*, the *Turk*, with an army to suppress it; which he did effectually, and fully revenged *Yusef's* death, killing above 300,000 of the rebels, and taking a vast number of them prisoners. After this, he advanced to *Teflis*, a city of *Georgia*, that had assisted the rebels, laid siege to it, and in a short time reduced it to ashes, together with 50,000 of its inhabitants, who all perished in the flames. *Yusef's* defeat happened in the middle of the month of *Ramadán*, and the extinction of the rebellion, as well as the destruction of *Teflis*, consequential to that event, soon after. About this time, died *Hatem Al Asam Al Balkhi*, a celebrated *Moslem* saint. The same year, *Al Motowakkel* appointed *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Tkáber Ebn Hosein* to preside over *Al Sarta*, the districts of *Al Sarwád*, and the territory of *Baghdád*. Either this or the preceding year, *Abd'alrahmán* paved the streets of *Corduba* in *Spain* with stone, and built an aqueduct, with leaden pipes, which copiously supplied that city with water from the neighbouring mountains. The present year also, according to *Abu'lfeda*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* died in *Sicily*, after he had reigned there about nine years, in the month of *Rajeb*. He was succeeded by *Al Abbás Ebn Al Abbás Ebn Al Fadl Ebn Yakúb Ebn Nazara*, who subdued many places in *Sicily*, and overthrew the *Christians* near *Enna*, which, by reason of its surprising strength, they had made the capital of their part of the island, instead of *Syracuse*. This signal victory, which was gained on *Thursday*, the fifteenth day of the month of *Shawál*, the present year, put *Al Abbás* in possession of *Enna*, where he erected a mosque for the use of the *Moslems* that were settled there. This defeat given the *Christians*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, in the year of the *Hejra* 237, seems to be no other than that mentioned by the *Cambridge Chronicon*, as happening about five years before. But whether the writer of that *Chronicon*, or *Ab'ulfeda*, whose authority is undoubtedly of great weight with regard to all the *Moslem* transactions in the east, is to be followed in the point before us, we leave to the determination of our more learned and intelligent readers<sup>g</sup>.

*The Greeks ravage some parts of Egypt.*

THE following year, the *Greeks* fitted out a fleet of 300 ships; an hundred of which, under the command of an admiral, set sail for *Dimyút*, or *Damiata*, in *Egypt*. Here, upon their arrival, they landed a body of troops, seized upon the town, at that time destitute of a garison for its defence, plundered and burnt it, and carried off with them 600 *Moslem* women into captivity. From *Damiata* they advanced to *Mesr*, which they pillaged and

<sup>a</sup> KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 260. MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. <sup>f</sup> JAMA-LO'DDIN MOHAMMED AL AWKI, in *Jamé Al Hakaiát wa Lamé Al Rawaiát*, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 260. 262. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>g</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 260. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 642. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ex cod. MS. Arabic. Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Escorial. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. MS. Cantabrigiensi. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. cap. xxvi. p. 23.



- a laid in ashes, and then retired to their own ports. After which, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel* ordered *Damiata*, in order to secure it from all future insults, to be fortified with a strong double wall on the side of the river, and on that of the continent with a triple one; which rendered it one of the most impregnable fortresses in *Egypt*. This year died at *Cordoba* *Abd'arrahmân Ebn Al Hakem Ebn Hishâm*, of the house of *Omriyah*, after he had reigned thirty-one years and five months in *Spain*. He left behind him forty-five sons and forty-two daughters, and was succeeded by his son *Mohammed Ebn Abd'arrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*. About the same time also departed this life *Ranimir*, the son of *Veremund*, king of *Gallia*, whose son *Ordonius*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, succeeded him in his kingdom, frustrated all the attempts of the *Arabs* upon his dominions, and reigned 35 years. Other authors, however, make *Ranimir's* death, and his son *Ordonius's* accession, to have preceded *Abd'arrahmân's* decease above 20 years <sup>b</sup>.

THE year of the *Hejra*, 239, commencing *June* 12th, 853, produced no action of éclat <sup>Nature re-</sup> in the *Moslem* empire; at least none that has been taken notice of by any historian. *Mah-mah-kelle-nag-* *mûd Ebn Gailan*, of *Merû* in *Khorasân*, one of *Al Bokbâri's* doctors, died this year. We <sup>pers in the</sup> are told by an author of good reputation, that *Al Motawakkel* published an edict forbidding the <sup>year of the</sup> *Christians* and *Jews* to ride on horseback in any part of his dominions, and permitting them in their journeys to make use only of asses and mules, the present year. Which law is considered by the *Turks* as in force at this very day <sup>Hejra 239.</sup> <sup>1</sup>.

- THE next year, according to *Abu'lfeza*, *Abu Othmân Mohammed*, the son of the famous *Abu* <sup>A rebellion in</sup> *Al Shafeï*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Khâled*, of the tribe of *Calb*, a follower of the same celebrated *Moslem* doctor, departed this life. About the same time, the *Khalif* appointed his second son *Al Mo'taz* to superintend all the mints erected in his dominions, and ordered his name to be stamped on all the *dirhems* coined in the empire. This year likewise, if we will believe *Roderic of Toledo*, the people of that city rebelled against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'arrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, and were supported in their defection by *Ordonius*, who sent one of his relations with a body of troops to their relief. However, *Mohammed* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, and found means to decoy the rebels into an ambuscade, that he had posted in a proper place at a small distance from the town. The consequence of which was, that he easily defeated them, put 7000 of the *Moslems*, and 8000 <sup>d</sup> of the *Christians* to the sword, and took prisoners a great number of both; many of whose heads he struck off, and sent some of them to the maritime towns, and others to *Africa*, as evident tokens of the glorious victory he had obtained <sup>2</sup>.

- THE following year, a body of the imperial troops advanced to *Aincaria*, entered the <sup>The emperor's</sup> place, made the *Moslem* garison prisoners of war, and carried off all the women and children <sup>forces take</sup> into captivity; after which, several brisk actions happened in those parts between the <sup>Aincaria from</sup> *Christians* and the *Arabs*. About the same time, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'arrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* placed numerous garisons in *Curita*, *Talavera*, and *Calatrava*, and made incursions into some of the neighbouring provinces. This year, the famous *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, the founder of the fourth sect of the *Sunnites*, died at *Baghdâd*, and was followed to his grave <sup>e</sup> by 800,000 men and 60,000 women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, that on the day of his death, no less than 20,000 *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, embraced the *Mohammedan* faith. We must not forget to observe, that the *Moslem* forces took *Bothirab*, or *Buteria*, not far from *Leocata*, in *Sicily*, the preceding year <sup>1</sup>.

- IN the year of the *Hejra* 242, beginning *May* 10th, 856, the *Greeks* penetrated to <sup>They are fur-</sup> *Sonifât*, or *Samofata*; but were soon obliged by the *Moslems* to retire from thence to *Amîd*, <sup>pressed and</sup> or *Amida*, on the borders of *Armenia*. After which, they abandoned *Assyopotamia*, which <sup>visited by</sup> they had entered, and returned into their own dominions; though they carried off with <sup>the Khalif's</sup> them about 10,000 prisoners, and plundered a great number of villages in their retreat. This seems to be the expedition mentioned by some of the *Greek* writers, when they <sup>f</sup> inform us, that the *Moslem* garison of *Samofata* sallied out upon the *Christian* forces, then before the town, surprized them in their camp, whilst they were at divine service there, and forced them to abandon the siege, the third day after it had commenced. We are told, by some of the *Arab* authors, that several violent shocks of an earthquake happened this year in *Komas*, or *Komes*, a province of *Tabrestân*, in the month of *Shaabân*, attended with unusual noises, that demolished many towns and villages there, did incredible damage, and buried 45,096 men in the ruins of the houses that were overturned. The greatest

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 260, 261. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 238. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 149. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. Chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 709. Francosurti, 1603.

<sup>1</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. ad an. Hej. 239. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 640. <sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 240. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149, 150. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 150. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 301. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigienf. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 6.



part of these perished at *Dâmegân*, placed in latitude  $36^{\circ} 20'$ , and longitude  $39^{\circ} 20'$ , by the eastern geographers, the capital of that province. *Syria*, *Perjâ*, *Kharâsin*, and *Al Yaman*, were all visited with the same calamity, according to these writers; who farther observe, that mount *Al Akra'*, or *the bald mountain*, in the neighbourhood of *Laodicea*, or, as 'tis called by the *Arabs*, *Al Ladikia*, at the same time fell into the sea; by which surprising accident most of the inhabitants of that city were destroyed. *Mohammed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son, *Abu Ibrahim Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*; as did likewise *Yahya Ebn Aftem*, a most celebrated master of jurisprudence, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* sent also an army, under the command of *Al Mondar*, one of his relations, to lay waste the territory of *Toledo*, that still refused to submit to him, the present year. The *Moslem* general executed his orders with excessive rigour and severity, either carrying off or destroying all the corn, fruits, and grapes, of that district. Notwithstanding which, the citizens of *Toledo* sent some of their forces, after *Al Mondar's* departure, to possess themselves of *Talavera*. But the commandant of that fortress having been apprized of their design, met them at the head of his troops, gave them battle, and intirely defeated them; taking many of them prisoners, and killing 700 upon the spot, all whose heads he sent as an agreeable present to his master *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, who then held his residence at *Córdoba*, the capital of the *Moslem* dominions in *Spain*.

The Khalif  
resides about  
two months at  
Damascus.

THE year of the *Hijra* 243, commencing *April* 30th, 857, has not been distinguished by any remarkable event. The *Khalif* *Al Motawakkel*, however, set out for *Damascus*, with an intention to make that city the seat of the *Khalifat*, the 20th day of the month *Dbu'lhajja*. He also ordered several buildings to be erected there in the following month *Safar*, designing to transfer all his treasures from *Sarra Manray* to that place. Soon after his arrival at *Damascus*, the *Turkish* soldiery mutinied for their pay; which having received, they returned to their duty. Notwithstanding this, he conceived an aversion to his new capital, and returned to *Sarra Manray*, after he had resided at *Damascus* only two months and a few days. He entered that metropolis on *Monday* the 22d of the latter *Jomâda*, to the great joy of all his subjects there. This year died *Ibrahim Ebn Al Abbâs*, and *Al Hâreth Ebn Asad*; the latter of whom was expelled *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal's* school, for being a reasoner, or one principally guided by his own judgment in his decisions. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* also undertook another expedition against the city of *Toledo*, besieged the place in form, and destroyed the famous bridge over the *Tajo* there, which threw the citizens into a terrible consternation, the present year.

The Greeks,  
according to  
the Christians,  
surprize and  
defeat the  
Arabs, in  
their turn.

THE next year, the *Khalif* commanded *Abu Yusuf Yakûb Ebn Ishak*, surnamed *Ebn Al Sekkit*, a famous philologer, extremely well versed in all kinds of polite literature, to be put to death, for his attachment to the house of *Ali*. About the same time, that prince deprived *Bakhtishua*, his physician, of all the riches he had acquired in his service, and banished him into *Babrein*. The *Greek* writers relate, that 30,000 *Arabs* about this time marched into the imperial territories, surprized a body of 45,000 *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, headed by the emperor himself, and put them to a shameful flight. The emperor narrowly missed being taken prisoner in the action; having been delivered out of the enemy's hands by *Manuel*, one of his officers, when he was in the most imminent danger. It seems to appear from the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that the *Sicilian Moslems* were worsted in an action by sea the present year.

Terrible  
earthquakes  
in several  
parts of the  
Moslem em-  
pire.

THE following year, beginning, amongst the *Moslems*, *April* 8th, 859, many cities in the western provinces suffered greatly from earthquakes; by which great numbers of their houses were overturned. Violent shocks were likewise felt at *Baghdâd*, where the *Khalif's* palace was in danger of being overthrown, *Al Madâyen*, *Bâlis*, *Al Rakka*, *Harrân*, *Râso'lain*, or, *Râsa'lain*, *Hems*, *Damascus*, *Al Roba*, or *Edeffa*, *Tarsus*, *Masîsa*, *Adana*, and the maritime parts of *Syria*. At *Antioch*, 1500 houses, and above ninety towers belonging to the wall that surrounded the city, are said to have been thrown down; which, together with the frightful and unusual noises heard amongst the ruins, so terrified the inhabitants, that they fled for safety into the neighbouring fields. We are told likewise by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that mount *Al Akra'* above-mentioned, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Abu'l Faraj*, stood at a small distance from *Antioch*, and fell into the sea at the same time the earthquake happened there. At *Laodicea* the shocks were so terrible, that almost all the citizens quitted their houses, expecting them every moment to fall upon

<sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 545, 546. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 158. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 261. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. & chron. SA'ID EBN ALI AL JORJANI, EBN HAWKAL, SHARIF AL EDRISI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 192. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>o</sup> GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L FAR. KHONDAMIR, &c. Chron. Sicul. Arab. Cantab. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUSIUS, ubi sup.

their



- a their heads. When mount *Al Akra*' sunk into the sea, a thick black cloud of smoke, that emitted a most noisome smell, issued from the spot on which it had stood. Vast numbers of people were destroyed by these concussions, if we will believe the *Moslem* writers. The springs at *Mecca* failed this year to such a degree, that the celebrated well, or fountain, there was almost dried up, and the water sold for 100 *dirbêms* a bottle. A river also, about a parasang distant from mount *Al Akra*', disappeared the same year in which that mountain was absorbed, and was never afterwards seen. About the same time, the *Khalif* being informed, that the *Niloscope*, or *Nilometer*, erected on the point of the island of *Al Fostat* by *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, was fallen to decay, he sent a geometrician, recommended to him by his astrologer, *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa*, from *Irâk* to *Egypt*, in order
- b to build a new one there. He likewise appointed *Yezid Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Bâdân Ebn Farah* to assist *Mohammed* in this work, and ordered the expence of the whole to be defrayed by *Solimân Ebn Wâheb*; which being done, the machine erected on this occasion was called the new *Nilometer*, and the other that had fallen to ruin was never afterwards used. The people of *Toledo* at this time, not being able to make head against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, thought fit to submit to that prince, and met with a very gracious reception from him. Soon after this, the *Normans*, with a fleet of 60 ships, ravaged the coast of *Spain*, laid several places there waste with fire and sword, and carried off with them an immense quantity of spoil. From thence they passed over into *Africa*, where they committed likewise dreadful depredations; and, returning into the maritime parts
- c of *Spain*, took up their winter quarters there. But not finding themselves in a condition to settle upon any part of the tract they had taken possession of, they thought fit to return home the following spring. The writer of the *Cambridge Chronicle* relates, that the *Moslems* in *Sicily* repossessed themselves of *Enna*, that had returned to the *Christians*, about the time we are now upon. The present year, likewise, died *Abu Ali Al Hafeina*, a disciple, or follower, of the famous *Al Shâfeî*. It seems to appear from *Eutychius*, that *Al Motawakkel* built a new city and palace, adjoining to *Samarra*, from him denominated *Al Jaafariâ*, in which he resided some time, either this or the following year <sup>p</sup>.

- In the 187th year of the *Hejra* 246, commencing *March* 28th, 860, *Omar Ebn Obeid* *The Arabs*  
*Al Akta*, by the *Khalif*'s order, made an irruption into the imperial territories, and carried *gain several*  
d off with him from thence about 70,000 prisoners. *Al Fadl Ebn Fiarân*, another of the *Arab* *considerable*  
commanders, with a fleet of twenty large ships, insulted the enemy's coasts, and seized upon *advantages*  
the citadel of *Antioch*. *Ali Ebn Yakya* likewise, in order to make a diversion, penetrated *over the*  
into another of the imperial provinces, and took 5000 prisoners, besides 10,000 head of *Greeks*.  
cattle; after which, a cartel was settled between the contending parties, whereby 2367  
captives recovered their liberty. From the *Greek* writers it seems to appear, that the *Arabs*  
at this time entered the imperial provinces with an army of 40,000 men, and committed  
dreadful ravages there. But they were surprized, according to these writers, by *Petronas*,  
the emperor's uncle, with the *Christian* forces, in the district of *Lalacæon*, not far from  
*Ephesus*, who put the *Khalif* and his whole army to the sword, took his son prisoner, and  
e returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. As this relation, however, runs counter to the  
*Moslem* history in almost every particular, and as the authors here cited are not greatly to  
be depended upon in what they have handed down to us concerning the *Moslem* affairs, our  
impartial and intelligent readers will undoubtedly refuse their assent, to the short account  
we have extracted from them of this expedition. For, that *Al Motawakkel* fell in battle  
this year, is a notion intirely repugnant to the whole stream of oriental history, which in a  
point of this nature most certainly merits greater attention than that of the *Greeks*. About  
the same time, it rained blood in the tract called *Balah*, of a very red colour. *Mohammed*  
*Ebn Abd'alrahmân* marched with an army also now against the people of *Navarre*, ravaged  
the country about *Pampelona*, and made himself master of three fortresses not far from  
f that place. In one of these he took prisoner a person of distinction, named *Fortunius*, whom  
he conducted to *Corduba*, kept him there twenty years, and at last sent him home loaded  
with presents worthy of the prince from whom they came. This *Fortunius*, as our historian  
informs us, attained to the age of 126 years. About this time, died *Dabal Al Khozâi*  
*Ebn Ali*, a celebrated poet, of the *Shiite* persuasion, who was born in the year of the *Hejra*  
148. We are told, that a body of *Arabs*, named *Fendanites*, or *Effendites*, arrived in *Sicily*  
the present year <sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 150, 151. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. AB'ULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 255. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 446—449. SHAW'S physie. and miscellan. observat. in Egypt, p. 433. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. & CARUS. ubi sup. <sup>q</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. ISM. AB'ULFED. ad an. Hej. 246. Chron. Sic. Cant. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.



Al Motawakkel assassinated.

THE next year, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel* was assassinated in the following manner. *Fatab* a  
*Ebn Khâkân* and *Abd'allah Ebn Yakya*, finding him indisposed with an asthmatic disorder, endeavoured to dissuade him from officiating in the mosque at *Sarra Manray*, as he intended, the ensuing *Friday*; advising him to send his second son *Al Mo'taz* to perform the public service there in his stead. The *Khalif* complied so far with their advice as to decline going to the mosque himself, but at the same time appointed his eldest son *Al Montaser* to officiate for him. This by no means pleasing his two favourites, who were suspicious of *Al Montaser's* ill designs, they persuaded him to go to the mosque himself, when *Friday* came, and shew himself to the people, in order to prevent all commotions that might be excited by his illness, which at that time was publickly known. He, therefore, mounted his horse, and went directly to the mosque, where he said the prayers, and preached to the people, as b  
usual; after which he returned to his palace *Jaasarîa*, where he then resided. Upon his arrival there, he ordered *Al Montaser* to appear before him, reproached him and his mother with the dark cabals in which they had been engaged, and threatened to make them both feel the effects of his resentment. Nay, he commanded the judges and counsellors who attended him likewise to reprove them. This so incensed *Al Montaser*, that he resolved upon his father's destruction, and engaged certain *Turks*, who were dissatisfied with the *Khalif's* conduct, and some of his domestics, to assist him in the parricide; for the perpetration of which the following opportunity offered. *Al Motawakkel* having drank to excess with some of his courtiers, and particularly *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, on *Wednesday* the fourth day of the month *Shawâl*, *Bagâ*, *Bager*, or *Bogâ*, the younger, his butler, at night entered c  
the room, and commanded the company to go home; which they all did, except *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, and four others, who could not be prevailed upon to retire. In the mean time, *Al Montaser* came to one of the palace-gates, that had been left open for him, and kept the porter, a *Turk*, whose name was *Razâka*, employed, by walking and talking with him, whilst the conspirators destined to assassinate the *Khalif* made the best of their way to the place where he was, with their scymitars drawn in their hands. As soon as they approached him, one of them, named *Taaz*, immediately fell upon him, and cut off the hinder part of his shoulders; notwithstanding which, *Al Motawakkel* attempted to defend himself against the assassin, saying at the same time to him, *Be quiet, God cut off thy hand*. Which being perceived by the other conspirators, they all rushed in at once upon him. d  
*Fatab Ebn Khâkân* observing this, said to them, *Wo be to you, this is the emperor of the faithful!* To which *Bager*, or *Bogâ*, replied, *Hold thy peace, thou enemy!* *Fatab* then threw himself upon his master, in order to screen him from the intended violence; but being dragged off by the assassins, he ran about the room like a madman, with his scymitar drawn in his hand, crying out with all his might, *Death! Death!* This so enraged them, that they instantly dispatched him, and then massacred *Al Motawakkel* without the least resistance; after which, they waited upon *Al Montaser*, and saluted him *Khalif*. Several reasons have been assigned for this unnatural parricide by the *Moslem* writers; some of which our readers will not be displeased to find inserted here. One of those writers pretends, that *Al Montaser* alledged, as a reason to excuse the perpetration of so horrid a fact, the hatred his e  
father bore *Ali* and all his descendants. He also, says the same author, at last was afraid of his own life. For, *Al Motawakkel* once holding between his hands a scymitar that cost him 10,000 *dinârs*, said to *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, *I should be glad to find a valiant man amongst my Turkish slaves, into whose hands I may put this scymitar, for the defence and preservation of my person.* *Fatab* immediately answered him, *Here is Bager, the bravest of your Turks, who is worthy of receiving so valuable a present from your own hands.* This *Bager* came by accident into the *Khalif's* apartment the moment the conference between him and *Fatab* began, when he received this sword, together with very large appointments, from *Al Motawakkel*. We are told, however, that he never drew it before the time he entered his master's chamber, and slew him with it. Other authors relate, that the *Khalif* frequently entertained f  
himself with some mischievous kinds of diversions, that were extremely disagreeable to the people about him; and that this in all probability hastened his death. Sometimes he would order a lion to be let loose in the middle of the room where he was regaling his friends, which never failed of throwing them into a terrible consternation. At other times he would command his servants to put serpents privately under the table, and break pots full of scorpions in the middle of the hall where he had prepared a banquet for his favourites, without suffering any of them to rise from the table, or change his place; and when any of his friends were bit on such occasions by those venomous animals, he immediately expelled the poison by a theriacal medicine that he had prepared for that purpose. Whilst he was in the midst of one of these debauches, the *Turkish* slaves that had conspired against g  
him entered the hall of the festin with their scymitars drawn in their hands, and *Bager* at the head of them, according to some of the *Persian* historians; upon which, one of those at table, who first perceived them, but did not suspect any wicked design, said, in a facetious manner,



- a manner, *This is neither the day of lions, nor of serpents, nor of scorpions, but that of scymitars, or swords.* *Al Motawakkel* no sooner heard him talk of scymitars, or swords, than he said, *What's that you would say?* Which words were scarce out of his mouth, when the conspirators fell upon him, and cut him to pieces. *Fatab*, continue those authors, endeavouring to defend him, and crying out with all his might, *O Al Motawakkel, I will not survive you!* was likewise killed with the *Khalif*. That prince's buffoon, who had hid himself at the sight of the scymitars, hearing *Fatab's* last words, and observing what happened to him thereupon, said with a loud voice, *O Al Motawakkel, I should be very glad to live after you!* which he thought might induce them to let him make his escape. One writer of good repute informs us, that *Al Montaser* was persuaded by the wise men
- b about him to commit the parricide above-mentioned, because his father had been guilty of some enormities that merited such an end. Another assures us, that his cruelty to those persons of distinction, who were so unhappy as to incur his displeasure, greatly contributed thereto. These he inclosed in an iron stove, lined with pointed nails, which he caused to be heated more or less in proportion to the heinousness of the crime he intended to punish; and when any of them, upon finding himself in exquisite torture, said to him, *Have pity upon me*, he replied, *Pity is nothing but a meanness of soul.* 'Tis affirmed by some authors, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, his *Visir*, remained in such torture forty days before he expired. Another will have it, that *Al Montaser's* principal motive to desire his father's death, and to engage the *Turks* to dispatch him, was the opprobrious treatment he
- c met with from him. For the *Khalif* called his eldest son, by way of mockery and reproach, *Montazber*, or *Montadber*, instead of *Montaser*; by which nickname the former would intimate, that the latter lived in continual hopes of his death. Sometimes likewise *Al Motawakkel* would force the young prince to drink to excess, than which nothing could make him more unpopular or disagreeable to the *Moslems*, and then beat him without the least discretion. Nay, for what had scarce the appearance of a crime, he would make him undergo the most rigorous punishment. Lastly, we are given to understand by some of the oriental historians, that *Al Motawakkel's* assassination was owing to the resentment of *Wasif the Turk*, whom he had appointed captain of his guards, and consequently made him master of his person, and yet was so imprudent as to give him just cause of offence.
- d For he deprived him of some domains that he possessed in the *Persian Irák*, in order to bestow them upon *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, his favourite and *Visir*. But whatever was the true cause of this prince's violent death, it has been observed by the *Moslem* writers, not only that the conspiracy formed against him was discovered a little before *Al Montaser* caused it to be carried into execution, by one of his trusty slaves, but likewise that his tragical exit was clearly predicted to him about the same time by a most strange and wonderful dream<sup>r</sup>.

It has been remarked upon the subject of the sword, or scymitar, given by *Al Motawakkel* to *Bager*, by *Al Bakhteri*, that this *Khalif* having heard much of the excellency of a sword in the city of *Basra*, writ to his governor there to purchase it for him, cost what it would.

- e But the governor, upon inquiry, finding it had been sold, and sent into the province of *Babrein*, informed the *Khalif* that it was not in his power to procure it for him. *Al Motawakkel*, therefore, dispatched a courier thither to buy it at any price that should be demanded for it. His order was executed, and, as soon as the sword came into his hands, he gave it to *Bager*, with the following compliment, *Take this sword; I set no greater value upon it than I do upon you*<sup>s</sup>.

- f ANOTHER oriental author has observed, that this *Khalif* was slain by his son *Al Montaser's* order, upon the very spot where *Khosrû Parvîz*, king of *Persia*, of the *Sassanian* race, had been massacred by the command of his son *Shirûyeh*. His principal physician, *Bakhtishua*, having amassed vast treasures, and *Al Motawakkel* being informed of this, the *Khalif* once invited himself to an entertainment at his house; where being regaled with the utmost magnificence, he conceived an aversion to him, especially as the immense wealth he had acquired by his master's favour and munificence, had rendered him insolent and haughty. This induced that prince to send *Al Hosein Ebn Al Mokballed* to seal up the rooms where his treasures and effects were deposited, and soon after to deprive him of them. *Bakhtishua's* disgrace happened in the year of the *Hegira* 244, and his death in the year 256. Besides *Bakhtishua*, another physician of considerable note, named *Abu Zeid Abd'alrahmân Honain Ebn Ishak Al Ebadi*, a *Christian* likewise, flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Al Motawakkel*. This physician was an *Ebadian*, that is, one of those *Christian Arabs* known by the title of *servants of God*, (for that the words *Al Ebadi*, or *Al Ebadi*, import)

<sup>r</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151, 152. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 261, 262. AUT. TARIKH. AL ABRAS, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI. JAMALO'DDIN, MOHAMMED AL AWLI, MIRKHOND, AL BAKHTERI, EUSYCH. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. <sup>s</sup> AL BAKHTERI.



who were collected from different tribes, and settled in the *Arabian*, *Babylonian*, or *Chaldean Irák*, not far from the cities of *Hira* and *Cúfa*. *Honain*, whose father *Isbak* was an apothecary in the city of *Hira*, having in his youth an uncommon thirst after knowledge, went to the school of *Tabya Ebn Máfwiya*, a celebrated physician of *Baghdád*, for instruction; where he continued for some time. But meeting with contemptuous treatment from *Tabya*, on a certain occasion, he retired into the territories of the *Greek* emperor; where he remained two years, and, during that term, not only learned the *Greek* language, but likewise made a fine collection of books, in order to forward his philosophical studies. After the expiration of that term, he took a journey into *Persia*, from whence he went to *Basra*, a city of the *Persian Irák*, where he attained to great skill in *Arabic*, under the direction of *Al Khalil Ebn Ahmed*, and then returned to *Baghdád*. Here he soon grew so famous, that *Gabriel Ebn Bakhtishua*, universally esteemed for his knowledge, declared to *Yusef*, another physician, that he would excel in every branch of learning *Sergius* of *Rasoulain*, or *Rásalain*, the prodigy of the age, who translated many of the *Greek* authors into *Syriac*. His fame soon reaching the ears of *Al Motawakkel*, that prince sent for him, and was so pleased with his conversation, that he determined to settle a pension upon him. However, as he had resided two years in the *Greek* emperor's dominions, suspecting that he might be carrying on some sinister designs for that monarch, he was afraid at first to trust him; and therefore, in order to try him, after he had ordered him to be clothed in a sumptuous robe, and assigned him an yearly appointment of 50,000 *dinârs*, he commanded him to prepare him a subtle poison, with which he might destroy one of his enemies in so private a manner that no one could suspect him to be the author of his death. This *Honain* refused to do; telling the *Khalif*, that he could only prepare medicines which would be beneficial to mankind; however, he assured that prince, in order to gain time, that he would study the nature of poisons, if he could once understand that such a study would prove agreeable to him. The *Khalif* not being able, either by promises or menaces to prevail upon him to do what he desired, sent him immediately to prison, where he kept him confined a whole year; after the end of which, he ordered him to be brought before him, and threatened him with immediate death, if he persisted in his refusal to obey his commands. But he still remained inflexible; which so pleased *Al Motawakkel*, that he bad him be of good courage, and told him that he should now repose the greatest confidence in him. Afterwards demanding of him what could inspire him with such an amazing resolution, when death did as it were stare him in the face? "Two things," replied *Honain*, "my religion and my profession. The former commands me to do good to my enemies, and much more not to hurt my friends. The latter was instituted solely for the benefit and advantage of mankind; and, at my entrance upon it, I took a solemn oath never to be concerned in any mischievous or lethiferous preparations." This answer charmed the *Khalif*, who made him a present of a rich vest, together with a very considerable sum of money; so that he seemed to be, for some time, one of the happiest of mortals, as he enjoyed so large a share of *Al Motawakkel's* favour. However, one *Al Tifiri*, a *Christian*, envying his happiness, found means to accuse him of profaneness and infidelity to the *Khalif*, and to excite the superior clergy to prosecute him for the same; which terminated in an excommunication. This so affected *Honain*, that he died suddenly the following night; having, as was generally believed, put a period to his days by poison. He left behind him two sons, *Dawd* and *Isbak*; the latter of which applied himself to the study of philosophy, and translated some of the best *Greek* writers, and the former practised physic, after his father's death, amongst the lower sort of people. He had likewise a nephew, named *Hobaisb Ebn Al Asam*, who had an excellent talent at translations; inasmuch that his *Arabic* version of several *Greek* and *Syriac* authors has been justly admired by many learned men of the east, and by some of them even ascribed to *Honain* himself. This celebrated physician, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, translated into *Arabic Euclid*, and *Ptolemy's Almagest*, which were afterwards revised and corrected by *Thâbet Ebn Korra* the *Subian*. His scholars are also said to have translated into the same language the greatest part of the works of *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, and to have published this version under their master's name. Some writers likewise attribute to him and his son the *Arabic* translation of *Aristotle's Analytics*, and his treatise of *Interpretation*, intitled by the *Arabs Anothica* and *Bari Arminias*; which words are manifest corruptions of the *Greek*. In the *French king's* library, N° 866, several of *Honain's* pieces, namely, the *Kesaiat Al Naik*, the *Hawasbi Messail Al Hakim Honain*, &c. are still preserved. It appears from *Ebn Shobnah*, that *Honain's* excommunication by the patriarch for his irreverence to certain sacred pictures, or images, and consequently his death, which immediately followed that tragical event, happened in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'tamed*, and the year of the *Hejra* 260, or 261.

THE

<sup>1</sup> AL MASUDI, GREG. ABU'L FAR, ubi sup. p. 262—267. EBN SHOBNAH, D'HERBEL, Biblioth. orient. art.



- a THE reign of this *Khalif* is called by the oriental historians *the reign of prodigies*. The *Many prodigies in this prince's reign.* earthquakes in various parts of the world during that period, and the strange effects produced by some of the dreadful concussions attending them, already taken notice of, have been considered by those writers as part of them. Besides which, many others, and particularly one in the country of *Kairwân*, the *Cyrenaica* of the antients, wherein the earth opened and swallowed up a vast number of people, as also another in *Yaman*, during which a large ploughed field was carried from the top of a hill to a place at a considerable distance from it, without losing an inch of ground, have been mentioned by *Ebn Jûzi*. We are likewise informed by *Ebn Abu'l Weza*, that a strange bird, bigger than a raven, perched upon a tree in the same country, and, in the hearing of many people, distinctly pronounced the following words, *Serve and fear God, God, God*, which it repeated forty times, and then flew away; but soon after returned and pronounced the same words forty times more. The truth and reality of which facts were attested by 500 persons who heard them, and were brought before *Al Motawakkel* for that purpose. *Ebn Al Jala* also writes, that in *Khûzestân*, a bird placed itself upon the bier of a man, whom some of his neighbours were carrying to his grave, and cried out in the language of that province, *ALMIGHTY God have mercy upon this dead person, and all that assist in his interment*. The water of the *Tigris* likewise at *Baghdâd*, once in this prince's reign, continued for three days together as yellow as melted gold, and then assumed the colour of blood, which remained a much longer time. At *Sowida*, a small town, in *Egypt*, it hailed stones of a monstrous size, every one of which weighed ten *Arab* pounds. Nor was the nature of these stones less wonderful than their size. For, an *Arab* having taken one of them, in order to make a fire with it in his tent, so violent a flame immediately issued out of it, that the whole tent, and every thing combustible in it, were consumed in an instant. Some of these stones are said to have been preserved at *Kairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, and *Betlis* in *Georgia*, a long time after. A *Persian* author relates, that two men in *Egypt* having been struck down to the ground by lightening, about the same time, they both continued black from head to foot all the remaining part of their lives, without having received any other damage therefrom<sup>u</sup>.
- b
- c

- d THIS *Khalif* issued at least two edicts against the *Christians* settled in the *Moslem* empire, He issued two edicts against the Christians. as has been already observed; one of which has been considered as the effect of his resentment against *Bakhtishua*, his physician, who professed the *Christian* religion, by some of the eastern writers; though he seems to have persecuted the followers and descendants of *Ali* with a much greater degree of violence. In his reign, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, ordered all the images of saints in the churches to be destroyed; which induced *Sophronius*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, and one *Abu Korra*, an *Arab*, to write in defence of image-worship; though others, with an invincible strength of reasoning, maintained the contrary opinion. The former of these learned men sent a letter to the emperor, containing the reasons that obliged him to disapprove of his conduct in the aforesaid particular; which, according to some, had such an effect upon that prince, that he immediately revoked his former edict. *Sophronius* died of a dropsy, in the 233d year of the *Hejra*, and was succeeded by one *Michael*, a native of *Alexandria*, who sat in the patriarchal see there, according to *Eutychius*, about twenty-four years. The same author relates, that the emperor had a distaste given him to images by the pious fraud of a priest, who, by means of a leaden tube made the people believe, that the breasts of an image of the virgin *Mary* dropped milk; which pretended miracle procured from the populace an uncommon degree of reverence for that image, and no small accession of wealth to the priest himself; but the imposture being detected, the emperor was so incensed, that he commanded him to be beheaded, and forbade his subjects to worship either the images or pictures of saints; which, for some time, he considered as downright idolatry. To which we may add, that this event seems to have preceded a few years the *Khalif's* first edict against the *Christians*; and that not long after the emperor had abolished the worship of images, he relapsed into that species of idolatry. This, therefore, being so extremely repugnant to the turn and genius of the *Mohammedans*, probably excited the *Khalif* to discover an ill disposition to the *Christians* in the year of the *Hejra* 235. For, the disgrace of *Bakhtishua* happened, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, in the year of the *Hejra* 244; and therefore could not occasion the publication of the aforesaid edict, notwithstanding what may seem to be insinuated to the contrary by *Eutychius*, who, perhaps, industriously concealed the true cause of that affair<sup>w</sup>.
- e
- f

art. *Honain*, p. 456, & art. *Ebadi*, p. 307.

<sup>u</sup> *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG.*

*ABU'L FAR, &c. ubi sup. EBN JUZI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164. EBN ABU'L WEZA, EBN AL JALA, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI,*

<sup>w</sup> *D'HERB. Biblioth. orient. art.*

*Motawakkel*, p. 640. *GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 262, 263. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 448—453. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 152, 153.*



Description of  
Al Motawak-  
kel's person  
and character.

WITH regard to *Al Motawakkel's* person, he was tall, of a thin habit of body, and had a swarthy complexion. He had, however, a handsome face, in which a reddish and yellowish hue appeared, a middling beard, and eyes of a larger size. As to his disposition, he was, if we may believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, extremely affable, munificent, and of great condescension. He was also a vast encourager of learned men, insomuch that prodigious numbers of them resorted to his court. In this, he followed the example of his great predecessor *Al Mamûn*, of whose uncommon passion for the sciences, particularly geometry and astronomy, the following remarkable instance has been handed down to us by *Cedrenus*. A young Greek having been taken prisoner by the *Arabs*, and brought by the officer whose slave he was into the *Khalif's* presence, that prince's geometricians, who likewise then appeared, immediately entered into a conference with him; but the youth proving in knowledge infinitely superior to them, they asked him whether there were any more geometricians at *Bizantium* as good as himself? To which he answered, that there were many there who vastly excelled him, and particularly his master *Leo*, then in poor circumstances, who applied himself solely to the study of the sciences. The *Khalif*, extremely desirous of having so celebrated a mathematician at his court, gave the Greek his liberty, and sent him with a letter to *Leo*, then at *Constantinople*, or *Bizantium*, to invite him into his dominions; offering at the same time to load him with presents, and settle what pension he pleased upon him, if he would undertake to instruct his subjects in those sciences, in which he so eminently excelled. This letter *Leo* shewed to *Theodistus*; and he immediately communicated the contents of it to *Theophilus*, who then sat upon the imperial throne. The emperor, being by this means made acquainted with *Leo's* uncommon merit, constituted him professor of those branches of literature he was master of, and converted the church of the *forty martyrs* into a school, or gymnasium, where he exercised the great talents he was master of for the public good. After this, *Al Mamûn* sent a considerable number of geometrical and astronomical problems, besides several relative to other sciences, of all which he soon received from him a most accurate and satisfactory solution. This so raised the advantageous idea the *Khalif* had already formed to himself of *Leo's* transcendent merit, that he sent an ambassador to the imperial court, to desire the emperor to permit that learned man to reside a short time with him. For which favour the ambassador offered *Theophilus*, in his master's name, a large sum of money, and to enter into a lasting treaty of peace and alliance with him. But the emperor, being unwilling that the *Arabs* should make a figure in the learned world, refused to comply with *Al Mamûn's* request, and created *Leo* bishop of *Thessalonica*. However, this sufficiently demonstrates that *Khalif's* thirst after knowledge, and confirms the character given of this prince, at least in the particular here insisted upon, by the oriental historians \*.

Some farther  
particulars re-  
lating to him.

THE *Khalif Al Motawakkel* reigned fourteen years and seven months, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, or fourteen years, nine months, and nine days, if we will believe *Eutychius*, or, lastly, fourteen years, ten months, and three days, if we chuse to admit what has been advanced by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. According to the first and last of these authors, he was forty years of age at the time of his death; but *Eutychius* makes him to have been forty-four years old when that tragical event happened. In the tenth year of his *Khalifat*, he made *Salmûn Ebn Zarkûn* patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who sat in that see about five years. The first of his *Visirs* was *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*; after whose death, *Mohammed Ebn Al Fadl Al Forjâni* was called to that high post. And, lastly, *Al Forjâni* was succeeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Kbâkân*, who, as some writers will have it, was the *Khalif's* principal secretary of state. The first employed by this prince in the capacity of judge was *Yahya Ebn Asem*, whom he turned out of his office, and deprived him of all the money he had therein acquired, which amounted to the sum of 100,000 *dinârs*. After *Yahya's* disgrace, he advanced to that honourable employment *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Al Barbarmi*, and then *Jaafar Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Al Hasbemi*. He removed from the exalted post that had been conferred upon him *Ahmed Ebn Dawd*, who had been so instrumental in his elevation to the *Khalifat*. The first captain of his guards was *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*, and the second *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, who was sent for out of *Khorasân*. His first chamberlain was *Wasîf*, the Turk, his second *Sa'id Ebn Sâleh*, and his third *Bagâ*, or *Bogâ*, the Turk. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The inscription of the seal was, *In God is my trust*. It has been already observed, that *Fatah Ebn Kbâkân*, his principal favourite, was assassinated with him †.

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 247. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ. compend. p. 548—550. † GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 261. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 247. D'HERDEEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 641. 642.



## S E C T. XXXII.

- <sup>a</sup> IT appears from what has been related above, that the night *Al Motawakkel* was massacred <sup>Al Montaser</sup> the assassins saluted his son *Mohammed Abu Jaafar Al Montaser*, or, as he is commonly <sup>saluted</sup> called, *Al Montaser Bi'llah, Khalif*. The next morning the new emperor of the faithful assembled all the great officers of the court, and the principal inhabitants of the city of *Al Jaafariya*, built by the late *Khalif*, who had been murdered there, and ordered *Abmed Ebn Al Khasib* to read to them a declaration he had caused to be drawn up, importing that he had no hand in his father's death, but that this ought to be imputed to his favourite *Fatab Ebn Khakan*, whom he had ordered to be cut to pieces for being guilty of so black a crime. After which, he was inaugurated, and all the persons of distinction present took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother *Habasha*, one of *Al Motawakkel's* concubines, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was of *Greek* extraction. <sup>b</sup> Soon after his inauguration, he demolished the palace *Al Jaafariya*, erected by his father, and retired into *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, where he resided during the remainder of his short reign. Some of the *Moslem* writers pretend, that *Al Montaser*, not long after his accession, looking upon a piece of tapestry curiously wrought, discovered thereon a person on horseback with a diadem about his head, and round it a *Persic* inscription, which he commanded a *Persian* then belonging to his court to explain. The *Persian*, continue these authors, would willingly have evaded obeying the *Khalif's* command; but finding this impracticable, he told *Al Montaser*, that the horseman he saw was *Shiruyeh*, the son of *Khosru Parviz*, who slew his father; and that the inscription was to the following effect: *I am Shiruyeh, the son of Khosru Parviz, who slew my father, and reigned only six months.* <sup>c</sup> *Al Montaser* no sooner heard these words than he changed countenance; considering the whole affair as ominous, and amounting to a prediction that his reign should not exceed that term. Which prediction, if we will believe the *Arab* historians, met with a full and absolute completion. *Abu Othman Becr Ebn Mohammed Al Mazeni*, a celebrated grammarian famed for his skill in the *Arabic* tongue, died the present year. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Mondar*, the son of *Mohammed, Khalif* of *Spain*, invaded the province of *Alava*, where he overthrew the *Christian* forces, and brought a great number of heads with him to *Corduba*; and that *Al Abbâs*, the second *Aglabite Emir* of *Sicily*, who was succeeded by his son *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, elected by the people *Emir*, till the *Khalif* of *Kairwan's* pleasure was known, died in the year of the *Hejra* 247<sup>2</sup>.
- <sup>d</sup> THE next year, being the 248th of the *Moslem* æra, beginning *March* 7th, 862, *Bogâ Al Kabir*, *Boga Al Saghir*, *Bagher*, or *Bager*, *Wasif*, and the other officers of the *Turkish* guards, <sup>He excludes his brothers from the succession.</sup> concerned in the assassination of *Al Motawakkel*, held a council amongst themselves, and, in order to avoid being brought to condign punishment for the perpetration of so horrid a crime, resolved to oblige the new *Khalif* to exclude his brothers *Al Mo'taz*, or rather *Al Mo'tazz*, and *Al Mowaiad* from the succession; being convinced that either of those princes would take vengeance of them for his father's death, if ever he should ascend the *Moslem* throne. But the *Khalif's* brothers, having been apprized of the violence with which they were threatened, went of their own accord to *Al Montaser*, and resigned with a good grace their right to the crown after his decease. This is the account of the affair, at present in view, handed down to us by <sup>e</sup> some of the *Persian* historians: tho' the *Arab* writers represent this resignation, or abdication, as the effect of compulsion. Be that as it will, the *Khalif* immediately notified this event to *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâker Ebn Hosein*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*; intimating at the same time, that the two princes themselves desired to be permitted always to live a private life, as their abilities were by no means equal to the government of so large and extensive an empire. Notwithstanding which, he considered the *Turkish* officers, who had imbrued their hands in his father's blood, according to some of the *Arab* writers, as the principal authors of this measure; and even told his brothers themselves, in the very presence of those officers, that they had impelled him to it. After which, he dispatched couriers with advice of what had happened to all the governors of the provinces in the empire. Some historians report, that the rich tapestry above-mentioned, which threw *Al Montaser* into such a consternation, was found in his father's wardrobe, and had formerly belonged to the ancient kings of *Persia*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *AL MONTASER*, not long after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, saw his father *Al Motawakkel* in a dream, who reproached him with his parricide, and told him, that he should <sup>Al Montaser dies.</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151, 153, 154. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 267. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 456, 457. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Montasser, p. 622. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxvii. p. 24. Excerpt. ex chronol. univers. ISM. ABU'LFED. ex cod. Arab. MS. Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Escorial. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 18. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 154. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 267. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 456, 457.*



not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, in the following terms: “*Mohammed*, thou hast  
 “ killed me, thou hast oppressed me, thou hast deprived me of the *Khalifat*, which thou  
 “ shalt in a short time leave, and then enter into eternal fire.” This dream so frightened the  
*Khalif*, that he immediately awaked in the utmost terror, burst out into tears, and made the  
 palace ring with his lamentations. This soon brought to him *Abd’allah Ebn Amru*, to whom  
 he related his frightful dream; who told him, that these nocturnal horrors were only the  
 effects of his waking thoughts, and bad him slight them as much as possible. In order to  
 which, he farther advised him to take a chearful glass, and to drive away all pensive thoughts  
 by a round of his favourite diversions; which he accordingly for some time attempted to do.  
 But notwithstanding this, he gradually fell into a deep melancholy, which at last put a  
 period to his days; tho’ he died of a squinancy on *Sunday* the fifth of the later *Rabi*, accord-  
 ing to *Abu’l Faraj*, after he had been ill only three days. Some authors pretend, that he was  
 carried off by poison; and others, by an ulcer in his head, caused by dropping some oil into  
 one of his ears. He expired on the 25th day of the former *Rabi*, if we will believe *Abu*  
*Jaafar Al Tabari*. Another writer assures us, that he died of a fever; of which when his  
 physician said he could easily cure him, he replied, *I greatly fear this will be the last sickness I*  
*shall ever have, as I saw a person in a dream last night, who declared to me that I should die in*  
*the twenty-fifth year of my age.* This person, as he found afterwards, was his father, whose  
 nocturnal apparition to him in a dream has been already taken notice of. The death of this  
*Khalif* happened at *Sarramawraia*, where, from the sixth day of his short reign, he chose to  
 reside <sup>b</sup>.

*A remarkable story of him.* MIRKHOND writes, that this *Khalif* was extremely liberal to his friends; of which he gives  
 us the following singular instance. One of his officers being returned from *Egypt*, where  
 he had acquitted himself perfectly well in an office he was intrusted with, and entertaining  
 his master with an account of the various adventures he had met with in that country,  
 amongst other things told him, that he had brought with him from thence a wounded heart,  
 because he could not purchase, for want of money, a female slave of exquisite beauty and a  
 most charming voice. The *Khalif* heard him without making any reply; but being deter-  
 mined to gratify him, he gave orders privately to the governor of *Egypt* to buy that slave,  
 and send her to *Samarra* as soon as possible. Upon her arrival there, she was immediately  
 conducted to the palace; whither the *Khalif* invited the officer a few days after, in order  
 to rally him upon his amours. He no sooner appeared in his master’s presence, than he  
 heard the voice of his beloved slave in the next room; which put him instantly out of coun-  
 tenance. The *Khalif* asked him the reason of his confusion, and whether he knew the voice  
 he heard? Upon which, he frankly owned, that he took it to be the voice of the beautiful  
 slave he had formerly mentioned to him. *Al Montaser* then demanded of him, whether he  
 still preserved his affection for her? To which he answered, that “as he could not enter-  
 “ tain the least hopes of ever possessing her, he ought to lay aside his passion for her,  
 “ especially as she was become his master’s property.” The *Khalif* very generously said  
 to him, “I can assure you with an oath, that I have purchased this beautiful slave in *Egypt*  
 “ for no other person than yourself, and that I have only cast one glance at her since her  
 “ arrival at the palace.” Which words were no sooner out of his mouth, than he com-  
 manded her to be put into the officer’s hands, adorned with all those jewels he had given her,  
 in order to make her a more valuable present to him <sup>c</sup>.

*A pleasant occurrence in his reign.* IT was in this *Khalif*’s reign, that an *Arab*, seated on a little hill in the neighbourhood  
 of *Mecca*, held unlawful assemblies at his house, in order to debauch the youth of both sexes,  
 whom he suffered to mix together promiscuously there, in direct opposition to the *Moham-*  
*medan* laws. This man was brought before the judge of *Mecca*, who, after he had reproach-  
 ed him with his unparalleled impudence in daring to be guilty of such lewdness so near the  
 holy place, began immediately to draw up his process; not doubting in the least of the  
 truth of a fact which was become so notorious to all the people of the territory of *Mecca*.  
 But as none of his accomplices would appear against him, the judge found himself greatly  
 embarrassed for want of evidence. However, he at last hit upon an expedient, which he  
 thought would infallibly convict him; and that was to try whether any of those public  
 beasts made use of by the people who set out every day from one particular place to that  
 part of the mountain where this *Arab* lived, would of themselves find the way to his house.  
 The experiment was made on some asses, the beasts principally used in this country, that  
 went directly of their own accord to the spot inhabited by the *Arab*, tho’ this was of itself  
 extremely difficult to be discovered. The judge having now, as he imagined, full proof  
 of his guilt, sent for the executioner to chastise him, who immediately appeared with the  
 whips or scourges in his hand. The *Arab*, who did not want wit, at the sight of him, be-  
 gan <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *ABU JA'AFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 154, 155. D'HERBEI. Biblio h. orient. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABU'A. JAAFAR AL KAZWINI, KLONDEMIR. MIRKHOND.*



a thought himself of a pleasant sort of finesse, in order to avoid the chastisement with which he was threatened. Turning himself then to the judge, he said, *When you have slay'd me alive with your whips, you will have punished only one guilty person; but, by such an action, you will reflect an eternal ignominy upon the whole Arab nation. For it will be ever said of them hereafter, that, when the evidence of men could not be produced, they admitted that of asses.* The company were so pleased with the humour of the man, that it was the opinion of every one present that he ought to be pardoned; so that he was instantly dismissed, without having any punishment at all inflicted upon him <sup>d</sup>.

WITH regard to his person, *Al Montaser* was of a middle stature, and had very large black eyes. He had also an aquiline nose, a majestic mein, a large beard, was extremely fat, and of a fair complexion. As to his disposition, he is reported to have been naturally brave, prudent, and just, but too great a lover of money. Some of the *Arab* writers observe, that he had a taste for poetry, and made tolerable good verses, a specimen of which has been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. He reigned only six months, and had scarce completed the 25th year of his age, tho' *Eutychius* supposes him to have been three years older, at the time of his death. Not only the lower sort of people, but even the grandees themselves, gave out publicly, from his first advancement to the *Moslem* throne, that he would not reign longer than six months, the time that *Sairūch*, the son of *Khosrū Parvīz*, survived his father; which renders it probable that he was poisoned, as we find asserted by some of the *Arab* historians. He favoured the house of *Ali*, and permitted the *Shiites* to visit *Al Hosein's* tomb. His *Vizir* was *Abmed Ebn Al Khasib*, the captain of his guards *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thāber*, his judge *Jaafar Al Abbāsi*, and his first chamberlain *Abu Nāser*, the *Turk*. The first day of his reign was either *Wednesday* or *Thursday*, and the last *Saturday*. The inscription of his seal was, *The person who endeavours to avoid fear necessarily takes it to him*. He died, and was interred, at *Sarra Manray*, and had a more beautiful sepulchre, erected for him by his mother, than even the most famed and eminent of his predecessors <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 622, 623.

<sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 135. GREG. ABU'L FAR. EUTYCH. & ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERB. ubi sup.

## S E C T. XXXIII.

d THE day after *Al Montaser's* death, the two *Bogā's*, father and son, *Atāmesh*, and the other principal *Turkish* officers, who had been concerned in the murder of *Al Motawakkel*, assembled in that part of the metropolis denominated *Al Harūniā*, and, after coming to a resolution never to vest with the imperial dignity any of that prince's sons, lest they should be called to an account for their former villainy, unanimously elevated to the *Khalifat* *Abmed Abu'l Abbās Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'tasem*, who was surnamed *Al Mosta'in*, or *Al Mosta'in Bīllah*. This step was taken apparently to the prejudice of *Al Mo'tazz*, second son to the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, to whom the right of succession most evidently appertained. But the *Turkish* faction having acquired a great degree of power, by the credit which *Boga Al Kabir*, *Boga Al Saghir*, *Wasif*, *Bagher*, or *Bager*, and their other chiefs, had obtained in all the provinces, they carried all before them; insomuch that *Al Mo'tazz's* party was intirely borne down, and *Al Mosta'in* whose mother *Mahārif*, or, as others call her, *Makhārek*, had served his father in the capacity of concubine, soon found himself in peaceful possession of the empire, and was universally acknowledged the sole, true, and lawful *Khalif* <sup>f</sup>.

e THE election of the new *Khalif* happened on *Monday* the 6th day of the latter *Rabī*, in the year of the *Hejra* 248; he being then, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, about 28 years of age, and receiving at the same time from the electors the surname of *Al Mosta'in Bīllah*. As soon as the election was over, he appointed *Atāmesh* his *Vizir*, or *Wazir*, and *Abmed Ebn Al Khasib* his secretary of state. The day following he, shewed himself to the people, in his imperial robes, who were ranged in two lines to receive him. But the *Khalif* no sooner appeared, than there suddenly started up a body of 50 horse, and 1000 foot, with their scymitars drawn in their hands, crying out with all their might, *Long live Al Mo'tazz!* upon which a very smart conflict ensued. But *Al Mo'tazz's* friends being at last defeated, and for the most part cut to pieces, *Al Mosta'in* was fixed upon the *Moslem* throne. That prince no sooner found himself without a competitor, than he sent to prison *Al Mo'tazz* and *Al Mowaiad*, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel's* sons. About this time, *Yakūb Ebn Al Leit*, or *Al Lit*, moved out of *Sejestān* towards *Herāt*, with a considerable body of troops; and the people of *Hems* drove the *Khalif's* governor out of the town. The present year likewise, according to *Abu'lfeda*,

<sup>f</sup> KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 155, 156. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 268. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 456—459.



*Bogá Al Kabír*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Ola Al Hamadani*, departed this life. We must not forget to observe, that the citizens of *Merida*, the antient *Emerita*, rebelled also this year against *Mohammed*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*; who marched against them with a powerful army, obliged them to surrender at discretion, destroyed their bridge, dismantled their city, forced them to send a number of hostages to *Gorduba*, and, in order the more effectually to keep them in their duty, left amongst them a detachment of his troops<sup>e</sup>.

The Turkish troops in the Khalif's service mutiny.

THE following year, being the 249th of the *Hejra*, commencing February 24th, 863, the *Greeks* overthrew the *Arabs* at *Marj Al Askaf*, and put *Omer Ebn Abd'allah Al Aktab*, their general, together with a great number of his men, to the sword; which enabled them to make incursions into the *Moslem* territories, as far as the borders of *Mesopotamia*. The *Turkish* troops also in the *Khalif's* service mutinied, and cut to pieces *Atâmesb*, *Al Mosta'in's* *Visir*, and *Seja' Ebn Al Hâtem*, another person of distinction belonging to the court. They also plundered *Atâmesb's* house, and carried off with them from thence an immense treasure. To these outrages they were excited by *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, their leaders, who were dissatisfied with *Atâmesb's* conduct; he having, at least as they pretended, set the *Khalif* against them, and excluded them from a share in the administration. These enormities occasioned a commotion at *Baghdâd*, where the populace assembled in great numbers, burnt one of the bridges over the *Tigris*, and demolished the other, opened all the prisons in that city, pillaged the houses of the wealthiest inhabitants, and distributed the money that fell into their hands on this occasion amongst the forces posted, for the defence of the frontiers, at a considerable distance from the town. The troops likewise in garison at *Baghdâd*, enraged at the *Turkish* insolence, about the same time committed great disorders<sup>b</sup>.

A rebellion breaks out at Cûfa.

IN the 250th year of the *Hejra*, beginning February 13th, 864, *Yahya Ebn Omar Ebn Yahya*, of the house of *Ali*, assembled a body of troops at *Cûfa*, and declared his intention to dethrone *Al Mosta'in*. Upon advice of this revolt, the *Khalif* sent *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Al Hosein* with an army against *Yahya*; who coming up with him not far from *Cûfa*, attacked him with such bravery, that he put his forces to flight. *Yahya* himself was killed in the action, and his head sent by *Mohammed* to *Al Mosta'in*, who caused it to be exposed to the view of the people in one of the most publick places of *Sarra Manray*. This defeat, and the death of *Yahya*, extinguished the rebellion that had broke out in *Arabian Irâk*. The troubles, however, continued at *Baghdâd*<sup>c</sup>.

Another rebellion in Tabrestân.

SOME of the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot* relate, that one *Hasan Ebn Yezid*, another chief of the house of *Ali*, rebelled against the *Khalif*, and seized upon the province of *Tabrestân*, the same year. This usurper, according to those writers, remained master of that province nineteen whole years, and left it to his brother *Mohammed Kasem*, or *Kassem*, who succeeded him, and kept possession of it eighteen years, without any molestation from the *Khalifs*. This usurper is called *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, by *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; the former of which writers placed his defection in the 250th, and the latter in the 251st, year of the *Moslem* æra. About this time, the people of *Hems* cut *Al Fadl Ebn Karân*, the *Khalif's* governor of that city, to pieces; but they were defeated by *Mûsa Ebn Boga Al Kabír*, his successor, who put a vast number of them to the sword, and laid their city in ashes. The preceding year, died *Ali Ebn Al Jabm*, a poet of considerable note; as did also about this time, *Al Kbâli*, another of equal merit. The *Moslems* reduced the city of *Neetum*, the *Noto* of the moderns, called by the *Arabs* *Natis*, in *Sicily* the present year<sup>d</sup>.

Al Mosta'in flies to Baghdâd.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 251, the first day of which was coincident with February 2d, 865, the *Turks*, who had made themselves masters of all the forces of the empire, and by that means intirely influenced the *Khalif's* councils, were divided into two powerful factions. *Bagher*, or *Bager*, one of their leaders, having had some dispute with *Wasîf*, another of them, applied to the *Khalif* for justice; who was so far from complying with his request, that he openly favoured his antagonist. This so exasperated *Bagher*, that he assembled his friends, with a resolution to assassinate *Wasîf*, and depose *Al Mosta'in*, in order to elevate in his place another *Khalif*, that should be more favourable to him. But this conspiracy being discovered, the *Khalif* caused *Bagher* to be arrested in the imperial palace; of which the *Turks* being apprized, they immediately took up arms, under the pretext of delivering their general out of his enemies hands. This obliged *Al Mosta'in* to hold an extraordinary council, at which assisted *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, two of the other *Turkish* commanders; who, being interested in *Bagher's* destruction, advised the *Khalif* to put him to death. This advice was readily listened to, *Al Mosta'in* thinking by that execution to appease the seditious spirit of

<sup>e</sup> KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 268. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 631. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. apud JOAN BAPTIST CARUS. ubi sup. p. 9. PHIL. CLOVER. Sic. arab. lib. ii. p. 357.



- a the *Turkish* soldiery. But it produced a quite contrary effect. For the *Turks*, being rendered more furious by the death of their chief, pillaged the city of *Sarra Manray*, and threatened to set fire to the palace, if *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, who had been the author of that general's death, were not immediately delivered into their hands. Those officers seeing themselves reduced to such an extremity, could find no other expedient at that critical juncture, to avoid the fury of their own troops, than to carry off their master with them to *Baghdâd*; which they accordingly did. The mutineers being informed of what had happened, repented of the violence they had committed, and sent deputies after *Al Mosta'in* to intreat him to return to his capital. But *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*, being extremely pleased that he had got the *Khalîf* in his hands, and hating the *Turks*, as did also
- b both the garison and people of *Baghdâd*, received them very ill, and obliged them to return to *Sarra Manray* without having seen the *Khalîf*. This so irritated the *Turks*, that they had again recourse to arms, by their own proper authority deposed *Al Mosta'in*, and placed *Al Mo'tazz*, *Al Montaser's* brother, whom they took out of prison for that purpose, upon the *Moslem* throne. Some of the *Arab* authors call *Bagher Taaz*, and inform us, that he was massacred by *Wasîf*, *Bogâ*, and other persons of distinction, because he had possessed himself of the imperial palace with a design to assassinate both them and *Al Mosta'in*. This year the *Christians* worsted the *Moslems* in an action by sea, off *Syracuse*, and took four of their ships. It was with great difficulty that the *Khalîf Al Mosta'in* made his escape in a small vessel from *Sarra Manray*, seated on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, to *Baghdâd* <sup>1</sup>.
- c THE *Khalîf Al Mo'tazz*, after he had settled himself upon the *Moslem* throne, sent his brother *Abmed Ebn Motawakkel* with an army to lay siege to *Baghdâd*. *Abmed* began his march from *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, on the 23d of the month *Al Moharram*, and, upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*, besieged the place in form. His army, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was not extremely numerous, the principal part of it consisting of no more than 5000 *Turkish* and *Faraonian*, or *Egyptian* horse, and 2000 *Magrebians*, or western *Arabs*; though, if we will believe *Abu'l feda*, it amounted to 50,000 men. *Al Mosta'in* for some time defended himself with great bravery, made several successful sallies on the besiegers, and destroyed a considerable number of their men. Nay, he would, in all probability, have forced *Abmed* to abandon the siege, had he not been betrayed by those in whom he was obliged
- d the most to confide. For, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*, in order to provide for his own security, thought fit to propose an accommodation to *Abmed*; which was at last concluded upon the following terms, viz. that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* should remain in peaceable possession of his government; and that *Al Mosta'in*, on condition his life was granted him, should abdicate the *Khalîfat*. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* being apprized, that *Al Mosta'in* had engaged *Bogâ* and *Wasîf* to assassinate him, came to an immediate resolution to desert the party of that prince. Be that, however, as it will, as soon as *Al Mo'tazz* had signed and ratified the aforesaid treaty, *Al Mosta'in* formally renounced all pretensions to the *Khalîfat*, and contented himself with a living private life in the magnificent palace of *Hasan Ebn Sohal* at *Baghdâd*, which was assigned him for his residence. This happened in the year of the *Hejra* 252. He was afterwards removed to *Al Hasan Ebn Wabeh's* palace at *Basra*, and there straitly confined. From thence he was sent to *Wâset*, and committed to the custody of *Abmed Ebn Tolûn*; who, as some will have it, murdered him by the *Khalîf's* command, in the month of *Shawâl*, the same year. Others affirm, that *Sa'id*, *Al Mo'tazz's* principal chamberlain, dispatched him at *Kâdesia*; cut off his head, and immediately sent it as an agreeable present to his master. And, lastly, others believe that he was cut off by *Sa'id*, *Al Mo'tazz's* *Vizir*, soon after his abdication, in the imperial city of *Sarra Manray*. Those who make *Abmed Ebn Tolûn* his executioner relate, that his head was transmitted to the *Khalîf* at *Sarra Manray*; and that when the messenger appeared with
- f it in that prince's presence, he was playing at chess, and would not vouchsafe to look at it till he had finished his game; after which, he for some time beheld it with great pleasure, and then ordered it to be buried. *Al Mosta'in* reigned three years, nine months, and a few days, if we will believe the *Arab* historians; tho' his reign has likewise been extended by *Khondemir* to the length of almost four complete years. With regard to his person, *Al Mosta'in* was fat, of a comely aspect, and had a black beard. As to his disposition, he was mild, indolent, extremely fearful, and intirely governed by the people about him. His first *Vizir* was *Atâmesh*, and his secretary of state *Abmed Ebn Al Khasîb*. His favourites *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, who at last deserted him, had an uncommon ascendant over him. His general *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* abandoned his interests in the manner already related. His judges *Abmed Ebn Abu'l Shawârib Al Amawî* and *Mohammed Ebn Wazîr Al Wâsetî* made

<sup>1</sup> KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 156, 157. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EGTICH. ubi sup. p. 458—461. CHRONIC. SICUL. ARAB. CAMBRIGIENS. & CAEUS. ubi sup. GOLII not. 2d Afragan. p. 230, 231.



no very considerable figure. In the last year of his reign, one *Sanitius* is said to have been advanced to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and to have presided over the church there eleven years. In the first year of his *Khalifat*, *Theodorus*, called by the *Al Moklâti*, was also constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and sat in that see nineteen years. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mosta'in*'s abdication was attested by his own judges, and all the principal citizens of *Baghdâd* <sup>m</sup>.

Rebellion in  
Tabrestân.

THE same year, that is, the 252d of the *Hejra*, *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, of the posterity of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, rebelled against the *Khalîf* in *Tabrestân*, and made himself master of that province. Several smart actions happened between him and *Solimân Ebn Abd'allah*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah*, *Thâber*'s lieutenant there. But at last *Solimân* intirely defeated him, put a vast number of his followers to the sword, and obliged him to fly with great precipitation into *Deylam* <sup>n</sup>.

Another in  
Deylam and  
Arabia.

Not long after, another pretender, an *Arab* of *Al Thalabiya*, named *Al Hasan Ebn Ahmed Ebn Ismael Ebn Ibrahim*, one of *Ali*'s descendants, set up for himself in *Deylam*, routed the forces sent against him, and possessed himself of their camp. Not content with this, he penetrated to *Medina*, drove the governor out of the town, and obliged the inhabitants to open their gates to him. From *Medina* he marched at the head of his troops to *Mecca*, and besieged that city two months; but finding himself not able to carry the place, he retired to *Jodda*, cut off all communication between the *Meccans* and that port, and so infested the roads that it was not safe to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. However, he soon returned thither, massacred great numbers of the citizens who were assembled on mount *Arafat*, on the ninth of *Dbu'lhajja*, in order to perform their devotions there, and forced many others, after he had plundered them, to abandon the place before they had gone through the prescribed ceremonies. But death soon put an end to all his towering projects, and dispersed his numerous followers in such a manner, that not the faintest traces of this rebellion ever afterwards appeared <sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157, 158, 159. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 631, 632. <sup>n</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157. <sup>o</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157, 158. GOLII not. ad Afragan. p. 100.

## S E C T. XXXIV.

Al Mo'tazz  
elected Khalîf.

UPON the abdication of *Al Mosta'in*, *Mohammed Abu Abd'allah Al Mo'tazz Ebn Al Motawakkel* was unanimously acknowledged emperor of the *Moslems*, on the fourth of *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 252; both the *Turks* and the *Arabs*, without the least scruple, recognizing his authority. His mother's name was *Fatîba*. When he was fixed upon the throne, without any danger of a competitor, he called his brother *Al Mowaiad* again to the succession, though he soon after, upon a bare suspicion only, deprived him of his right, and sent him to prison. It is true, *Al Mowaiad* had a strong party in the empire, that would undoubtedly have declared for him, had he intended to undertake any thing against the *Khalîf*. But as to the rest, he was guilty of no crime; which was the case of *Al Mowaffek*, another of his brothers, who soon after fell under the same disgrace <sup>p</sup>.

He orders his  
brother to be  
privately mur-  
dered in prison.

THE news of *Al Mowaiad*'s confinement no sooner transpired, than the whole body of the *Turkish* troops began to be in motion, and gave out publicly that they would release him. This so excited *Al Mo'tazz*'s jealousy, that he ordered him to be privately murdered in prison; which was done in such a manner, that no marks of violence could be discovered upon him. So that when the body was exposed to the view of the judges, doctors of the law, noblesse, and *Turkish* officers, they readily agreed that this prince died a natural death <sup>q</sup>.

The new Kha-  
lîf carries the  
Turks out of  
fear.

THE *Khalîf*, upon his accession, confirmed *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* in the possession of the territories assigned him, and the government of *Baghdâd*, in conformity to the promise he had made him before his elevation to the *Khalîfat*. He likewise came to a resolution to cut off the chiefs of the *Turkish* soldiery, whose exorbitant power had proved so fatal to his three immediate predecessors. But he was dissuaded from carrying that design into execution by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, who represented to him the dangerous consequences of it in so strong a light, that, instead of punishing *Wasîf*, *Bagher*, and the other *Turkish* commanders, as he had intended, he heaped new favours upon them, and gave them several additional employments, that greatly augmented the power they had already acquired. He likewise deprived *Yezid Ebn Abd'allah* of the government of *Egypt*,

<sup>p</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 159. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 460, 461. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 268. <sup>q</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 269.



a which post he had enjoyed about eleven years, and sent *Mazâhem Ebn Khâkân* to preside over that country in his room. About this time, according to *Abu'lfeda*, died *Mohammed Ebn Basbar*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Motshan*, of *Basra*, two of *Al Bokhârî's* doctors, and *Al Mista'in* was whipt to death by *Sa'id Ebn Sabel*. We must not forget to remark, that the *Moslems* retook *Neetum*, or *Noto*, in *Sicily*, after it had fallen again to the *Christians*, the present year<sup>1</sup>.

THE following year, being the 253d of the *Hejra*, the *Turkish* troops in *Sarra Manray* mutinied for their pay; upon which, *Wasîf*, their general, in order to appease the sedition, expostulated with them about their breach of duty in very sharp terms. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that it proved fatal to him. Those insolent troops first gave him ill language, for his laudable attempt to bring them back to a sense of their duty by words only; and then some of the most guilty of them, rushing upon him all at once, cut him instantly to pieces<sup>2</sup>.

THE same year, the *Khalîf Al Mo'tazz* banished his brother *Ahmed Ebn Al Motawakkel*, called by some writers *Al Mowaffek*, and by others *Abu Ahmed*, to *Wâset*, or, according to *Entychius*, to *Basra*, because he seemed to take to heart his brother *Al Mowaiad's* death. He afterwards, however, permitted him to reside in the eastern part of the territory of *Baghdâd*. The famous general *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* departed this life at *Baghdâd*, the 14th of *Dhu'lkaada*; and the following night, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, there happened a remarkable lunar eclipse. The *Moslems* of *Sicily*, if we will believe the *Cambridge Chronicle*, reduced a second time the city of *Ragusa*, the present year<sup>3</sup>.

THE 254th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 1st, 868, had like to have proved fatal to the *Khalîf Al Mo'tazz*. *Bogâ*, the *Turk*, surnamed the *Elder*, in order to distinguish him from a younger officer of the same name, observing an alteration in the *Khalîf's* conduct towards him, according to the writers followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, left the court abruptly, and retired to *Mawfel*. But he was no sooner gone, than a party of the *Khalîf's* guards pillaged his house. Upon receiving advice of this, *Bogâ* marched at the head of a body of troops he had raised towards *Sarra Manray*, under the pretext of chastising the seditious soldiers in that capital, but in reality with a resolution to be revenged on the *Khalîf*. That prince, who was not ignorant of the *Turk's* ill designs, commanded *Al Walid*, the *Magrebian*, or western *Arab* (so the *African Moslems* were called) to meet him with a powerful army, and give him battle wherever he should find him. The *Magrebian* executed his master's orders with such bravery, that, after a sharp engagement, he defeated the rebels, and took *Bogâ* himself prisoner. The news of this signal victory no sooner reached *Al Mo'tazz*, than he dispatched an express with orders to *Al Walid* to cut off his prisoner's head<sup>4</sup>.

THE same year, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* and *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Mo'tazz* put *Bogâ* the younger also to death at *Sarra Manray*; which excited great murmurings amongst the *Turkish* troops, and paved the way to the deposition of that prince. About this time died *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein*, one of *Ali's* descendants, the ninth *Shiite Imâm*, and *Mazâhem Ebn Khâkân*, after he had been two years governor of *Egypt*. The latter of these was succeeded in his post by his son *Ahmed*, or *Mohammed*, as he was by *Arjûz Ebn Olugh Ebn Tarkan*, the *Turk*, and *Arjûz* by *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, an officer of *Turkish* extraction, then about thirty-four years of age, in the month of *Ramadân*. This *Ahmed* was born at *Baghdâd*, and, by the influence of the *Turks* at the *Moslem* court, had the government of *Egypt* conferred upon him; though his father *Tolûn* had been only one of the *Khalîf Al Mamûn's Turkish* slaves. He was a fast friend to the *Turks* on all emergent occasions, considering them as his friends and countrymen; though he is said to have despised the barbarous customs and genius of that nation. He has been represented as a person of uncommon greatness of soul, and of a very amiable character, by *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>5</sup>.

f THE next year, being the 255th of the *Hejra*, the *Turks* perceiving every day that the *Khalîf* was resolved to get rid of them as soon as possible, they were determined to be before-hand with him. For this purpose, they elected *Saleb*, the son of *Wasîf*, whom they had formerly assassinated, their general. After this election, they marched in a body to the house of *Ahmed Ebn Isrâîl*, who was then *Al Mo'tazz's Visir*, and pillaged it. Not content with this, they went afterwards, with their new general, and *Mohammed Ebn Bogâ*, whose father had been beheaded by the *Khalîf's* order, at their head, directly to the impe-

<sup>1</sup> AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 252. CHRONIC. SIC. ARAB. CANTABR. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 6. <sup>2</sup> KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 253. CHRON. SIC. ARAB. CANTAB. & CARUS. ubi sup. <sup>4</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Mazâh. p. 643. <sup>5</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 160. GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 269. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 254. EUSEB. RENAUPOT. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 320. Paris. 1713.



rial palace; which they immediately invested, and in an insolent manner demanded their a pay. The *Khalif*, at that time not being in a condition either to satisfy their demands, or to resist their violence, was dragged out of his palace, and at last constrained to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in the presence of *Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, and other proper witnesses, either on the 2d, the 28th, or the last, day of *Rajeb*, in favour of *Mohammed Abu Abd'allah Ebn Al Wâthek*, who afterwards assumed the name of *Al Mohtadi*. After this unexpected revolution, *Al Mo'tazz* was sent under an escorte to *Baghdâd*, where he died of thirst, according to *Khondemir*, or rather was starved to death with hunger, if we will believe the *Arab* historians. He reigned about four years and seven months, if we compute from his public inauguration at *Sarra Manray*; but a year less, if we make his *Khalifat* to commence immediately after the abdication of *Al Mosta'in*. His funeral service was performed by his suc- b cessor *Al Mohtadi*. His prime ministers, or *Vizirs*, were *Mohammed Ebn Jaasar*, *Isa Ebn Farbanah*, *Abmed Ebn Isrâil*, or, as he is called by *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, *Abu Mohammed Jaasar Ebn Isrâil Al Anbâri*; his generals, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, *Solimân Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, and finally *Obeid'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*; his chief judge *Abmed Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*; and his chamberlains *Wasîf*, *Bogâ*, *Bâcbâc*, or *Bâkbâk*, and *Saleh Ebn Wasîf*, all *Turks*; the last of which had the principal hand in his deposition, as well as his death, that soon after followed. As to his person, *Al Mo'tazz* had an elegant head of hair, and so handsome a face, being of a fair complexion, that he has been represented as the most beautiful person in his dominions. Nor was he at the time of his death, if we will believe *Eutychius*, above twenty-two years of age. With regard c to his disposition, he was so attached to pleasures of various kinds, that he intirely neglected the government of his vast empire, and frequently acted beneath the dignity of his sublime station. The patriarch *Sanitius*, converted several unbelievers, who denied the reality of our Saviour's passion, in this prince's reign; which gave no small pleasure to the pious patriarch of *Antioch*, according to some of the *Christian* writers. The same *Sanitius* likewise, in the lieutenancy of *Abmed Ebn Tolûn*, was at the expence of making several subterraneous aqueducts, by means of which the city of *Alexandria* was plentifully supplied with excellent water. If any credit may be given to *Eutychius*, the *Khalif* *Al Mo'tazz* appointed *Bâkbâk*, the *Turk*, to preside over *Egypt*; who bestowed his daughter in marriage upon *Abmed Ebn Tolûn*, and constituted him his deputy in that country. And, in the d month of *Ramadân*, according to the same writer, in the year of the *Hejra* 254, *Abmed* entered *Egypt* as *Bâkbâk's* deputy only; which runs counter to what has been related by *Abu'l Faraj* and *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that when the *Turkish* militia found *Al Mo'tazz* not able to produce the money demanded of him, they offered to accept of only 50,000 *dinârs*; but that the *Khalif* having applied to his mother *Kabihah*, who was immensely rich, in vain for that small sum, they came to a resolution, in conjunction with the *Faraônians*, or *Egyptians*, and the *Magrebiens*, or western *Arabs*, to depose him. After which, continues this author, they dragged him to his chamber-door, beat him, exposed him without the palace to the burning rays of the sun, where for some time he remained in exquisite torture, buffeted him in a barbarous manner, and finally obliged him to abdi- e cate the *Khalifat*, in the presence of proper witnesses, and particularly of *Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, the *Kadi* of *Baghdâd*. Not content with this cruel treatment, they permitted none of his subjects to bring him any nourishment for three days together, hurried him into a subterraneous vault, out of which issued a noxious and pestilential vapour, that put a period to his days, and deposited his remains in a tomb, near those of *Al Montaser*, at *Sarra Manray*. We must not forget to remark, that *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Darâni*, the author of the *Mojassseman*, or *Corporeal*, traditions, *Abu Omrân Amru Ebn Bahr Al Jabeth*, who left many learned works behind him, and *Mohammed Ebn Kerâm Al Sejestâni*, whose followers not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal, and from thence received the denomination of *Mojassseman*s, or *Corporealists*, died f the present year \*.

Some farther particulars relating to this Khalif, and his mother Fatihah, or Kabihah.

*EBN SHOHNAH* writes, that the *Atrâk*, or *Turks*, the *Faraônab*, *Faraônians*, or *Egyptians*, and the *Magâreba*, *Magrebiens*, or western *Arabs*, as the *African Moslems* were called, assembled in a body before the imperial palace, entered it by force, and dragged *Al Mo'tazz* by his feet from the throne. After which, they beat him with clubs, and exposed his body stretched out at length to the solar rays, then extremely hot, in order to force him by such barbarous indignities to sign the resignation they had caused to be drawn up for that purpose. The same author relates, that this *Khalif's* mother's name was *Kabihah*, and not *Fatiba*, *Fatihah*, or *Fatihat*, as *Erpenius* reads it in the text of *Al Mâkin*; which imports homely, or ugly, and was given her by her husband *Al Motawakkel*, by way of joke, she g

\* *KHONDEMIR*, *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI*. *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 160, 161. *GREG. ABU'L FAR.* ubi sup. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 462—466. *ABU'LFEDA*. ad ann. 255. *D'HERBEL.* Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

having



- a having been one of the most beautiful women of the age. This lady amassed vast treasures during her husband's reign, and buried them in the earth after that prince's death. But the *Khalif Al Mohtadi*, after his accession, obliged her to put them into his hands. This writer farther relates, that those treasures consisted of 1,000,000 *dinars*, a *makûk*, or bushel, of emeralds, and another of pearls, together with a *kilajah* of rubies of the colour of fire. Every *kilajah* contained three *Arabic* pounds and three quarters, and every *makûk* three *kilajah's*; so that the latter amounted to eleven pounds and a quarter *Arabic* weight. Whenever *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* mentioned this princess, he said *Kabbah ALLAH Kabibat*, i. e. GOD makes ugly, i. e. curses, this woman, who bears the name of ugly, notwithstanding she is extremely beautiful. For, though she was mistress of such immense treasures, she suffered her son
- b *Al Mo'tazz* to be deposed and murdered, rather than part with only 50,000 *dinars*, which small sum would have satisfied the Turkish soldiery that mutinied for their pay. After *Al Mohtadi* ascended the Moslem throne, *Kabibah* quitted *Sarra Manray*, and retired to *Mecca*, where she cursed *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* in her turn; and vented her complaints against him in the following terms: *Hatak setri*, that is, *He has torn my veil*; which in modest language imports, *He has enjoyed me, he has killed my son, he has driven me from my native country, and has at last left me, in order to follow a common prostitute* <sup>†</sup>.

- WE are told by some of the *Arab* writers, that the Greek emperor *Michael* was assassinated in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'tazz*, by his general *Basilus*, in an island of the *Propontis*, whilst he was performing his devotions; and that, after this prince's death, the assassin
- c mounted the imperial throne. The principal reason assign by those writers for execrable action is, that *Basilus* was forced by the emperor to marry a beautiful woman, in order to cover an intrigue that prince was carrying on with her, and keep it from the empress's ears; so that not being permitted to cohabit with her, he was resolved to dispatch the person who had made so egregious a dupe of him. The *Arabs* settled in *Crete*, of whom we have already given some account, seem to have made a descent about this time upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. In the 255th year of the *Hejra*, *Ebn Sofiân*, the Moslem *Emîr* in *Sicily*, was murdered by an *Arab* soldier, who afterwards made his escape to the *Christians*; after which, his son *Mohammed Ebn Kbafajah* was elected *Emîr* by the *Sicilian Moslems* in his room. This election was confirmed
- d by *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Aglabi*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, and the *Emîr* so confirmed enjoyed the government of the Moslem conquests in *Sicily* two whole years. The *Rossi*, a barbarous *Scythian* nation, seated in a tract to the north of mount *Taurus*, and the ancestors of the *Russians*, after having reduced the city of *Constantinople* to great straits, returned home, and were converted to the *Christian* faith, not far from the beginning of *Al Mo'tazz's* reign <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.  
MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 161, 162. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. CUROPALAT. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 550—552. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 162.

<sup>z</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 460—463. AL

## S E C T. XXXV.

- e UPON the deposition of *Al Mo'tazz*, who was obliged by the Turkish troops to declare *Al Mohtâdi* himself unequal to the government of the Moslem empire, *Mohammed Abu Abd'allah* succeeds him. *Al Mohtadi Ebn Al Wâthek* was saluted *Khalif* at *Sarra Manray*, and all the people of that metropolis took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother *Korb*, or *Karb*, one of *Al Wâthek's* concubines, is supposed, or rather affirmed, to have been a *Christian* by some of the *Arab* historians. *Al Mo'tazz* himself was first, though this ought to be considered as the effect of compulsion, who acknowledged him *Khalif*, and gave him the surname of *Al Mohtadi Bill'ah*. This prince has been represented by the Moslem writers as a great lover of justice, which he distributed daily in person to all his subjects. He prohibited the use of wine, as well as gaming of all kinds, so expressly forbidden by the *Korân*, and banished
- f from the court all singers, soothsayers, jesters, and buffoons. He also sent away the lions and hounds that had been kept by his predecessors in the imperial palace. In order to ingratiate himself with the people, he suppressed part of the tribute that lay so heavy upon them; inspected the conduct of the judges, as well as the public accounts; and set apart two days every week, viz. *Monday* and *Thursday*, for the hearing and redressing the grievances of that part of his subjects which then appeared before him <sup>a</sup>.

AFTER *Al Mo'tazz's* violent death, his mother *Kabibah* had her life given her, though on condition that she discovered her immense treasures, and even deposited them in the hands

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TAPAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 162. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 466, 467. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 270. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. sur. ii, v. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohtadi*, p. 618.



of the new *Khalif Al Mohtadi*. The money found therein is said by *Abu'l Faraj* to have amounted to 1,300,000 *dinârs*. Her son *Al Mo'tazz*, in his great distress, applied to her for only the sum of 50,000 *dinârs*, in order to appease the turbulent minds of the *Turkish* militia; which she refused him, telling him at the same time, that she was in possession of no money at all. This afterwards drew upon her a great number of curses and execrations, one of which has already been taken notice of. This year, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, the *Saffarian*, made himself master of the provinces of *Kermân* and *Fârs*, and seized upon the city of *Shîrâz*. We must not forget to observe, that *Sâbûr Ebu Sabel*, the principal physician of the hospital at *Jondîsâbûr*, a man of vast erudition, who had distinguished himself by his learned writings, and particularly by a book treating of all the compound medicines used in hospitals, and prepared by the apothecaries, departed this life, in the month of *Dbu'lhajja*, the present year <sup>b</sup>.

The Zenjians  
make an irrup-  
tion into the  
Moslem em-  
pire.

IN the beginning of *Al Mohtadi's* reign, towards the end of the 255th year of the *Hejra*, the *Zenjians*, or *Zinjians*, a people of *Nubia*, of *Ethiopia*, and of the country of the *Cafres*, called at this day by the moderns *Zanguebar*, according to *M. D'Herbelot*, having penetrated into *Arabia*, advanced from thence into the neighbourhood of *Basra* and *Cûfa*. *Abu'l Fedâ*, however, seems to intimate, that these *Zenjians* were originally seated in the district called *Al Sabak*, or the sandy tract in the neighbourhood of *Basra*; though, it must be owned, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari's* description of them not a little countenances what has been advanced by *M. D'Herbelot*, in relation to the parental country of these barbarians. The chief of this gang of robbers, who, according to some of the *Arab* historians, were little better than wild beasts, *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, one of the descendants of *Abd'alkais*, gave out falsely, that he was of the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*. This made such an impression upon the *Shiites* in those parts, that they flocked to him in vast numbers; which enabled him to seize upon the cities of *Ramla* and *Basra*, and even to pass the *Tigris*, at the head of a powerful army, which spread terror where-ever it moved. This *Ali*, who was an astrologer and a *Shiite*, as well as an impostor, began first to be taken notice of in the year of the *Hejra* 249, and at last became so formidable, that the *Khalif's* forces could not make head against him. He, therefore, reduced most of the fortresses of *Irâk*, and a considerable part of *Arabia*; in the possession of which conquests he maintained himself fourteen years, notwithstanding all the efforts of *Al Mohtadi* and his successors to dislodge him from thence. After he had dismembered the *Khalifat* in this manner, he assumed the title of *Sahab Al Zenj*, the prince of the *Zenjians*, in order to ingratiate himself with those barbarians, of which the greatest part of his army was composed. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Erpenius* calls this people *Ribi*, or *Ribans*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makin*; and that this mistake arose from a wrong reading of the punctuation of the *Arabic* letters, as the forms of the characters of the word *Rib*, without the diacritical points of the first and last of them, are the same with those of the letters constituting the word *Zenj* <sup>c</sup>.

The Visir is  
murdered.

THE following year, being the 256th of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 9th, 869, and not the preceding year, as we find intimated by *M. D'Herbelot*, who, in this point perhaps has followed the *Persian* historians, *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, general of the forces of the *Khalifat*, who had been employed in the expedition undertaken against *Al Hasan Ebn Yezid*, having been apprized of the death of the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz*, who had been cut off soon after his abdication, returned from *Tabrestân* and *Ray* with his army into *Irâk*. Soon after his arrival there, being informed that *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* was the new *Khalif's* *Visir*, he quitted the camp he had formed in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and marched directly to *Sarra Manray*; declaring publickly his intention to take vengeance of those who had been concerned in the late revolt. This declaration was chiefly levelled at *Saleh Ebn Wasîf*, who had been principally instrumental in the death, as well as the deposition, of *Al Mo'tazz*. *Saleh*, conscious of his guilt, and not having a sufficient number of troops to oppose *Mûsa*, hid himself at his approach. But being soon discovered, he was brought before the general, who commanded his head immediately to be struck off; and, the day following, it was carried, by *Mûsa's* order, through the streets of *Sarra Manray*; the person carrying it at the same time crying out with a loud voice, *This is the head of a traitor, who has imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign* <sup>d</sup>.

The Khalif  
is deposed and  
slain.

THE murder of *Saleh* greatly incensed the *Khalif*, who thereupon came to a resolution to repress the insolence of the *Turkish* troops; which so excited their hatred, that *Bânkiâl* and *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, their chiefs, conspired his destruction. This conspiracy, however, was not kept so secret, but that some news of it transpired; upon which the *Khalif* ordered *Bânkiâl*, who was to have acted the principal part in it, to be put under arrest. This so

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 269, 270. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 162, 163. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 618. <sup>d</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 163. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohtadi*, ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 163, 164. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. D'HERBEL. & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



- a exasperated the *Turks*, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner about the imperial palace, and demanded the releasement of their chief. The *Khalif*, far from being intimidated by their riotous behaviour, instead of complying with their demand, ordered *Bânkiâl's* head to be instantly cut off, and thrown amongst them out of the palace. But this instance of severity was so far from appeasing the sedition, that it rendered the *Turks* more furious and intractable; insomuch that a fierce conflict ensued between them and the *Magrebians*, who defended the *Khalif*, before the palace, in which about 4000 on both sides were slain. The *Turks*, however, returning to the charge with a body of 10,000 men, under the conduct of *Tagarbâ*, *Bânkiâl's* brother, put the *Magrebians*, who had been reinforced by a body of *Faraonian* troops, to flight, and pursued *Al Mohtadi* himself into the house of
- b *Mohammed Ebn Mardâd*. Being taken from thence, he was conducted to that of *Abmed Ebn Khâkân*; where some of the mutineers began to spit in his face, and to beat him, in order to force him to abdicate the *Khalifat*. But he refusing to do this, they barbarously trampled upon his privities till he expired; which happened on the 16th of the month *Rajeb*, before he had quite completed the first year of his reign. Some authors relate, that *Al Mohtadi* received two wounds in the last action between the *Turkish Magrebian* and *Faraonian* troops; and that he was finally dispatched by one of *Bânkiâl's* relations, who, after his death, drank a draught of his blood. He was buried at *Sarra Manray*, and *Jaasar Ebn Abd'allah Al Hâshemi*, his judge, said the funeral service at his interment. He was about thirty-eight, or thirty-nine, years of age at the time of his death. With regard to his person, *Al Mok-*
- c *tadi* was of a middle stature, somewhat bald, and of a swarthy complexion. He had, however, a handsome face, a portly gait, and a long black beard. As to his disposition, he was abstemious, devout, a lover of justice, of a sweet temper, and exemplary life, and in his manners greatly resembled the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*. His *Visirs* were *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* and *Abu Ayûb Ebn Abmed*; his judges *Al Hasan Ebn Abû'l Shawârib* and *Jaasar Ebn Abd'allah Al Hâshemi*; the captain of his guards *Obeid'allah Ebn Abd'allah*; and his chamberlains *Bânkiâl* and *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*. The first and last days of his reign were *Tuesday*, and the inscription of his seal, *He who transgresses the rules of justice, or exceeds what is right, goes astray* \*.

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 163, 164. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. D'HERBEL. & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

## S E C T. XXXVI.

- d AFTER the barbarous murder of *Al Mohtadi*, the assassins created *Abmed Abû'l Abbâs Al Mo'tamed* *Al Mo'tamed Ala'llah Ebn Al Motawakkel Khalif*. His mother's name, according to some writers, was *Fynân*, or, as other affirm, *Kynân*. He took for his principal counsellor, or *Visir*, *Abd'allah Ebn Yabya Ebn Khâkân*, who, if we will believe *Eutychius*, had served his father *Al Motawakkel* in the same capacity; tho' his brother *Al Mowaffek* had so great an ascendant over him, and used the authority he gave him in so absolute a manner, that he seemed to be master of the *Khalifat*. Nay, he had so much influence over his brother's counsels, that he excluded *Al Mo'tamed's* son from the succession, and caused his own to be elevated to the *Moslem* throne in his room, as will be seen in the sequel of his history <sup>created Kha-</sup> <sup>lif.</sup>
- e THE same year, that is, the 256th of the *Hejra*, *Ali*, or *Al Habîb*, as he is called by *Abu* <sup>The progress</sup> *Jaasar Al Tabari*, prince of the *Zenjians*, who was now become extremely formidable, made <sup>of the rebel</sup> <sup>Al Habîb.</sup> incursions almost to the very gates of *Baghdâd*, doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. The *Khalif*, therefore sent *Jalân*, one of his generals, with a considerable army against him. But the *Zenjian* overthrew him with very great slaughter, made himself master of twenty-four of the *Khalif's* largest ships in the bay of *Basra*, put a vast number of the inhabitants of *Obolla* to the sword, and seized upon the town. Not content with this, he set fire to it, and soon reduced it to ashes; the houses consisting for the most part of the wood of a certain plane-tree denominated by the *Arabs Saj*. From thence he marched to *Abûdân*, which likewise surrendered to him. Here he found an immense treasure in money, which enabled him to possess himself of the whole province of *Abwâz*. In fine, his army
- f being now increased to 80,000 strong, the greatest part of the citizens of *Basra* abandoned the place; which struck with terror all the inhabitants of the adjacent territories, and even the court of the *Khalif* itself <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 164, 165. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup.

<sup>6</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. 256. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motamed*.



Al Habîb continues victorious in the year 257;

THE next year, being the 257th of the *Hejra*, beginning November 29th, 870, *Al Habîb* attacked *Sa'id Ebn Jaafar Ebn Dînân*, at the head of the *Khalîf's* forces, and intirely defeated him; killing many of his men upon the spot, and more in the pursuit. He also routed several other armies sent against him by the *Khalîf*, reduced *Basra*, and put 20.000 of the citizens to the sword, before the conclusion of the campaign. The people of *Toluso* rebelled about this time against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, the *Khalîf* of *Spain*, and chose one *Mohammed Ebn Lâib* for their general; but, upon the approach of the *Khalîf* with a powerful army, they thought fit to submit to him, and sent hostages for their future good behaviour to *Corduba*. We must not forget to remark, that *Amajûr* drove *Ija Ebn Sheikh* out of *Syria*, where he had set up for himself against the *Khalîf*, the preceding year; and that, about the same time, the famous *Imâm Abu Abd'aliab Mohammed Ebn Ijmael*, surnamed *Al Jofi*, as deducing his origin from the tribe of *Jofab* in *Taman*, though generally called *Al Bokbâri*, died at *Khashak*, or *Khartank*, a small town about two parasangs from *Samar-kand*. In the 257th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid*, one of *Ali's* descendants, who had possessed himself of *Tabrestân*, seized likewise upon *Forjân*; and *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, the *Saffarian*, made himself master of *Balkh* and *Câbûl*. Before the close of the same year, died *Abu'l Abbâs*, a famous grammarian, known by the name of *Al Rayash*. *Mohammed Ebn Khafajah*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was murdered by some of his eunuchs, who were afterwards taken and put to death, and succeeded by *Ahmed Ebn Yakûb*, sent over by *Mohammed Ebn Ashmed Al Aglabi*, the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, for that purpose, and *Malta* was conquered by the *Sicilian Moslems*, the present year <sup>a</sup>.

and in the year 258.

DURING the course of the following year, *Al Habîb*, the *Zenjian* prince, still remained victorious over the *Khalîf's* troops. *Al Mo'tamed*, supported by his brother *Al Mowaffek*, had formed a design to confine within narrower bounds, at least, if not directly to annihilate, the power of the *Turkish* soldiery, which had proved so fatal to several of his predecessors; they having, for a considerable time, given law to the *Khalîfs*, and elevated or deposed them as they pleased. But the *Zenjians* made so rapid a progress this year in *Persia*, *Arabia*, and *Irâk*, that he was obliged to suspend the execution of that design, and even to send the *Turkish* troops to join those commanded by his brother *Al Mowaffek*, in order to oppose them. The first of the *Khalîf's* generals overthrown by *Al Habîb* was one *Mohammed*, whose army was worsted in several engagements, and at last intirely cut to pieces by the rebels. This year, *Al Mo'tamed* called his brother *Abu Ahmed Ebn Al Motawakkel* to the succession, gave him the surname of *Al Mowaffek*, together with a most sumptuous vest, and appointed him to preside over *Diyâr Rabîa*, *Mawfel*, *Al Awwâsem*, and *Egypt*. He also caused his own son *Jaafar*, whom he surnamed *Al Mofawed*, to be publicly declared the heir apparent to the crown, and assigned him the prefecture of the west. After this, he sent *Al Mowaffek* and *Mofleh*, with a numerous army, to reduce the rebel *Al Habîb*; who, in pursuance of their orders, came up with him, and attacked him with very great bravery. But *Mofleh* being killed with an arrow, *Al Mo'tamed's* troops were at last obliged to leave the field of battle to the *Zenjians*, and retire, after having sustained a very considerable loss. However, *Al Mowaffek* soon rallied his forces, that were put into disorder by the death of *Mofleh*, and drew them up in such order, that the enemy durst not renew the attack. Some time after, there happened a very sharp action between the *Khalîf's* forces and the rebels, commanded by *Yakya Ebn Mohammed Al Azrâk*, who was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Several other battles were fought between the contending parties before the conclusion of the campaign, from whence no great advantages accrued to either side. But at last some contagious distempers carrying off considerable numbers of *Al Mowaffek's* men, he found himself obliged to agree to a sort of truce, or cessation of arms, with the enemy, and to retire to *Wâset*, in order to refresh and repose his troops. As for *Yakya Ebn Mohammed*, who had fallen into his hands before, he had sent him under an escorte to *Sarra Man-ray*; where, soon after his arrival, he received two hundred stripes, had his hands and feet chopt off, and was cut to pieces by a detachment of the *Khalîf's* guards. The body was afterwards reduced to ashes, and thrown into the *Tigris*, in the presence of an infinite number of spectators, of all ranks and degrees, who attended the execution <sup>b</sup>.

The war continues between the Khalîf and Al Habîb.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 259, commencing November 7th, 872, the war still continued between the *Khalîf* and *Al Habîb*. *Al Mowaffek*, upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*, sent *Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Mowalled*, with a powerful army to act against the *Zenjians*; but he could not hinder them from ravaging the province of *Abwaz*, cutting off there about 50.000 of the *Khalîf's* subjects, and dismantling the city of the same name. However, *Al Mo'tamed* commanded *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mofleh* to march with a body of troops to *Abwâz*, *Ishak Ebn*

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 165. EUTYCH. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. cap. xxviii. p. 24. ISM. ABU'LFED. excerpt. ex cod. MS. Biblioth. D. Laurent. Escur. & JOAN BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 18. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 165, 166. KHONDEMIR, ABU'LFED. ad ann. 258. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469.



a *Daraj* with another to *Basra*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Simâ* with a third to *Dawrad*. But, notwithstanding all the *Khalîf's* efforts, or rather those of his generals, his forces could gain no considerable advantage over *Al Habîb*, though several battles were fought. About this time, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit* made himself master of *Nisabûr*, and threw *Mohammed*, the *Thâberian*, who had before enjoyed the sovereignty of the province of *Khorasân* under this *Khalîf*, with all his family and domestics, into prison. About the same time, died *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa Ebn Shaker*, one of the mathematicians employed by the *Khalîf Al Mamûn* to discover the true ambit, or circumference, of the earth. This year, a body of the *Sicilian Moslems* seized upon the city of *Salerno*, but were soon after all cut to pieces there<sup>k</sup>.

b THE following year, being the 260th of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs* cut to pieces *Manjûr*, the governor of *Hems*, and substituted *Beṣṭimûr* in his room. About the same time, *Al Hasan Al Asfari*, the eleventh *Shiite Imâm*, *Al Hasan Ebn Sabab Al Zafarâni*, one of *Al Shâfi'i's* followers, and *Honain Ebn Ishak Al Ebadi*, a famous physician, who translated the *Elements of Euclid*, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, and several other pieces, out of *Greek* into *Arabic*, departed this life. This year the *Khalîf's* generals likewise made several attempts to drive the *Zenjians* out of the *Moslem* territories; but without effect. For, *Al Habîb* maintained himself in his conquests, notwithstanding there happened several vigorous actions between his troops and the *Khalîf's* forces, in which many brave men fell on both sides<sup>l</sup>.

c In the 261st year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 16th, 874, *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel*, who had killed the *Khalîf's* governor of *Fârs*, and afterwards made himself master of that province, engaged several times the *Zenjian* forces commanded by *Al Habîb*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; but with what success, we have not been told by that author. The *Khalîf*, having been apprized of the state of affairs on that side, annexed the government of *Fârs*, *Abwâz*, *Basra*, and *Babrein*, to the prefecture he had assigned *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, whom he looked upon as one of the best generals he had. *Mûsa*, soon after his nomination to that sublime post, dispatched *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mosleh* as his deputy to *Abwâz*, and joined to him, as his colleague and assistant, *Tîsam* the *Turk*. But *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel*, then at the head of his troops in *Abwâz*, refusing to obey the orders of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mosleh* and *Tîsam*, a fierce conflict ensued; in which the latter were overthrown with very great slaughter, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mosleh* taken prisoner. After the end of the action, *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel* advanced to *Eṣṭakbr*, in order to attack *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ's* forces; incamped at a small distance from that place. But *Mûsa*, having received intelligence of his design, retired at his approach; and, finding that he could not take possession of his new government, nor fix his deputies in the provinces assigned them, without a vast effusion of *Moslem* blood, he recalled them from thence, and made the best of his way to *Sarra Manray*. After which, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, who had before dispossessed of the province of *Khorasân* the family of *Thâber*, that had for a considerable time enjoyed the sovereignty of it, made an irruption into *Abwâz*, defeated *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel*, and seized upon his palace, in which he found a sum of money amounting to 40,000,000 *dirhems*. Some authors write, that *Al Mo'tamed* declared *Jaafar*, his son, the heir apparent to the crown, and called *Al Mowaffek*, his brother, to the succession after him, the present year. But in this point we chuse to follow *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who is of a contrary opinion. The dynasty of the *Sammanians*, in *Khorasân*, according to *Ebn Shobnah* and *Abulfeda*, commenced the present year. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, died in the former *Jomâda*, after he had reigned twenty years, five months, and fifteen days. He was succeeded by his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, who extended the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*, and gained several signal victories there<sup>m</sup>.

f THE next year, being the 262d of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 5th, 875, the rebel *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, called *Yakûb Ebn Leith* by the *Persian* historians, being grown formidable by the acquisition of *Abwâz*, and a considerable part of *Fârs*, at least of *Al Jebûl*, or the *Persian Irâk*, without having openly declared against the *Khalîf*, pulled off the mask, and advanced at the head of a powerful army into the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*. In order, therefore, to put a stop to the progress of so dangerous an enemy, who had already made himself master of *Wâset*, *Al Mo'tamed* sent *Al Mowaffek* with the forces of the empire against him. That general, in pursuance of his orders, advanced first to *Baghdâd*, whither he was attended by the *Khalîf*, and at last came up with *Ebn Al Leit* at a village named *Katûl*. Here, after a bloody engagement, he overthrew him with incredible slaughter, plundered his camp, and pursued him into *Khorasân*; where, meeting with no opposition, he entered *Nisabûr*, and released *Mohammed* the *Thâberian*, who had been detained in prison by *Yakûb*<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 166. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 259. CHRON. SICUL. ARAB. Cantabrigiensi. ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 260. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

<sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 166, 169. D'HERRIEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 637, 638. GREG. ABULFED. ubi sup. p. 271. EBN SHONNAH, ISM. ABULFED. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.



*Ebn Al Leit* three whole years. As for *Ebn Al Leit* himself, who was the first prince, or *Soltân*, of the race or dynasty of the *Saffarians*, he made his escape with great difficulty after the late defeat; though he and his family maintained themselves several years in the possession of many of the conquests he had made. The war waged by the *Khalîf* against *Ebn Al Leit* proved a seasonable diversion in favour of *Al Habib*, who routed all the troops sent by *Al Mo'tamed* to reduce him to his obedience, and ravaged the district of *Wâset*, the present year <sup>a</sup>.

but are over-<sup>1</sup> thrown by Al Habib. THE following year, being the 263d of the *Hejra*, beginning September 24th, 876, the *Khalîf's* forces, under the command of *Abmed Ebn Lebûna*, gained two considerable advantages over *Al Habib's* troops; but being at last drawn into an ambuscade, they were almost intirely destroyed. *Abmed*, their general, himself, with great difficulty, made his escape <sup>b</sup>.

The Arabs make an incursion into the imperial territories. In the 264th year of the *Hejra*, commencing September 13th 877, the *Arabs* made an incursion into the imperial territories, under the conduct of *Abd'allab Ebn Rashîd Ebn Kâwâs*, with a body of 4000 horse, put a considerable number of the emperor's subjects to the sword, and committed dreadful ravages in the provinces through which they moved. But the *Greeks* came up with them at a small distance from the *Badandûn*, cut the greatest part of them in pieces, and took *Abd'allab Ebn Rashîd* himself prisoner. After which, they sent him under an escorte to *Constantinople*. About the same time, *Amajûr* the *Khalîf's* governor of *Damascus*, *Kabibab*, the *Khalîf Mo'tazz's* mother, *Abu Ibrahim Al Mazâni*, and *Tundâs*, *Ebn Abd'alala*, two scholars of the famous *Al Shâfi'i*, departed this life. This year, a detachment of *Al Habib's* troops advanced to *Wâset*, drove the inhabitants out of the town, and then laid it in ashes; carrying off with them from thence an immense quantity of spoil. One of the *Arab* writers mentions several smart engagements between the *Zenjians* and the *Khalîf's* forces after that tragical event; but does not inform us that any thing decisive happened on either side. *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, the best of the *Turkish* officers in *Al Mo'tamed's* service, dying about this time, the influence his nation had at the *Moslem* court was intirely lost; insomuch that the *Turkish* troops now intirely obeyed the *Khalîf's* orders independently on their chiefs <sup>c</sup>.

Ahmed Ebn Tolûn rebels against the Khalîf. THE next year, being the 265th of the *Hejra*, beginning September 3d, 878, *Abmed Ebn Tolûn* rebelled against the *Khalîf*, and set up for himself in *Egypt*. Having assembled a considerable force, he marched to *Antioch*, and besieged *Simâ*, the *Khalîf's* governor of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and all the provinces known amongst the *Arabs* by the name of *Al Awâsem*, in that city. As the besieged found that he was resolved to carry the place by assault, they thought fit, after a short defence, to surrender to him, and to put *Simâ* into his hands. *Abmed* no sooner found himself in possession of that officer, than he struck off his head, and advanced to *Aleppo*, which opened its gates at his approach. Soon after, he reduced *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*, *Hems*, *Hamath*, *Kinnisrîn*, and *Al Rakka*, situated upon the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. This rebellion so exasperated *Al Mo'tamed*, that he commanded *Abmed* to be publicly cursed in all the mosques of *Baghdâd* and *Irâk*; and *Abmed*, on his part, ordered the same solemn malediction to be thundered out in all the mosques within his jurisdiction against the *Khalîf*. The same year, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, having set on foot a powerful army, moved a second time towards *Baghdâd*; but was seized with a violent choleric on his march, of which he died, after eleven years reign, if we will suppose it to have commenced when he first entered *Persia* in a hostile manner, and was succeeded by his brother *Amru Ebn Al Leit*. A detachment of *Al Habib's* troops penetrated into *Irâk*, and made themselves masters of four of the *Khalîf's* ships, laden with corn, the present campaign. They also advanced to *Al Nomânia*, laid the greatest part of it in ashes, and carried off with them several of the inhabitants prisoners. They likewise possessed themselves of *Jarjarâyâ*, where they found many prisoners more, and destroyed all the adjacent territory with fire and sword. About the same time, died *Ibrahim Ebn Hani Al Nisabûri*, a celebrated *Mohammedan* saint. The *Moslems* of *Sicily* fixed themselves this year in *Syracuse*, and seized upon all the dependencies of that place. It is worthy observation, that there were three powers at this time in the *Moslem* empire independent on the *Khalîf*, besides the house of *Aglab* in *Africa*, and that of *Ommiyah* in *Spain*; namely, one in *Syria* and *Egypt*, another in *Khora-sân*, and another in *Arabia* and *Irâk* <sup>d</sup>.

The most memorable events that happened IN the 266th year of the *Hejra*, beginning August 23d, 879, *Al Habib* reduced *Râmhor-moz*, burnt the stately mosque there to the ground, put a vast number of the inhabitants to the sword, carried many of them away with him prisoners, and acquired an immense quan-<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 146. AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 262. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 638. <sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 169. KHONDEMIR, ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 264. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> GREG. ABU'LFAR. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 169, 170. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 252. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 265. Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.



a tity of spoil. In *Sicily*, *Krîsf* was killed this year. *Al Hasan Ebn Al Abbâs* was also sent from *Kairwân* to that island in quality of *Emîr*; who, soon after his arrival, ravaged the *Christian* territories in a dreadful manner. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân* ordered a good number of ships to be constructed at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, *Seville*, and other maritime towns, where materials for shipping were to be found. But these being afterwards almost intirely destroyed by tempests and storms, the sailors on board them for the most part drowned, and *Abd'alamîd*, his admiral himself, narrowly escaping with his life, that prince laid aside his design of making a figure by sea<sup>r</sup>. in the year of the Hejra 266.

THE 267th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 12th, 880, produced several actions of éclat between the *Zenjians* and the *Khalîf's* troops. *Al Mowaffek*, attended by his son *Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'tadbed Bîlla*, took the field with an army consisting of some infantry and a body of ten thousand horse. On the other side, *Al Habîb* appeared at the head of an army, to oppose him, amounting to an hundred thousand men. But, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the *Arabs* overthrew the *Zenjians* in several pitched battles, recovered most of the towns they had taken, together with an immense quantity of spoil, and released 5000 *Moslem* women that had been detained in prison by those barbarians. After these victories, *Al Mowaffek* took post before the city of *Al Mabiya*, that had been built by *Al Habîb*, and was the place of his residence, burnt all the ships in the harbour, thoroughly pillaged the town, and then intirely dismantled it. Here he likewise found treasures of exceeding great value. After the reduction of *Al Mabiya*, he pursued the flying enemy, defeated several bodies of the *Zenjan* troops, put to the sword *Ebn Al Sa'râb*, *Ebn Jâm*, and others of their chiefs, and advanced to *Al Moktara*, a city that had been strongly fortified by *Al Habîb*. As the *Zenjan* had collected all his forces into a body, and was posted at no great distance from the town, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, with an army of 300,000 men, and the place was almost impregnable, *Al Mowaffek* plainly perceived, that it would sustain a very long siege. He therefore built a fortress opposite to it, in which he erected a mosque, and coined both *dirhems* and *dinârs*. The new city, from its founder, was called by the *Arabs* *Al Mowaffekia*, and soon rendered considerable by the settlement of several wealthy merchants in it. By this means, *Al Mowaffek* thought to starve *Al Mokhtara* to a surrender, and actually reduced it to very great straits; which occasioned an incredible desertion amongst *Al Habîb's* troops. However, *Al Mowaffek* having, with his battering engines, made a practicable breach in the walls, took the place by storm, after a great resistance on the part of the besieged, in the latter *Jomâda*, and gave it up to his soldiers to be plundered till the month of *Shaabân*. After which, he put to flight *Al Habîb's* numerous forces, and dispersed them in such a manner, that the *Zenjan* found it impossible to rally them during the remainder of the campaign. Two persons were struck dead by lightning by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'rahmân's* side in a mosque at *Corduba*, and a general earthquake happened in *Spain*, whose dreadful concussions were felt in every part of that country, the present year<sup>r</sup>. The military operations of the year 267.

THE following year, being the 268th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mowaffek* penetrated a second time to *Al Mabiya*, demolished again the fortifications of that place, which he carried by assault, though *Al Habîb* and his troops that defended the town disputed every inch of ground. This year, one *Lûlû* began to rebel against his master *Abmed Ebn Tolûn* in *Egypt*. Al Mowaffek gains other advantages over Al Habîb;

IN the 269th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *July* 21st, 882, *Al Mowaffek* attacked *Al Habîb* with unparalleled bravery, and had intirely defeated him, had he not been wounded in the breast by an arrow, which obliged him to retire out of the heat of the action, and to sound a retreat. However, as soon as he was cured of his wound, he advanced a third time to *Al Mabiya*, made himself master of that metropolis, threw down the walls that had been raised again by the *Zenjan* prince, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried a vast number of them away with him into captivity. The same year, *Lûlû* went over to *Al Mowaffek*, and engaged upon certain conditions to act against his former master *Abmed Ebn Tolûn*. Soon after which, *Al Mowaffek* caused *Abmed* to be publickly cursed in all the mosques of *Baghdâd* and *Irâk*. and takes his capital a third time.

THE next year, being the 270th of the *Hejra*, beginning *July* 11th, 883, *Al Mowaffek* penetrated again to *Al Mabiya*, possessed himself of that city, demolished *Al Habîb's* palace there, seized upon his family, and sent them to *Sarra Manray*; though that rebel and usurper, who had made such havock in the *Moslem* empire, himself found means to escape. Al Mowaffek gives Al Habîb a total overthrow, takes him pri-

<sup>r</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 170. CHRONIC. SICUL. ARABIC. CANTABRIGIENS. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ex Cod. Arabic. MS. Biblioth. D. Laurent. Elcurial. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 19. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>s</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 170, 171. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 267. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. CHRONIC. CANTABRIGIENS. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>t</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 171. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 470—473. <sup>u</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 171, 172. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 269.



However, *Al Mowaffek* pursued him into the province of *Abwáz*, and intirely defeated the shattered forces that he had rallied there. As for *Al Habíb* himself, he now fell into the hands of the victor, who ordered his head to be cut off, and carried upon the point of a lance through a great part of the region whose repose he had so long disturbed. After which, he sent it by his son *Al Mo'tadbed Billa* to *Baghdád*, where it was exposed to public view, and then fixed upon one of the gates of the city. As *Al Habíb* first appeared in arms against the *Khalíf* the 26th of *Ramadán*, in the year of the *Hejra* 265, and was put to death the second of *Safar* 270, he reigned over the *Zenjians*, that had rendered themselves so formidable to two *Khalífs*, about fourteen years and four months. By the last victory, which was complete, *Al Mowaffek* acquired the glorious title of *Al Na'ir Lidni'llah*, or *Al Nasser Ledinillah*, that is, the protector of *Islám*, or *Mohammedism*; which was given him by the *Khalíf* *Al Mo'tamed*, his brother; and he continued to govern the *Khalifat* under that title to the time of his death \*.

Ahmed Ebn Tolún dies.

THE same year died *Ahmed Ebn Tolún*, on the 18th of *Dhu'l-bajja*, or, as some will have it, the 18th of *Dhu'l-kaada*, in *Egypt*. It has been observed by *Al Makín*, that, when he was at the point of death, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "O LORD! forgive thy servant, whose load of guilt is too great for him to comprehend, and shew thyself merciful to him at the time of his death." He left behind him thirty-three sons, one of which, named *Khamarawiyah*, succeeded him in the dynasty he had founded. He is said to have been a strict observer of justice, and of so charitable a disposition, that he gave away every month in alms 300,000 *dinárs*. He distributed likewise every month amongst the ecclesiastics of the best repute 1000 *dinárs*, and spent the same sum in his kitchen every day. Some authors write, that, during the time he presided over *Egypt*, he sent to *Baghdád*, to be distributed amongst men of learning and probity, as likewise the poor and the sick, no less than 2,200,000 *dinárs*. He left in the treasury at his death 10,000,000 *dinárs*; which, considering the money he spent and gave away in his life-time, was a prodigious sum. His servants and slaves amounted to 7000, his horses to the same number, his mules and camels to 8000, and his war-horses to 300. All this was his own peculiar property, and bore no relation to the public. The revenue of *Egypt* in his time, if we will believe *Jaafar Al Tabari*, did not fall short of 300,000,000 *dinárs*. Notwithstanding his good qualities, he is reported to have been extremely cruel, and guilty of a vast effusion of human blood; having either put to death, or starved in prison, at least 18,000 persons. Seventeen sons, and as many daughters, not thirty-three sons, as some writers affirm, survived him, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid*, one of *Ali's* descendants, who had reigned near twenty years in *Tabrestán*, and was succeeded by his brother *Mohammed Ebn Zeid*, *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Ebn Jaafar Al Sagáni*, and *Dawd Ebn Ali Al Esfaháni*, a celebrated *Imám*, who denied any assimilation of God to created beings, died likewise this year \*.

The Khalif's forces defeated by those of Khamarawiyah.

IN the 271st of the *Hejra*, commencing June 29th, 884, a sharp and bloody engagement happened between the *Khalíf's* forces, commanded by *Al Mowaffek's* son, and those of *Khamarawiyah*, who had made an irruption into *Syria*. This battle was fought between *Ramla* and *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*. *Khamarawiyah* was charged so hotly in the beginning of the action, that his men began to give way; upon which he fled with great precipitation even to the borders of *Egypt*, taking for granted that every thing was lost. But his troops, not having been apprized of their general's flight, afterwards rallied, and gained a complete victory. This year, died *Túrân Bint Al Hasan Ebn Sabel*, the wife of the *Khalíf* *Al Mamún*, as we learn from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* †.

Nothing remarkable happened the following year.

THE following year, being the 272d of the *Hejra*, produced no memorable event in the *Moslem* empire. *Khamarawiyah* having won the hearts of his subjects by his mild and gentle administration, though he was now but twenty-two years of age, and kept on foot a large body of troops that he could intirely depend upon, *Al Mowaffek* found it impossible to make any impression upon *Egypt* the present year. Before the conclusion of it, a person of distinction was sent from the imperial court, to ransom the *Syracusans* that had been taken prisoners by the *African Moslems* about six or seven years before ‡.

Mohammed Ebn Abd'al-rahmán dies in Spain.

DURING the whole course of the 273d year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalíf* *Al Mo'tamed* gave himself up intirely to indolence and pleasure; so that *Al Mowaffek* alone held the reins of the *Moslem* empire. However, he could neither regain *Khorasan*, nor *Egypt*. *Abu Dawd*

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 172, 173. GREG. ABU'L FAR ubi sup. p. 441. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 270. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. \* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 173. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 472, 475. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l Far. p. 272. apud JOAN. SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxon. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 270. † ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 271. ‡ EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 476—479. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiensi. ubi sup.



- <sup>a</sup> *Solimán Al Sejestáni* and *Mohammed Ebn Yezid Ebn Majab Al Kazwini*, two famous *Sunnite* authors, as also *Kháled Ebn Ahmed*, who had been governor of *Kherasán*, departed this life, the present year. About the same time, died *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmán*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*, at *Corduba*, in the 60th, or according to *Abu'lfeda*, who styles him the *Emír* of *Andalusia*, in the 65th, year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. Being walking in his royal gardens, a little before his death, one of the soldiers of his guards said to him, "What fine gardens are these that we walk in, how beautiful is the present day, and what a delightful age would this be, were it possible to avoid being arrested by death!" To which the *Khalif* replied, "Thou art mistaken in thy last remark; since, had it not been for death, I should never have swayed the *Moslem* sceptre of *Spain*." He left thirty-three sons behind him. *Al Mondar*, his successor, one of them, was at the baths of *Almeria* when the *Khalif* expired; but, upon receiving advice of his father's decease, he posted away with all possible celerity to *Corduba*, and ascended the throne there in the 43d year of his age<sup>a</sup>.

THE next year, being the 274th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* *Al Mo'tamed* pursued the same course of life, he left the government of the *Khalifat* intirely to his brother *Al Mowaffek*. This year, there was an action in *Sicily* between the *Christians* and the *African Moslems*, as we learn from the *Cambridge Chronicon*; but whether or no any advantage accrued from thence to either of the contending parties, we are not certainly informed<sup>b</sup>.

- IN the 275th year of the *Hejra*, *Khamarawiyah* received advice, that one *Mohammed Ebn Diwadád*, called by some authors *Abu'l Sáj*, had taken post at *Damascus* with a powerful army; upon which, he assembled all his forces, and made the proper dispositions for a march, in order to attack him. This year, *Al Mowaffek* sent his son to prison, and confined him there, till he was seized by that sickness which put a period to his days. About the same time *Abu Sa'id al Hosein Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abd'allah*, a famous grammarian and philologer, departed this life. The machine of government at *Sarra Manrey* was moved in the same manner this year as the preceeding. *Al Mondar* behaved with great liberality and munificence to his subjects in *Spain*, and even remitted the taxes, or tenths, paid by the people of *Corduba*; notwithstanding which, they rebelled against him. This so exasperated him, that he resolved to take vengeance of them for their ingratitude, as well as their disobedience. But he died on his march to their city, before he could carry his design into execution. He reigned only two years, and left six sons and seven daughters behind him. However, the army elected *Abd'allah*, his brother, in prejudice to his eldest son, to succeed him. As soon as the people of *Corduba* were apprized of this, they opened their gates to the new *Khalif*, and met with a favourable reception from him. After which, he buried his brother, the deceased *Khalif*, in a manner suitable to his high rank, and presided above twenty-five years over the *Moslems* in *Spain*<sup>c</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 276th of the *Hejra*, *Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolán* led his army against *Mohammed Ebn Diwadád*, or *Abu'l Sáj*, and overthrew him in a great battle at *Al Bathnáa*, not far from the city of *Damascus*; after which, he advanced to *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and made himself master of that place. Having annexed several large provinces to his former dominions, and left some of his friends that he could confide in to preside over them, he returned into *Egypt*, the principal part of his empire, which now extended from the *Euphrates* to the borders of *Nubia* and *Ethiopia*. The cities of *Lisbon*, *Seville*, &c. in *Spain*, rebelled this year against *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmán*, of the house of *Ommiyah*; there, at the instigation of *Omar Ebn Al Hasan*, who headed the troops of those rebellious cities. But *Abd'allah* having assembled a numerous army, in order to reduce them to his obedience, they thought fit to lay down their arms; upon which, *Abd'allah* received them into favour, and pardoned *Omar Ebn Al Hasan*, who had first excited them to a revolt. The civil dissensions and intestine broils that reigned in *Seville*, which had occasioned no small effusion of blood, greatly facilitated the submission and reduction of that place. About this time, died *Abd'almálec Ebn Mohammed Al Rakasbi*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Moslem*, a celebrated *Mohammedan* author. The *African Moslems* made themselves masters of an imperial fleet, and put 5000 imperialists to the sword, at *Melazzo* in *Sicily*; after which, the inhabitants of that town fled to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, the present year<sup>d</sup>.

THE next year, being the 277th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mowaffek* presided over the *Khalifat* in the same manner as he had done the preceding years; *Al Mo'tamed* not concerning himself at all in the affairs of government. *Omar Ebn Al Hasan* rebelled again in *Spain*; cutting off the heads of several commandants of towns, and committing other outrages in various parts. However, he was at last driven by *Abd'allah* out of the *Moslem* territories, and obliged to fly to the *Christians* for refuge; when, in order to ingratiate himself the more

<sup>a</sup> KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 273.

Chron. Sicul. Cantabrigienf. ubi sup.

TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxix. p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Cant. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, ubi sup. p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 275. RODERIC.

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 638. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi



with them, he is said by *Roderic* to have been baptized, and made profession of the *Christian* faith. We are told by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, that the *Sicilian Moslems* fell upon the *Africans*, and cut to pieces *Al Tâwali*, one of their chief commanders, in *March*, this year <sup>a</sup>.

*Al Mowaffek dies.*

THE following year, being the 278th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 15th, 891, *Al Mowaffek Bi'llab* departed this life at *Sarra Manray*, on *Wednesday*, the 21st of the month *Safar*, and was succeeded by his son *Abul Abbâs Ebn Al Mowaffek*, surnamed *Al Mo'taded Bi'llab*, in his post of prime minister, or *Visir*. With regard to his character, *Al Mowaffek* has been greatly celebrated by the *Arab* historians, who represent him as a person of superior magnanimity, naturally brave, liberal, and thoroughly versed in the art of government. He used to say, "I always behold my friends in the same light as my brothers, and would, if it could be done with sufficient propriety, confer upon them the same appellation." *Al Mo'taded Bi'llab* had as great an ascendant over the *Khalif* as his father; so that it is no wonder he should be able so easily to exclude *Al Ja'far*, *Al Mo'tamed's* son, from the succession, and, after his nominal master's death, to fix himself upon the *Moslem* throne <sup>b</sup>.

*The Karmatians first disturbances in the Moslem empire.*

THE *Karmatians*, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the *Mohammedans*, began first to raise disturbances in the empire this year. Their origin is not so well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call *Karmata*, came from *Khûzestân* to the villages near *Cûfa*, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day; pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain *Imâm* of the family of *Mohammed*: and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. He also assumed the title of prince, and obliged every one of his earlier followers to pay him a *dinâr*. But *Al Haidam*, the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and, having put him in prison, swore that he should die; which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and, having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident being publickly known raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt; notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into *Syria*, and was not heard of any more. During his abode in that country, he is said to have been entertained by a man called *Karmatiab*, from whom his name *Karmata* was derived. Others, however, relate, that the *Karmatians* wrote very close and in exceeding small characters, contrary to the manner of the *Arab Moslems*, amongst whom the *Cûfic* character prevailed, who used large letters, and left a considerable space between their lines; and that from this custom they derived the name of *Karmatians*; *Karmath*, or *Karmat*, amongst the *Arabs*, denoting that manner of writing. Be that, however, as it will, this sect continued and increased, after the founder of it disappeared; pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the *Moslems*, and introduced a new kind of fast; and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded by the *Korân*. They likewise turned the precepts of that book into allegory; teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their *Imâm*, and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogms from strangers. They also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity; and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written, amongst other things, *In the name of the most merciful God*. *Al Faraj Ebn Othmân of the town of Nafrâna saith, that CHRIST appeared to him in a human form, and said, "Thou art the invitation: thou art the demonstration: thou art the camel: thou art the beast: thou art John the son of Zacharias: thou art the HOLY GHOST."* The sect of the *Karmatians*, according to some writers, first began to appear in the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashîd*, or, as others will have it, in that of *Al Mamûn*; but their leader having then soon disappeared, they kept themselves concealed; neither acknowledging any particular *Imâm*, nor any other chief. *Ebn Shobnah* relates, that they first excited some commotions in the villages and towns near *Cûfa*, in the 275th year of the *Hejra*; and that they were headed by a man named *Kersa*, who often changed his situation and place of abode, and was so effectually concealed by his followers, that he could never be discovered by any of the *Khalif's* officers who were sent in quest of him. *Khondemir* writes, <sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. & CHRONIC. SICUL. CANTABR. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.  
<sup>f</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478, 479. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 272. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAHIN, ubi sup. p. 173, 174.

that,



a that, in many particulars, this sect agreed with that of *Ismael Ebn Jaafar Al Saâk*, the sixth *Imâm*; that they did not scruple eating many things forbidden by the *Mohammedan* law; and that they believed angels to be the friends, directors, and guardians of mankind, and evil demons their most inveterate enemies, that were continually meditating their destruction. The *Karmatians* pretend, that *CHRIST* revealed to the above-mentioned *Al Faraj Ebn Othmân*, that the prayer before sun-rise ought to be performed with two ingenuculations, and that before sun-set with two more; and that they ought to fast twice a year, viz. on the days *Mihjân*, or *Mihrijân*, and *Al Nirûz*, that is, the 16th day of the *Persian* month *Mibr*, and the first day of the year. From the year of the *Hejra* 278, the *Karmatians*, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the *Khalifs*; and their  
b *Mohammedan* subjects, for several years; committing great disorders and outrages in *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of *Abu Dhâber*, famous for his taking of *Mecca*, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time, and came to nothing. *Mowaffek* died of the leprosy, or elephantiasis, according to *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*, a little before the *Karmatians* began to disturb the repose of the *Moslem* empire. He could not forbear saying, in his last illness, that of 100,000 men, whom he commanded, not one was as miserable as himself. After that  
c general's decease, his son *Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'tamed* succeeded him, with the unanimous approbation of all the officers of the army, who likewise acknowledged his right to the crown after *Al Mo'tamed*, by the express command of the *Khalif*. We must not forget to observe, that *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Al Tâbi*, prince or chief of the *Karmatians*; obliged every one of his subjects, or followers, to pay him yearly, by way of tribute, a *dinâr* <sup>2</sup>.

THE next year, being the 279th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 3d, 892; the *Khalif* <sup>The Khalif Al Mo'tamed dies.</sup> *Al Mo'tamed* died at *Baghdâd*, the 19th of *Rajeb*, being then about fifty years of age. The day before, he had drank to great excess, and at night eaten a much larger supper than usual; which proved fatal to him, as before morning he expired. Some of the authors, however, followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, relate, that he died of a squinancy, and that he was, at the time of his decease, fifty years and six months old. This *Khalif* was extremely attached to his pleasures; so that he left the management of his affairs intirely  
d to others. He was passionately fond of music, and not unacquainted with letters. He quitted the city of *Sarra Manray*, and fixed his residence for some time at *Baghdâd*; tho' he was buried, according to the best of the *Arab* writers, at the former of those places. During the course of twenty-three years reign, *Al Mowaffek* and his son *Al Mo'tamed* deprived him absolutely of his authority, leaving him only the bare name of *Khalif*; inasmuch that when he once asked of his brother 300 *dinârs*, that small sum was refused him. However, the *Moslems* in general were very well pleased with *Al Mowaffek's* administration. *Al Mo'tamed* was a little swarthy, of a good stature, had a comely face, a large head, a long beard, and a forehead a little pitted with the small pox. Both his hair and his beard were greyer than usual in one of his age. He loved gaming and chearful conversation,  
e as well as eating and drinking, to a great degree; whence 'tis no wonder he should have been too indolent to apply himself to the affairs of government. In this *Khalif's* reign flourished *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Abu Maashar Al Balkbi*, commonly known by the name of *Albumasar*, *Al Mowaffek's* astrologer, who attended him when he besieged a body of the *Zenjian* troops in *Basra*. This *Abu Maashar*, when he lived at *Baghdâd*, was an enemy to *Abu Yusef Yakûb Ebn Ishak Al Kendi*, and endeavoured to prejudice the people of that city against him, because he applied himself to the study of philosophy. But *Al Kendi* having found a person who prevailed upon him to learn arithmetic and geometry, which he left for the sake of astrology, before he had made a very considerable progress in them, he ceased to persecute, or give any farther molestation to, that celebrated scholar.  
f *Abu Maashar*, a man of fine parts, and an excellent disposition, arrived at great skill in astrology, tho' a stranger even to the rudiments of that art when he was forty-seven years of age, and wrote several treatises upon it, held in vast repute amongst the *Arabs*. The *Khalif Al Most'ian* ordered him to be severely whipt, because an event that he had foretold actually came to pass; which not a little chagrined him. He lived to be above 100 years of age, and died at *Wâsjèt*. He was accused of drunkenness, and generally troubled with an epileptic disorder at the full moon. With regard to *Al Kendi*, he was of noble extraction, and born at *Basra*. His father *Ishak* had been governor of *Cîsa* in the *Khalifats* of *Al Mukdi* and *Harûn Al Rashid*. This *Yakûb Al Kendi* was so singularly well versed in physic, natural philosophy, arithmetic, dialectics or logic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and

<sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 274, 275. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 174, 175, 176. EBN SHOHNAH, AB'ULFED. in CRON. ad an. Hej. 277. KHONDEMIR, NOÏ. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l Far. p. 276. apud. JOAN. SWINTON. A. M. OXONIENS. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Carmath*, p. 256, 257.



wrote so many famous books in most of these sciences, that he infinitely excelled all the *Moslems* of his age in the knowledge of those branches of literature, and was the only one of them that merited the honourable title of philosopher. *Kostâ Ebn Lûkâ Al Baalbeki*, a *Christian* philosopher, and his cotemporary, rendered himself exceeding famous by travelling over a considerable part of the imperial territories, and purchasing of the *Greeks* a multitude of books, which he brought with him first into *Syria*, and afterwards into *Irâk*, where he was employed in translating some of the most useful of them out of *Greek* into *Arabic*. Several pieces written in a compendious, though most excellent, method by this learned author, were extant in the days of *Abu'l Faraj*. We are also told that *Senbârîb* invited him into *Armenia*, where he kept him till his death, and afterwards erected over him a mausoleum, or stately monument, in order to demonstrate to future ages the high regard he had for him. In fine, he was looked upon as the greatest scholar of the age, and famous for expressing his vast flow of sentiments in a concise and engaging manner <sup>b</sup>.

An inscription  
in unknown  
characters  
discovered.

It appears from an oriental historian, that, in the reign of this *Khalif*, and the year of the *Hejra* 276, there were found in a place of *Syria* called *Tel Shâif*, that is to say, *the lover's bill*, as also *Tel Alfekkab*, *the hill of contracts*, seven tombs, every one of which contained a body extremely well preserved, whose shroud seemed quite new, and emitted a very grateful odour. Amongst these seven bodies there was one that had belonged to a young man, whose visage, and particularly the lips, appeared as fresh as those of a living person who had just drunk a draught of water. Near these tombs a stone was discovered that greatly resembled one of those which are used to sharpen or whet any iron instrument upon. This stone exhibited an inscription drawn up in characters that nobody could decypher; tho' the *Khalif* ordered a large number of men of all nations, sects, and religions, that lived within the limits of the *Moslem* empire, to be assembled for that purpose <sup>i</sup>.

Several remarkable  
events, not  
hitherto mentioned,  
in this  
Khalif's reign.

In the first year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'tamed*, *Stephen* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and died on the very day of his consecration. He was succeeded by *Tadîs*, who sat in that see twenty years. In the tenth year of his reign, *Eylia Ebn Mansûr* was advanced to the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and presided over the church there twenty-nine years. *Mikbâtyel Ebn Bacâm*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, died in the 256th year of the *Hejra*, was buried in the city of *Bûrah*, and succeeded by another *Michael*, of *Greek* extraction, who continued patriarch of *Alexandria* thirty-four years. *Basilus*, the *Greek* emperor, likewise died in this prince's reign; which made way for his son *Leo* to the imperial throne, who has been dignified by *Eutychius* with the honourable title of a wise man and a philosopher. In the 8th year of *Al Mo'tamed*, or the 263d of the *Hejra*, *Sa'id Ebn Batrîk*, who had completed the 60th year of his age when he was promoted to the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, and, after that event, assumed the name of *Anbâ Eutychius*, or *Eftysbûs*, was born. *Basilus* departed this life in the 259th year of the *Hejra*, according to some authors cited by *Al Makin*, and his son *Leo* ascended the imperial throne the same year. *Al Mo'tamed's* principal counsellors were successively *Abd'allah Ebn Khâkân*, *Solimân Ebn Wahab*, *Al Hasan Ebn Mokballed*, three times, *Sa'id Ebn Mokballed*, and *Abulsakar Ebn Ismael Ebn Mâlec*; his judges *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal Ebn Abu'l Shawârîb* and *Abmed Ebn Ali*; and his chamberlains *Mûsa Ebn Boga*, and his brother *Jaafar*. The inscription of his seal was, *Happy is he who receives instruction from another man's example* <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 175. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478, 479. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 272, 273, 274. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 279. Not. MS. ad. Greg. Abu'l Far. p. 274. apud JOAN. SWINTONUM, A. M. OXONIENS. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mo'tamed*, p. 638. <sup>i</sup> TARIKH AL ABBAS.

<sup>k</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 470—479. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 175, 176.

## S E C T. XXXVII.

Al Mo'taded  
proclaimed  
Khalif.

THE same day that *Al Mo'tamed* died, *Abu'l Abbâs Abmed Al Mo'taded Bi'llah Ebn Al Mowaffek*, in consequence of his having been called to the succession after that prince, was saluted *Khalif*. His mother's name was *Darâr*, or *Derûr*. She had been one of his father *Al Mowaffek's* concubines; but to what country she originally belonged, we have not been told. A profound tranquillity took place throughout the empire, immediately after his accession; so that there was a vast plenty of provisions and necessaries of all kinds in every province. Some writers pretend, that *Al Mo'taded*, before his elevation to the *Khalifat*, saw a person in a dream plunge his hand into the *Tigris*, and instantly pull it out again; upon which, that river was immediately dried up, as tho' he held all the water of it in his hand; which when he opened, it returned to its former course. This person then asked him whether he knew him? and, upon his answering him in the negative, discovered himself to be *Ali*, desiring him at the same time to be kind to his family, after he had ascended the *Moslem* throne. *Al Mo'taded*, continue these authors, promised him



a him he would, and was afterwards as good as his word. For, the descendants of that celebrated *Imâm* enjoyed a large share of this prince's favours, during the whole course of his reign <sup>1</sup>.

THE same year, *Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolîn* sent *Al Hosein Ebn Abd'allah*, com-<sup>The Khalif</sup>monly called *Ebn Al Jassas*, as his ambassador, with very valuable presents, to the *Moslem*<sup>d. demands Kha-</sup>court, in order to propose a match between his daughter *Ketralnada* and *Al Motaded's*<sup>marawiyah's</sup> son *Ali*; but the *Khalif*, having probably received a pleasing account of the young lady's<sup>d. ughter in</sup> charms, demanded her in marriage for himself. To this *Khamarawiyah* not only gave his consent, but testified likewise his approbation of his minister's conduct in transports of joy. About the same time, died *Nafr*, or *Nasser*, *Al Samâni*, in *Khcrasân*, and *Abu Isa*<sup>marriage.</sup>  
b *Ebn Mohammed Ebn Isa Ebn Sawda*, a celebrated *Imâm*, and the author of the great collection of traditions. *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân* governed his subjects with great lenity and justice this year, and the remaining part of his reign, in *Spain* <sup>m</sup>.

THE following year, being the 280th year of the *Hejra*, died *Jaafar*, the son of *Al*<sup>Al Mo'taded</sup>*Mo'tamed*; and *Hamdân Ebn Hamdûn Ebn Al Hâreth Al Ta'labi*, one of the *Arab Emîrs*<sup>makes prepa-</sup>settled in *Diyar Rabîa*, and the adjacent territories, either directly revolted against the<sup>rations to re-</sup>*Khalif*, or, by joining a body of *Curds*, gave umbrage to him. That prince, therefore, towards<sup>duce Hamdan;</sup> the close of the year, set a considerable army on foot, in order to reduce him <sup>n</sup>.

IN the 281st year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 13th, 894, the *Khalif* came to an<sup>and gets him</sup> open rupture with *Hamdân*. Being informed of his hostile intentions, and of the junction<sup>into his hands.</sup>  
c of his forces with a body of *Curds*, he advanced to *Mawfel* at the head of his troops, and, in his march, defeated a large body of the enemy, killed a great number of them upon the spot, and drove most of the rest into the *Zâb*, a river that, at a small distance from *Mawfel* and *Hadîza*, unites its stream with that of the *Tigris*; who, not being able to reach the opposite bank, were all drowned. From *Mawfel* he marched to *Mâredîn*, or *Mîradîn*, a place of some strength belonging to *Hamdân*, in which he had posted his son with a garison to defend it; who surrendered to the *Khalif* at discretion, the day after he presented himself before it. *Al Mo'taded*, having possessed himself of this fortress, ordered every thing valuable in it to be carried out, levelled it with the ground, and then returned with his army to *Baghdâd*. In the mean time, *Hamdân* thought fit to retire to *Hoseinîa*,  
d a large city extremely well fortified, and defended by a garison of ten thousand men, commanded by *Shadâd*, one of his friends. However, the *Khalif* found means to make himself master of that fortress also, and to get *Hamdân* into his hands. Some authors write, that *Hamdân* had three sons, *Al Hosein*, *Abd'allah*, and *Dawd*; and that the *Khalif* gave *Al Hosein* the command of a body of his troops. Be that, however, as it will, *Abd'allah Abu'l Hija*, *Hamdân's* second son, was one of the *Khalif Al Mo'etâf's* generals. Some writers make *Saifo'ddawla* the son of this *Abd'allah*, and others of *Hamdân* himself. He was born, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the preceding year <sup>o</sup>.

THE next year, being the 282d of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 2d, 895, *Khamara-*<sup>The Khalif</sup>*wiyah's* daughter *Ketralhada*, attended by a splendid equipage, was sent by her father to<sup>marries Ke-</sup>  
e *Baghdâd*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, and received by the *Khalif* himself, her future<sup>trahada Kha-</sup> spouse, at the gates of that city; from whence he conducted her to the imperial palace<sup>marawiyah's</sup> there, with great pomp and magnificence, the 25th of the latter *Rabî*. About this time, died *Abu Hanîfa Ahmed Ebn Dawd Al Dainawari*, the author of a natural history of plants, *Al Hâreth Ebn Abi Osâma*, the author of the *Masnad*, or body of traditions, and *Abu'l Aina Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem*, a disciple of the famous *Al Asmai*. The same year, *Khamarawiyah* was assassinated by one of his domestics in bed, the 3d of *D'bulhajja*, at *Damascus*; after which, the army substituted his son *Faish* or *Feish*, in his room. As soon as this prince had mounted the throne of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the troops demanded his uncle's head; which he thereupon ordered to be cut off, and thrown to them, without  
f delay. In a short time after his accession, he quitted the city of *Damascus*, where his father had fixed his residence, left a governor there, and returned with all possible expedition into *Egypt* <sup>p</sup>.

THE 283d year of the *Hejra* proved fatal to *Faish*, or *Feish*; who, together with his<sup>The transac-</sup> mother, was massacred by the soldiery, after he had presided about eight months over<sup>tions of the</sup> *Syria* and *Egypt*. After his death, the mutineers demolished his palace in *Mesr*, and placed<sup>year 283.</sup> his brother *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah*, a child of ten years old, upon the throne. This

<sup>1</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 176, 177. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478—481. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mot'aded*, p. 634, 635. <sup>m</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.

AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 177. ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. <sup>o</sup> Idem

ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 281. Vide etiam GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 305, & alibi pass.

<sup>p</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 282.



happened in the month of *Rajeb*. The *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, having received advice of a *Harun's* accession, wrote him a letter, wherein he acquainted him, that he had conferred the prefecture of *Egypt* upon him, and imposed on him an annual tribute of 1,500,000 *dinars*; which *Harun* promised to pay him out of the public revenues of *Egypt*. The *Slavi*, or *Slavonians*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, either this or the following year, made an irruption into *Thrace*, put a vast number of people to the sword, besieged *Constantinople* itself, and ravaged all the country about that capital. The *Greek* emperor not being able to make head against the barbarians with his own troops, continues this author, armed the *Moslem* slaves, or prisoners, on this occasion, in order to make a vigorous sally upon the besiegers, and drive them from before the town. Which having done, principally by the bravery of those slaves, he again disarmed them, and dispersed them over the provinces of the empire; fearing lest, if they remained in a body with their arms, after they had so distinguished themselves, they might meditate some enterprize against him. Soon after this, a cartel was settled between the *Christians* and the *Moslems*, who were continually making incursions into each other's territories, for an exchange of prisoners: by which means, 2504 *Moslems*, men, women, and children, recovered their liberty. The same year, that is, the 283d of the *Hejra*, a phantom, or apparition, frequently, for a considerable time, presented itself before the *Khalif*, notwithstanding all the doors of his palace and his apartments were shut, in different manners, postures, and shapes. Sometimes it would appear to him in the habit of a merchant, at others in that of a soldier, and at others in that of a dervise. Its visage also changed its colour often; for sometimes it was white, and incircled with rays of light, at others brown, and at others pale and wan. The same of this apparition was soon spread over the city of *Baghdad*, and people reasoned differently upon it. Some took it to be the devil, whom the Divine Justice sent to this prince to torment him. Others believed it to be one of those wanton spirits called by the *Arabs* *Fin*, or *Genii*, which participate both of the nature of spirits and that of men. Others imagined, that it was an angel sent by God to reform this prince, and dispose him to forsake the vicious habits he had contracted. But the most sensible part of his subjects apprehended, that these pranks were plaid by some of his domestics, assisted herein by a person well versed in the occult sciences, in order to carry some design he had formed into execution. Nevertheless, the truth of the fact could never be discovered; which excited the *Khalif* to use several of his domestics, whom he suspected of having a hand in this affair, ill on that account. About this time, died at *Manbij*, or *Aleppo*, *Al Walid Ebn Obeidah*, and *Ali Ebn Al Abbās*, two celebrated *Arab* poets. This year, a truce, or cessation of arms, in *Sicily* was agreed upon the *Christians* and the *Moslems* <sup>a</sup>.

Several wonderful phænomena in Egypt. In the year of the *Hejra*, 284, beginning *February* 8th, 897, a wonderful phænomenon, or rather several such phænomena, were seen in *Egypt*. On *Holy Thursday*, or *Ascension-day*, which this year fell on the 28th of the former *Rabi*, a high wind arose towards the evening, which blew till midnight; when on a sudden it became so dark, the night having been pretty light before, that not the faintest traces of any visible object could be discerned. This thick darkness was succeeded by a storm, or tempest, much more violent than the former wind, which threw down a vast number of houses, and did incredible damage. During this storm, a large quantity of a sort of red sand fell upon people's heads in their houses, to their great terror and astonishment, and the whole hemisphere seemed to be covered with pillars of fire. This continued till towards the approach of the morning, when the tempest somewhat abated, and the heavens appeared of an exceeding red colour, which they communicated to the earth, mountains, trees, men, and every other object of sight, for the space of two hours; the wind blowing all the time extremely fresh. Then this surprizing redness turned into a yellowish colour, which continued till noon, and was succeeded by a thick black cloud, that remained till the middle of the next day; so that, for a day and a half, the face of the heavens was totally obscured, this cloud, and the aforesaid phænomena, all that time absolutely intercepted the solar rays. After the dissipation of the thick black cloud, the boisterous weather above-mentioned immediately ceased. As the red meteor, or vapour, here mentioned, not a little resembles that seen by the writer of this history at *Oxford*, *December* 5th, 1737, which the famous *Dr. Halley* told him he never saw any celestial appearance like, through the whole course of his observations, nor ever met with an account of any similar to it in history; we thought our curious readers would not be displeased to find the preceding article, extracted from *Eutychius*, inserted in this place <sup>f</sup>.

THE

<sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480—483. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 177, 178. JSM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 283. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 277. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 634, 635. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigienf. apud JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480—485. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 182. Philosoph. Transact. for the years 1737, 1738. vol. xl. p. 437, 438.



- <sup>a</sup> THE same year, some of the *Arab* astrologers predicted a general inundation, which should be occasioned by a long course of continual rains, and by which *Mesopotamia* and all the neighbouring countries, except the territory of *Baghdâd*, should be laid under water. But the reverse of this happened. For, by reason of a long uninterrupted drought, the waters of the *Tigris*, and other rivers, were lower than ever had been known in the memory of man; insomuch that they frequently offered up prayers to heaven for rain, in the public mosques, at *Baghdâd*. About this time, the *Khalîf*, excited thereto by his affection for *Ali* and his descendants, would have issued an order to curse publicly the name of *Mod-wiyah* I. of the house of *Ommiyah*, in all the mosques of the empire, for the solemn malediction that prince caused to be published against *Ali* and his family. But *Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân*, his *Vîzir*, dissuaded him from this, by representing to him, that it would make him incur the hatred of a very considerable part of his subjects; and, by raising the credit of the race of *Ali*, then dispersed all over the empire, would make them lift up their heads, and perhaps enable them to embarrass his affairs. Before the conclusion of this year, the *Karmatians*, a sect of which we have already given our readers some account, began to be in motion <sup>Other occurrences this year.</sup>.
- <sup>b</sup> THE following year, being the 285th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 28, 898, one *Abu Sa'id* appeared for the first time at the head of a body of *Karmatian* and *Arab* troops in *Bakrein*. Having taken several towns in that province, he advanced to *Al Katîf*, and even threatened to pay the *Moslems* a visit at *Basra*. This induced the *Khalîf* to surround that city with a wall, which cost him 14,000 *dinârs*. About the same time, died *Ibrahim Ebn Ishak*, a famous traditionist of *Baghdâd*. An action happened this year in *Sicily*, the consequences of which are not known <sup>The Karmatians commit hostilities in Bahrein.</sup>.

- <sup>c</sup> THE 286th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 17th, 899, produced several military operations. The *Khalîf* *Al Mo'taded* laid siege to *Amed*, or *Amida*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Tigris*, with a powerful army. For some time, *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shaikh*, who commanded in the town, defended it with great bravery. But *Al Mo'taded* having, by the application of his catapults thereto, made a practicable breach in the walls, and being upon the point of carrying the place by storm, the commandant found himself obliged to surrender, on condition his life should be granted him. *Kinnisrîn* also and *Al Awâsem* submitted to the *Khalîf*. After which, he took *Ebn Shaikh* into favour, gave him a sumptuous vest, and carried him with him to *Baghdâd* <sup>The Khalîf reduces Amida.</sup>.
- <sup>d</sup> THE same year, *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, with a body of the *Karmatian* forces, penetrated into *Yamâma*, and laid siege to *Hajr*, the capital of the district of the same name. But as the place was strongly fortified, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation, he found himself obliged to draw off, and abandon the siege. However, after this repulse, he sat down before *Al Absâ*, a town about two miles north-west of *Hajr*, and ravaged all the adjacent territory; which enabled him to form again the siege of *Hajr*, and carry it on with more vigour than before. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not make himself master of that fortress this campaign <sup>The Karmatians penetrate into Yamâma.</sup>.

- <sup>e</sup> THE *Khalîf*, receiving advice that the *Karmatians* had over-ran a considerable part of *Arabia* and *Irâk*, pillaging all the country through which they moved, and putting all the *Moslems* they could meet with to the sword, assembled a considerable army, to stop their farther progress; which he ordered to advance towards the frontiers of those provinces, though none of the troops of which it was composed could enter upon action this campaign. About this time, *Al Mo'tadel* granted *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, at his request, the perpetual prefecture of *Awâsem*, and *Kinnisrîn*, which he annexed to that of *Egypt* and *Syria*, on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of 45,000 *dinârs*. About the same time, died *Abu'l Abbâs Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Zeid*, a celebrated grammarian and philologist, who wrote a great number of excellent books. Another battle was fought this year in *Sicily*, the particulars of which have not been handed down to us by any historian <sup>The Khalîf prepares to march against them.</sup>.
- <sup>f</sup> THE next year, being the 287th of the *Hejra*, *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar*, the *Khalîf's* general, took the field with a powerful army against the *Karmatians*, who continued still to make terrible havoc in *Arabia* and *Irâk*. That general soon brought *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, who commanded them, to a general action; wherein the *Khalîf's* troops were overthrown with great slaughter <sup>His forces are overthrown with very great slaughter.</sup>.

438. See also the *Philosoph. Transact.* abridged, from the year 1732 to the year 1734, by JOHN MARTYN, F. R. S. p. 527—519. Lond. 1747. \* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an.

Hij. 284. KHONDAMIR, D'HIERBEL. ubi sup. p. 635. \* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 278. ISM.

ABU'LFED. ad an. Hij. 285. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96.

\* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 239—242. ISM.

ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HIERBEL. Bibloth. orient. ubi sup. \* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN,

ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96, 97. See also Mr. SALES map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim.

discourse. \* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480—483. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.



great slaughter, and 700 of them, amongst whom was *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar* himself, taken prisoners. The *Karmatian* general, however, dismissed *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar*, on condition that he should represent to the *Khalîf* the fatal consequences of continuing the war against the *Karmatians*, who were inured to all kinds of hardships and fatigues, and would therefore always prove superior to the forces of that prince, to whom they were resolved never to give quarter; as likewise to endeavour to prevail upon him, by all proper motives that he could think of, to desist from that war. This he accordingly did, and which had such an effect upon the *Khalîf*, that he sent no forces against them the following year. We must not forget to observe, that *Abu'l Abbâs* landed a considerable body of *Moslem* troops from *Africa* at *Mazara*, or *Mazaria*, in *Sicily*, the 24th of *July*, the present year <sup>1</sup>.

The remark-  
illustrations of  
of the year  
288.

THE following year, being the 288th of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 26th, 900, the plague made such dreadful havock in *Alberbijdân*, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead; inasmuch that they were obliged to leave them exposed on the highways in great numbers. About the same time, the *Greeks* made an irruption into *Kajâm*, ravaged it, and carried off about 15000 *Moslems* prisoners. The whole hemisphere was filled with those meteors called falling-stars, the ninth of *Dhu'llajja*, from midnight till morning, to the vast surprize of the beholders, in *Egypt*. *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, the *Karmatian* general, took *Hajr* in *Yamâma*, having starved the garison to a surrender, and forced them to feed upon dogs and other unclean animals, either the beginning of this, or towards the conclusion of the preceding year. After he had put all the inhabitants to the sword, and distributed every thing valuable belonging to them amongst his troops, he abandoned the town. *Abu'l Abbâs*, with the *African* troops, took *Palermo* *September* 8th, 901, and massacred a great number of the citizens at the reduction of that place <sup>2</sup>.

The insolence  
of a Karmat-  
ian officer.

THE next year, being the 289th of the *Hejra*, beginning *December* 16th, 901, *Al Mo'taded*, receiving advice that a body of the *Karmatian* troops had taken post in the neighbourhood of *Cûfa*, sent a detachment of his forces to reconnoitre them. The officer, who commanded the detachment, was so lucky as to surprize one of their parties, and to carry off one of their principal chiefs, whom he immediately conducted to the imperial palace at *Baghdâd*. As soon as the *Karmatian* was brought before the *Khalîf*, that prince asked him whether they believed that the spirit of God resided in their bodies, or not? To which he made answer, *Suppose the spirit of God should reside in us, what hurt does this to you? or if the spirit of the devil should have taken up his residence in us, of what advantage is this to you? Mind your own business, and concern yourself not with other men's affairs.* "What then," said the *Khalîf*, "do you think of me and my dignity in particular?" The *Karmatian* boldly replied, *Your ancestor Al Abbâs was alive at the time of the prophet's death, and yet did he either aspire to the Khalîfat, or had he it offered him by any of the COMPANIONS? Was not Abu Becr unanimously elected his successor? After that prince's decease, Omar was called to the succession, not the least mention having been made in his predecessor's will of Al Abbâs. Omar nominated six persons, a little before he expired, to elect a new Khalîf, without permitting Al Abbâs to be one of their number. What title, therefore, can you have to the Khalîfat, when your great ancestor Al Abbâs himself was excluded from that high dignity by the COMPANIONS?* *Al Mo'taded* was so incensed at this insolent discourse, that he instantly ordered the executioner, then present, to disjoint all his bones, to cut off his hands and his feet, and finally to strike off his head <sup>3</sup>.

The Khalîf  
Al Mo'taded  
dies.

THE same year, the *Khalîf Al Mo'taded* died at *Baghdâd*, the 22d of the latter *Rabî*, after he had obliged his subjects to take an oath in favour of his son *Al Mo'edess*, whom he had declared his successor. Some authors relate, that his death was occasioned by immoderate coition, and others that he was poisoned by *Ismael Ebn Mûlec*. He reigned about nine years and nine months, and died either in the 47th, 48th, or the 50th, year of his age. His judge *Abu Omar* said the prayer usual on such occasions, when he was interred. As to his person, he was lean, swarthy, of a proper stature, just beginning to grow grey, had a handsome face, together with a long beard died black, and was of a strong robust constitution. With regard to his disposition, he is said to have been a person of great sagacity and penetration, to have been thoroughly versed in the art of government, happy and expeditious in hitting upon expedients, at all critical conjunctures, and of great justice and moderation. On some occasions, however, he was rigorous and severe in his punishments, which made him feared by his domestics, though on others his lenity was unparalleled. He was also naturally brave, an encourager of learned men, and sometimes extremely liberal, though he has been represented by *Eutychius* and *Abu'l Faraj* as a lover of money. His experience and excellent genius for government rendered him every way qualified for the sublime

<sup>1</sup> KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178, 179. CHRONIC. SIC. ARAB, Cantabrigiensi. ubi sup. <sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 278. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 48, 485. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178—181. CHRONIC. SIC. Cantabrigiensi. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 278, 279. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 635.



a post he so worthily filled. In fine, if we will believe some of the eastern writers, he excelled all his predecessors of the house of *Al Abbâs*, except the *Khalîf Al Manjûr*, in the happiness of his administration. But the true disposition of this prince will more clearly appear from the following instances of his affection for the descendants of *Ali*, as well as of his justice, severity, and moderation, which have been recorded by the oriental historians <sup>b</sup>.

THE provost of *Baghdâd* having one day stopped in the hands of a merchant the sum of 30,000 *dinârs*, sent by *Mohammed Ebn Zeid*, prince of *Mazanderân*, or *Tabrستان*, of the race of *Ali*, to the chiefs of the descendants of that *Imâm*, according to annual custom, residing there; they immediately carried their complaint to the *Khalîf*. That prince very generously gave them the money that had been seized, and, in order to justify this action, which appeared strange to the *Sunnites*, or orthodox *Moslems*, who considered the followers of *Ali* as heretics, he related them the following dream <sup>c</sup>.

“ I thought,” said he, “ that I formerly saw in a dream a man standing at the end of a bridge that I was to pass, who seemed at first to have an intention to oppose my passage; but afterwards, all of a sudden, he approached me, and presented to me a spade that he held in his hand; commanding me at the same time to break with it the ground on which we stood. I obeyed his order, and after I had given some strokes with the spade, he told me he was *Ali*, and that as many of my sons should enjoy the *Khalîfat* as I had given strokes upon the ground with the spade. Then he enjoined me to be kind to his family, and particularly those members of it that lived under my government. In consequence, therefore, of the promise I made him, as well as in point of justice, I ought to restore the 30,000 *dinârs* to the descendants of that *Imâm*, to whom they properly belonged “

THE severity of this *Khalîf* on some occasions was exceeding great, as will appear from the two following examples. A soldier having once by force picked some bunches of grapes of a certain *Moslem*'s vine, the man immediately carried his complaint to the *Khalîf*; who commanded both the soldier and his captain to appear before him, in order to receive the punishment he should think fit to inflict upon them. Some of the people about him demanding what crime the captain had committed; he answered, “ I saw him kill a man unjustly in my uncle's reign, and then made a vow to punish him for so enormous a crime, if ever the *Khalîfat* should fall into my hands, and he should be found guilty of any other fault “.

AN eastern writer relates, that a merchant having lent one of the principal lords of the *Khalîf*'s court a large sum of money, after he had applied for the payment of it several times in vain, and given it up for lost, resolved to trouble himself no farther about it, but to quit the court in order to go a voyage. This design he communicated to a friend, who advised him by all means to have recourse to *Sheikh Khaïath*, for the recovery of his money. The *Sheikh*, upon the application of these two gentlemen to him, for his assistance in this affair, went directly to the lord, and no sooner represented to him, with a tone of authority, as he very well knew how to do, the iniquity of his conduct, than he paid the merchant the sum he was indebted to him. The great reputation, or rather authority, of this *Sheikh Khaïath* was acquired by a very singular action, an account of which has been preserved by one of the oriental historians. A *Turk* attempting to ravish by force a girl in the city of *Baghdâd*, she found herself obliged to call in all her neighbours to her help. At the cries of this girl, *Sheikh Khaïath* ran to her relief, and begged the *Turk* in the most pressing terms not to offer her any violence. But the brute was so far from paying any regard to his intreaties, that he insulted him and treated him in a very injurious manner. The *Sheikh*, not being able to think of any other expedient, to prevent him from accomplishing his wicked design, mounted the *minâret*, or steeple, of the great mosque, and from thence called the people together to prayer, though it was out of the stated times of prayer, in order to excite the *Moslems* so assembled to succour the poor girl, and deliver her effectually out of the hands of the insolent *Turk*. The *Khalîf*, having been apprized of the action, but being ignorant of the motive to it, commanded the *Sheikh* to be brought before him, and severely reprimanded him for convening the people to prayer at an unlawful hour. But being afterwards informed of the whole affair, he ordered the *Turk* to be punished according to his demerit, and at the same time commanded the *Sheikh*, as often as he should see any violence or injustice committed, to publish it in the same manner, that by this means the author of it might meet with the treatment he deserved. 'Twas this action that gave so great a degree of credit to the *Sheikh Khaïath*, that there was no person in *Baghdâd*, neither great nor small, who did not pay the highest regard to his admonitions, for fear he should assemble the people as before, make public the crimes he was willing to expose, and bring the authors to condign punishment for them <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179, 180. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. H. 289. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 279. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486, 487. KHONDEMIR. EBN SHOHNAH, TARIKH AL ABBAS. <sup>c</sup> MOHAMMED EBN ABD'ALWAHEB, in TARIKH AL ABBAS. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in NIGHIARISTAN. <sup>e</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 636. <sup>f</sup> MOHAMMED EBN ABD'ALWAHEB, in TARIKH AL ABBAS.



Some other  
remarkable  
particulars  
relating to  
him.

ANOTHER author relates a fact of this *Khalif*, that our curious readers will not be disappointed to find inserted here. Being desirous of borrowing a considerable sum of money of one of his subjects, who had been represented as in very affluent circumstances to him; the man said, as soon as he was brought into his presence, *Take as much of my money as you please.* “But,” replied the *Khalif*, “what security do you require for it?” God, returned the man, *has trusted you with the government of his lands and his servants, of which you have shewn yourself worthy by your excellent administration; and shall I be afraid to trust you with my money?* These words so affected the *Khalif*, that he is said to have shed tears, and to have told the man that he would not finger a *dirhém* of his money, but that if hereafter he should become indigent, all the public revenues of the empire should be at his service. This was the more remarkable at that time, as he was in great want of money to pay the forces; which in another reign might have produced very dismal effects. He also eased the people of the burthen of some of their taxes, and remitted the tribute paid by the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Besides which, other instances of his preferring the welfare of his subjects to pecuniary considerations, even when he stood in need of money, and his finances were at a pretty low ebb, have been handed down to us by some of the best oriental writers <sup>a</sup>.

His lenity to  
his servants.

WITH regard to this *Khalif*'s lenity and mildness to his servants, on some occasions, a very remarkable story of him has been preserved by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Abd'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Wakeb*, his *Visir*, being one day with him, a servant, whilst he endeavoured to drive away the flies with a fly-flap in his hand, struck off the *Khalif*'s cap; which greatly confounded the *Visir*. But the *Khalif*, unmoved with the accident, only said, *This boy is exceeding careless.* This so astonished the *Visir*, that he could not forbear falling prostrate on the ground, and saying, *O emperor of the faithful! is it possible there should be so much lenity in so great a prince?* The *Khalif* replied, “What other notice ought to be taken of such an accident as this? I knew that if the poor boy had done this designedly, he must have been out of his senses; and certainly where no ill is intended, no action ought to be imputed to any one as a crime <sup>b</sup>.”

Other authors  
represent him  
as cruel on  
some occasions.

OTHER authors, however, relate, that, at certain intervals, he was cruel, and took great delight in spilling human blood; inasmuch that he punished with death the most trifling faults. The same writers also affirm, that whenever any of his domesticks incurred his displeasure, he ordered him to be buried alive; which made them all to stand in the greatest awe of him. In fine, from what has been observed of this *Khalif* it clearly appears, that different authors have represented him in different lights, at least as inconsistent with himself, and acting differently at different times; so that we must consider him on certain occasions as adorned with some of those virtues, the exercise of which appears most amiable in a very great prince, and on others as deformed by their opposite vices <sup>c</sup>.

His favourites  
and Visirs.

HIS principal counsellors, or *Visirs*, were *Abu'l Sakar Ebn Ismael Ebn Mâlec*, *Abd'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Wakeb*, *Abimed Ebn Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Mohammed*, *Abu Hârim Abd'alhamîd Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Selwi*, and *Yusef Ebn Yakûb*, who successively governed the *Muslem* empire under the *Khalif*. His chamberlain *Sâleh*, and his freed-man *Eadar*, enjoyed likewise a considerable share of his favour. The inscription of his seal was, *Necessity takes away all choice and free will.* The first day of his reign was *Tuesday*, and the last *Monday*; tho', with regard to the precise duration of it, authors are not perfectly agreed <sup>d</sup>.

Some occurrences in the  
Greek empire,  
during his  
reign.

IN the first year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'taded*, *Simeon*, or *Sim'ân*, *Ebn Zarnâk* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and presided over the church there twelve years. In the year of the *Hejra* 281, or of *CHRIST* 894, according to the *Christian* writers followed by *Al Makin*, the emperor *Leo* married his fourth wife *Zoe*, who brought him a son, called *Constantine*. This marriage being the fourth, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great disturbances and divisions in the church of *Constantinople*. For, *Nicolaus Mysticus*, at that time patriarch, not only declared against the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to be restored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch in a monastery, and placed one *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to *Nicolaus*, and others to *Euthymius*; which occasioned a schism in the church. However, the pope, or bishop of *Rome*, *Michael*, or *Mikhâïyel*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Elias*, or *Eylâ*, *Ebn Mansûr*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and *Simeon*, or *Sim'an*, *Ebn Zarnâk*, patriarch of *Antioch*, by their legates, or nuncio's, whom they sent to *Constantinople* for that purpose, if we will believe *Euty chius*, declared for the legality of that marriage, and were joined herein by a considerable number of the *Greek* bishops. But, for a farther account of this affair, we must beg leave

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron.

ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 279.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG.

ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179, 180. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486, 487.



a to refer our curious readers to the *Roman*, or *Constantinopolitan*, history, to which it more properly belongs <sup>1</sup>.

DURING the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'taded*, several learned men were not only countenanced, but <sup>Several learned men encouraged in Al Mo'taded's reign.</sup> cared for, at the *Moslem* court. Amongst these may be ranked the three sons of *Mûsa Ebn Shâker*, *Mohammed*, *Abmed*, and *Al Hasan*, who excelled in various branches of literature. As for *Mûsa Ebn Shâker* himself, he followed the occupation of a robber, or highway-man, in his earlier years; but he afterwards became reformed, and was one of the greatest favourites of the *Khalif Al Mamûn*. After his death, that prince committed his three sons, then very young, to the care of *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim Al Mosa'bi*, who placed them under *Tabya Ebn Abi Mansûr*, in the university of *Baghdâd*. However, their circumstances then were  
b narrow enough, as the pensions settled by *Al Mamûn* upon his favourites were but small. *Abu Ja'far Mohammed*, the eldest of them, made a very considerable progress in geometry and astronomy; though afterwards applying himself to military affairs, he had a command given him in the army, which he kept till the *Turks* becoming masters of every thing, filled it with officers of their own nation. *Abmed*, the second of *Mûsa's* sons, was inferior, in point of learning, to his brother *Mohammed*; but he had the best mechanical head of any man of the age. *Al Hasan*, the youngest son, was extremely fond of geometry, and of such prodigious parts as could be equalled by none of those of his contemporaries. For, whatever knowledge he had came to him by dint of genius, and as it were by inspiration, not having been acquired by labour and study. When he had read only the six first books of the  
c *Elements* of *Euclid*, with the assistance of those, purely by force of genius, he could demonstrate any proposition contained in the books of that celebrated author he had not touched upon; as he scrupled not to tell *Al Merûzi*, when he reproached him with not having gone farther in *Euclid*, before the *Khalif Al Mamûn*. However, that prince, though giving credit to what he advanced in this particular, seems to have blamed him for his want of application. *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa* instructed in his house, or school, at *Baghdâd*, the famous *Thâbet Ebn Korra*, the *Sabian*, who was born at *Harân*, or *Harrân*, in *Mesopotamia*; and introduced him to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, who consulted him as his astrologer, honoured him with a greater degree of familiarity than even his *Visir* himself, and took an inconceivable liking to him. This *Thâbet Ebn Korra Ebn Merwân* composed several excellent treatises upon mathematical, physical, and logical subjects. He likewise wrote some books in *Syriac* upon the  
d *Sabian* religion, containing an account of the *Sabians* method of wrapping up and burying their dead, of their cleanness and uncleanness, of the animals they look upon as proper or improper for sacrifices, of their stated times of public worship, and, in fine, of all their rites, precepts, and institutions. But, as we have already obliged our readers with a full and ample account of all those particulars in another place, we shall not expatiate any farther upon them here. *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Tiyeb Al Sarkhasi* likewise flourished in this reign. He was also an eminent *Moslem* philosopher, and penned several excellent pieces, full of various kinds of erudition, that prevailed both amongst the *Arabs* and the  
e antients. His knowledge was very extensive, his parts admirable, his language copious and elegant, and his style extremely neat. He had first been preceptor to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, and afterwards his most intimate companion and friend; insomuch that he communicated all his secrets to him, not excepting even those of state, and consulted him upon the most important points. He is called by some writers *Abd'allah Abmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Al Sarakfi*, having been born at *Sarkhas*, or *Sarakhs*, a city of the province of *Khorasân*, which also gave birth to several other learned men, and is said by them to have dedicated one of his moral treatises, intitled, *Adab Al Nefes*, to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, his pupil, who was a great encourager of learned men. Another of his compositions, being a comment upon the *Isagoge* of *Porphyry*, has been mentioned by those authors, as having the title of *Isagogi* prefixed to it. This piece of *Porphyry* has likewise been commented upon,  
f and translated into *Arabic*, by *Atkiro'ddîn Al Baberi*; a fine copy of which performance is preserved in the *French* king's library, N<sup>o</sup> 908. We have also an *Arabic* version of the *Isagoge* of *Porphyry*, in verse, written by *Ibrahim Al Mostabasheri*, which bears the title of *Taiyab*, because the last consonant of every rhyme is the letter T. This poem is likewise intitled *Mawzen Al Mizân*, that is, *The weight of the balance*. The word *Mizân*, which in its proper signification denotes a *balance*, in a figurative one is taken for *logic*. The *Arabs* generally divide their systems of logic into ten chapters, one of which comprehends the *Isagoge* of *Porphyry*. The philosopher *Abmed Ebn Mohammed*, named sometimes *Abu'l Abbâs Al Sarakfi Al Thabib*, of whom we have been speaking, greatly excelled in this art. But this *Abmed's* learning was greater than his prudence. For, he once revealed a secret the *Khalif* had entrusted him with; which so provoked that prince, that he immediately ordered him to be put to death, in the year of the *Hejra* 286<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> EUTYCH, ubi sup. p. 484—417. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 180.  
 279—283. D'HERBEL, Biblioth. orient. p. 759, & alib. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185. ATHIRO'DDIN  
 AL BAHARI, IBRAHIM AL MOSTABASHERI, &c.

<sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p.



## S E C T. XXXVIII.

Al Mo'tafi  
succeeds Al  
Mo'taded in  
the Khalifat.

**A**L MO'TADED was no sooner dead, than *Kasem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Soliman Ebn Wakeb*, his *Visir*, who succeeded *Yusef Ebn Yakub*, caused *Abu Mohammed Al Mo'tafi Billah*, his son, to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Baghdad*. He also wrote to the new *Khalif*, who was then at *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, desiring him to return as soon as possible to his capital, in order to take the government of the empire upon him. As soon as *Al Mo'tafi* received advice of his father's death, he obliged all the forces he commanded at *Al Rakka* to take the oath of allegiance to him, and posted away with the utmost celerity to *Baghdad*, where he arrived the 8th of the former *Jomada*, the present year. Upon his arrival, he was inaugurated with the usual formalities, and acknowledged emperor of the faithful by all his subjects there. His mother *Bakhtajakne*, called by some writers *Khade*, and by others *Hibac*, or *Hibaca*, was the daughter of *Al Kasem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Soliman Ebn Wakeb*, the prime minister or *Visir*. This we find asserted by *Eutyckius*, though the contrary seems to be intimated by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; who relates, that this *Al Kasem*, in *Al Mo'taded's* life-time, formed a design to exclude *Al Mo'tafi* from the succession, to which was privy only *Badar*, or *Badir*, who had a vast ascendant over that *Khalif*. *Al Kasem*, therefore, continues the same author, being afraid that *Badar* would discover the whole affair to *Al Mo'tafi*, inspired the *Khalif* with sentiments by no means favourable to him. As *Badar* then resided in *Al Jebel*, or the *Persian Irak*, at some distance from *Baghdad*, and consequently was incapable of obviating the ill impressions made on the *Khalif's* mind by his enemy's insinuations, *Al Kasem* easily prevailed upon *Al Mo'tafi* to send an army against him. But before this measure was actually pursued, the *Khalif* found means to bribe the greatest part of *Badar's* troops to desert him, by privately distributing very considerable sums of money amongst them; which obliged that commander himself to retire to *Waset*. *Al Mo'tafi*, having been informed of what had happened, moved at the head of his forces to attack him. But, before hostilities commenced, *Al Kasem* sent *Al Haram*, the principal judge, to *Badar*, to offer him a pardon, provided he would submit to the *Khalif*, and lay down his arms. This being accepted by *Badar*, upon the terms prescribed, he immediately disbanded his troops, and set out with *Al Haram* for *Baghdad*. Of which *Al Kasem* having been apprized, he sent a person to take off his head upon the road; which being done, and the head brought to *Baghdad*, *Al Mo'tafi* returned to his capital in peace. This article renders it improbable, if we admit it to be true, that the new *Khalif's* mother was *Al Kasem's* daughter; as it cannot well be supposed that the *Visir* would have entered into any scheme that had the least tendency to forward the exclusion of his grandson *Al Mo'tafi* from the Moslem throne<sup>a</sup>.

The Karmatians make an irruption into Syria.

THE same year the *Karmatians*, under the command of *Yahya Ebn Zakrîna*, advanced to *Rusafa*, and overthrew *Shakr*, the *Deylamite*, who was sent against them by the *Khalif*, in the neighbourhood of that city. *Shakr* himself was killed in the action, and his forces utterly dispersed; after which the rebels burnt the great mosque at *Rusafa*, and ravaged all the adjacent territory. From thence they marched into Syria, routed *Harun Ebn Kbamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolun's* forces, under the conduct of *Taj Ebn Hanaf*, or *Tagaj Ebn Jof Al Fargani*, as he is called by *Eutyckius*, and at last laid siege to *Damascus*. But *Harun*, having sent *Bedr Al Yamami* with a reinforcement into Syria, after the junction of those troops with the army commanded by *Taj*, his forces attacked *Yahya* with such bravery, that they intirely defeated him, killed him upon the spot, with a vast number of his men, and forced his camp. This blow, however, did not dishearten the *Karmatians*; who thereupon elected his brother *Al Hosein*, then not above twenty-two years of age, their general, in his room. *Al Hosein*, having been joined by a body of auxiliary troops, penetrated to *Hems*, and made himself master of that city. From thence he moved towards *Damascus*, in order to form a second time the siege of that place; but the inhabitants, by paying him a large sum of money, prevailed upon him to lay aside that design. He, therefore, returned to *Hems*; from whence he advanced to *Hamab* and *Maara*, or *Maarra*, near two days journey from *Kinnisrin*, seized upon both those cities, and put the greatest part of their inhabitants to the sword. Those of *Baalbec* he served in the same manner. But *Salamiyah*, a town in the district of *Hems*, or as others will have it, in that of *Hamab*, being a place of considerable strength, he was obliged to promise the people of it their lives, and the secure possession of all their effects, before he could persuade them to surrender it to him. Notwithstanding which, he had no sooner entered the town, than he ordered them all, without

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 181, 182. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486—489. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 283. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moktafi*, p. 592.



a distinction of sex and age, together with their cattle and domestic animals, in open defiance of the capitulation, to be put to the sword °.

It must be here observed, that this *Al Hosein*, now at the head of the *Karmatians*, pretended to be *Ahmed*, the son of *Mohammed*, the son of *Ismael*, the son of *Jaafar*, surnamed *Al Sadik*, or *the just*, the sixth *Imâm*; and, in order to render this the more credible, he shewed a mole, or wart, on his face, which, as he affirmed, resembled that of his father *Mohammed* in the same place. Hence he had given him, by way of derision or ridicule, the surname of *Sabeb Al Samab*; and the general that commanded under him that of *Sabeb Al Khal*; the words *Samab* and *Khal* in *Arabic* denoting the same thing. About two years before this irruption of the *Karmatians* into *Syria*, *Ali Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Bagawi* died at *Mecca*. After the surrender of *Salamiyah*, *Al Hosein* destroyed a great number of towns and villages in *Syria*, killed many of the *Khalif's* subjects there, carried others of them into captivity, and, in fine, laid the most considerable part of that fine country waste with fire and sword °.

And commit dreadful devastations there.

A LITTLE before this time, the *African Moslems*, having equipped a mighty fleet, reduced the island of *Lemnos*, and ravaging without controul the coasts of *Asia*, threw the imperial city itself into a great consternation. The *Arab* fleet in this expedition was commanded by *Leo Tripolites*, a renegado, who made himself master of *Thessalonica*, cutting to pieces the greatest part of the garison, and taking *Chatzilacius*, the imperial governor, prisoner. However, the place was afterwards redeemed with a large sum by *Simcan*, one of the emperor's secretaries, who was on that account raised to the rank of patrician. *Leo* then sailed to *Crete*, and distributed part of the plunder he had met with at *Lemnos*, which he abandoned soon after it fell into his hands, *Thessalonica*, and on the coast of *Asia*, amongst the *Moslems* there. After which, he returned home, without having sustained any considerable loss. The emperor, not being able to make head against the *Moslems* by sea, sent *Andronicus Ducas*, and *Eustathius Agyrus*, into the East, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great success, having gained several victories over them. This we learn from the *Greek* writers only, not the least mention being made of such an eastern expedition by any of the *Arab* historians.

The military operations between the Moslems and Greeks.

THE following year, being the 290th of the *Hejra*, commencing December 5th, 902, the *Khalif Al Motasif* sent *Al A'z*, one of his commanders, with a body of 10,000 men, to attack the *Karmatians*. As soon as that general came up with the rebels, his men immediately threw off their cloaths, and charged them with great fury. But the *Karmatians*, animated by *Al Motawek*, who commanded them, routed the *Khalif's* forces, and cut the most considerable part of them in pieces; *Al A'z* himself, attended by the shattered remains of his army, with great difficulty, making his escape to *Aleppo*, whither he was closely pursued by *Al Motawek*, who laid siege to the town. But the inhabitants, supported by *Al A'z's* troops, repulsed him in all his attacks, and at last forced him to abandon the siege.

The Khalif's forces not able to reduce the Karmatians.

The *Khalif*, receiving advice of what had happened, retired to *Al Rakka*, and sent several other bodies of troops afterwards against the *Karmatians*, but without effect. This enabled *Al Hosein* to ravage the provinces through which he moved without controul. It seems to appear from some of the *Greek* writers, that, a little before this time, the *Moslems* invaded the imperial territories with a very numerous and formidable army; which obliged the emperor to dispatch *Himerius* and *Andronicus Ducas* against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct, continue these authors; but a fatal misunderstanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one *Samonas*, put a stop to the progress of their arms. But the particulars of this expedition, as well as those of the former, have been passed over in silence by both the *Persian* and *Arab* historians °.

The Khalif's troops overthrow the Moslem territories.

THE next year, being the 291st of the *Hejra*, beginning November 24th, 903, the *Khalif*, having been informed that *Al Hosein* had pillaged several parts of *Syria*, and put the rest under contribution, took the field with an army of 100,000 men, in order to reduce him. He advanced first to *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, and from thence detached *Mohammed Ebn Soliman*, with a large body of troops, to go in quest of the rebels, who retired at his approach; but at last he came up with them, and attacked them with such bravery, that he intirely defeated them, without having sustained any considerable loss. A great number of the rebels perished in the action, and *Hosein* himself, together with the general who acted under him, and 360 of his men, fell into the hands of one of the *Khalif's* officers, who conducted them under an escort, as prisoners, to *Bagh-*

The Khalif's troops overthrow the Karmatians.

° ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 182. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 490, 491. GREG. ABU FAR. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Altragan, p. 126, 127, 276, &c. KHONDDEMIR; ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU LFED. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 596—602, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. lib. xvi. p. 188, 189, &c. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 182, 183. ISM. ABU LFED. ubi sup. & ad an. Hej. 390. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.



*dâd.* It appears from *Abulfeda*, who in this particular has followed *Sharîf Al Abed*, an author a that lived before him, that the battle was fought at a place called *Tamna*. After this victory, which was complete, and gained in the 291st year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and not in the 290th, as is suggested by M. *D'Herbelot*, the *Khalîf* entered triumphantly his capital, and ordered the hands and feet of all the *Karmatian* prisoners, not excepting those of *Al Hosein* himself, to be first cut off, and afterwards their heads. Our readers will not be surprized, that we should prefer the authority of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, styled by Mr. *Ockley* the *Livy* of the *Arabians*, in the point before us, to that of any other writer followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, after we have informed them, that the *French* author himself asserts, in the most positive and express terms, that the *Tarîkh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* is allowed by the *Mohammedans* themselves to be the very basis and foundation b of the *Moslem* history.

The Turks  
make an irrup-  
tion into Ma-  
warâ'nahr.

THE same year, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, the *Turks* made an irruption into *Marwarâ'nahr* with a prodigious army; no less than 700 officers of superior rank having, amongst the rest, pitched their tents in that province. However, the *Khalîf's* forces fell upon this vast multitude early in the morning, put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter of them. Soon after which, the *Greeks*, according to this author, entered the *Moslem* territories with an army of 100,000 men, divided into ten bodies, which burnt several towns and villages, carried off a pretty large number of prisoners, and then retired of their own accord, without having done any thing very considerable. This may possibly be the expedition mentioned in the preceding page; but that it really is so, we must not presume to c assert. Be that, however, as it will, as it has been but just taken notice of by *Abu'l Faraj*, who has scarce touched upon any particulars relating to it, we can say nothing farther of it here. *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Yakya Ebn Zeid*, a famous grammarian and philologer of the university of *Cûfa*, departed this life the present year, at *Baghdâd*. It appears from *Abu'l-feda*, that *Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, died in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, in *Sicily*, the present year. The body was carried out of that island to *Africa*, and interred at *Kairwân*. This *Ibrahim* was a person of great penetration, famous for his wonderful memory, extremely devout, charitable to the poor, and, in fine, one of the best and most excellent princes of the family of *Al Aglab*.

The Moslems  
take Seleucia.

IF we will believe *Eutychius*, the *Moslems* took *Seleucia* from the *Romans*, in the month of d the latter *Rabî*, either this or the preceding year, and sent a vast number of the enemy, whom they had made prisoners on this occasion, in the month of *Rajeb*, into *Egypt*. The same author writes, that, in the second year of the *Khalîfat* of *Al Mo'elâfi*, the *Nile* did not rise above thirteen cubits, notwithstanding the prayers of the *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Mohammedans*, to implore from heaven a farther increase of the waters of that river. About this time, one *Eylia*, or *Elias*, was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and remained in that see twenty-eight years. Besides which, nothing material, as far as can be collected from the *Arab* writers, happened in the *Moslem* empire, the present year.

The Khalîf's  
forces conquer  
Syria and  
Egypt.

THE 292d year of the *Hejra*, in a great measure coincident with the 905th of the *Chris-* e  
tian æra, proved fatal to the house of *Tolûn* in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The *Khalîf Al Mo'elâfi*, flushed with the good success that had attended his arms the preceding campaign, resolved to attempt the intire reduction of those provinces. To this he was farther excited by the great loss sustained by *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* in the *Karmatian* war, two or three years before, wherein all his best commanders were cut off, and the flower of his forces perished. He, therefore, sent *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* with a powerful army to make himself master both of *Syria* and *Egypt*; who first attacked and defeated a large body of the *Karmatian* troops near *Hems*, and took 700 of them prisoners. Soon after which, one of his parties came up with *Al Nâjem*, the general that commanded them, who had made his escape out of the battle, at a village called *Al Dâlia*, seized him, and brought him to *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*, who sent him, together with the 700 prisoners, under a strong escorte, to the *Khalîf*, then at *Al Rakka*. Upon their arrival, that prince ordered them all to be conducted to *Baghdâd*; where *Al Nâjem* was first tortured, and afterwards beheaded, and the others put to death, without mercy. The bodies of *Al Nâjem*, and the f other principal *Karmatian* captives were, after these executions, hung upon gibbets erected for that purpose without the gates of the city. From *Hems*, which after this victory immediately surrendered to him, *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* marched to *Damascus*; the gates of which city *Badr Al Jamâni*, *Harûn's* commandant there, opened to him at his approach. After the surrender of *Damascus*, *Mohammed* led his army through *Palestine*, in order to reach with all possible expedition the borders of *Egypt*. *Harûn*, receiving advice of *Mohammed's* march,

<sup>a</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 183. SHARIF AL ABED. apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 291. ut & ipse Ism. ABU'LFED. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 592, 866, & alib. OCKLEY, vol. ii. introd. p. 39.

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. Ism. ABU'LFED. excerpt. ex cod. Arab. MS. in Biblioth. D. Laurent. Escur. Vide etiam JOAN BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 19. <sup>c</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 488—491.



- a advanced with his forces to the frontiers, to dispute the passage into his kingdom with him. By the advice of his generals, he took post in a place called *Al Abbâsia*, in that part of *Egypt* known by the name of *Al Hûf*, where he waited for *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*. In the mean time, *Damianus*, or *Damîân*, a Greek, the *Khalîf*'s admiral, appeared with that prince's fleet off the coasts of *Egypt*, and landed a body of troops, that routed a large detachment of *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah*'s forces at *Tanûbah*. *Shaibân Ebn Akmed Ebn Tolûn*, imagining that a favourable opportunity now offered of setting up for himself, assassinated his nephew *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah*, on Sunday the 18th of the month *Safar*, and for some days was considered as the sovereign of *Egypt*. But the officers of the army having an utter aversion to the assassin, wrote a letter to *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*, pressing him to hasten his march, and assuring him that they were ready to submit to the *Khalîf*, provided that prince would take them under his protection. *Mohammed*, having granted their request, and sent them such an answer as satisfied them in every particular, entered *Egypt* the 28th of *Safar*, without opposition. After which, he advanced with his army drawn up in order of battle to *Al Riyah*, at a small distance from *Mesr*, where he was met by *Shaibân* himself, and several of his brothers, who submitted to the *Khalîf*; upon which, an unlimited pardon and amnesty were granted them by *Mohammed*, in his master's name, both for their lives and effects. However, that general ordered all the officers and secretaries that had been in the service of the family of *Tolûn* to leave *Egypt*, and retire with their effects, the possession of which was secured to them, to *Baghdâd*. As for *Mohammed* himself, he exacted of those to whom he had granted the *Khalîf*'s protection, and others, the sum of 1,000,000 *dinârs*, remained six months at the head of the administration in *Egypt*, and then, after he had substituted in his room *Isa Al Nûsheri*, to govern the province, went to *Irâk*. Here he also collected another sum, drawn out of various provinces, amounting to 1,000,000 *dinârs*, for the use of the *Khalîf*. But that prince having been informed, that *Mohammed* had imbezzled a considerable part of the public revenues of *Egypt*, and amassed to himself vast sums of money there, put him under arrest, and even loaded him with irons, in order to oblige him to refund what he had purloined in that opulent country. After *Mohammed*'s arrival in *Irâk*, *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khalîj*, one of *Harûn*'s commanders in *Syria*, who had remained for some time with *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* there, revolted against the *Khalîf*, and posted himself with a body of troops he had assembled at *Al Ramla*, threatening to make an irruption into *Egypt*. The news of *Al Khalîj*'s design reaching the ears of *Isa Al Nûsheri*, he and *Al Hosein Ebn Ahmed Al Mâderâni* put themselves at the head of the forces in *Egypt*, and advanced towards the frontiers, in order to meet him, and give him battle; but receiving advice of his approach, and being informed that his army was much more numerous than had before been given out, they retired with great precipitation to *Al Fostât*. Not thinking themselves safe there, they fled, after a short stay, to *Al Jîza*; burning two bridges in their flight, to prevent *Al Khalîj* from coming up with them. In fine, they were struck with such terror, that they never continued long in one place, but moved about the country as if they had been pursued by an enemy of superior strength. This threw the inhabitants of *Al Fostât*, now intirely abandoned, and left without a governor, as well as those of the adjacent district, into such a consternation, that *Al Khalîj* seized upon *Mesr*, which he entered on Thursday the 16th of *Dhu'lkaada*, the present year, without opposition, and resided there eight months. After the expiration of that short term, he was driven out of *Egypt* by the *Khalîf*'s troops, as will more clearly appear from our enumeration of the principal transactions of the following year \*.

- The next year, being the 293d of the *Hejra*, commencing November 2d, 905, *Al Mo'etafi* sent an army into *Egypt*, under the command of *Fâtec*, his freed-man, and *Badr Al Fadl* *Jamâni*, to reduce the rebel *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khalîj*. The *Khalîf*'s forces found him posted near *Al Fostât*, and, after a sharp engagement, intirely defeated him. *Al Khalîj* himself, however, found means to make his escape, though he was soon after taken out of the lurking-place where he had lain concealed, and brought to *Isa Al Nûsheri*; who sent him, with a great number of rebel officers, in the month of *Rajeb*, to the *Khalîf* at *Baghdâd*. Upon their arrival there, *Al Mo'etafi* ordered them to be loaded with irons, and thrown into prison. He also recalled *Fâtec*, after he had made a triumphant entry into *Al Fostât*, and appointed *Isa Ebn Mohammed Al Nûsheri* to preside over the province of *Egypt* <sup>r</sup>.

The same year, the *Karmatians*, under the command of *Zakrûna Ebn Mabrûna*, seized upon *Adbraât* and *Basra*, pillaged those two cities, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. After which, they advanced to *Damascus*, slew *Salch Ebn Fadl*, the governor's deputy there, <sup>The Karmatians and the Greeks invaded the Moslem empire.</sup>

\* EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 490—499. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 283, 284. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 292. <sup>r</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 498, 499. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 592.



and plundered the adjacent district. But they were repulsed, in a rally, by the garison, a who drove them from the place, after they had destroyed abundance of their men. Notwithstanding which, *Zakrûna* marched to *Tiberias*, called by the *Arabs* *Tabariyah*, where he was met by *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim*, with a body of the *Khalif's* forces, who gave him battle, intirely defeated him, and pursued him into the desert as far as *Al Sawân*. Here, however, *Zakrûna* waited for *Yusef*, overthrew him in his turn, with very great slaughter, and made himself master of his camp. The place where this battle was fought is called by some authors *Sabian*, and said to be in the neighbourhood of *Kadesia*, a city of the *Babylonian Irâk*, about fifteen parasangs off *Cûfa*. Be that as it will, so unexpected a blow as this could not but greatly embarrass the *Khalif's* affairs. About this time, died *Abmed Ebn Yabya Ebn Ishak*, the *Rawandian*, who wrote a great number of impious books according b to *Shababo'ddin*, at *Rahabab*. We must not forget to observe, that the *Greeks* invaded the *Moslem* territories, took the city of *Cyrrhus*, or *Kîrûs*, burnt the great mosque there, massacred most of the inhabitants, and carried off the rest with them prisoners, the present year <sup>2</sup>.

The Karmatians plunder a caravan going to Mecca, and are routed by the Khalif's troops.

THE following year, being the 294th of the *Hejra*, the *Karmatians*, who still remained in the desert, fell upon a caravan going to *Mecca*, plundered it, and put about 20,000 pilgrims to the sword. This so enraged the *Khalif*, that he immediately sent *Wasîf*, one of his generals, with a considerable body of his troops, to take vengeance of them for so daring an affront. *Wasîf*, in pursuance of his orders, soon came up with them, and attacked c them, loaded and incommoded with the spoils they had taken, so opportunely, that, after an obstinate resistance, he put them to the rout. *Zakrûna*, their chief, was taken prisoner in the action, and died of a contusion he had received, that hurt his brain, five days after; notwithstanding which, *Wasîf* sent his body, attended by his wife, domestics, and a great number of *Karmatian* prisoners, to *Baghdâd*. Upon their arrival there, the body, preceded by *Zakrûna's* wife, was carried in triumph through the principal streets of the city, and all the prisoners put to a cruel death. This year, *Ismael Ebn Ahmed Al Samâni*, the *Khalif* of the *Transoxana* and *Khorasân*, died at *Samarkand*. The last defeat so humbled the *Karmatians*, that they did not attempt to disturb the repose of the empire for several years <sup>2</sup>.

The Khalif Al Moctafi dies at Baghdâd.

IN the 295th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 12th, 907, the *Khalif Al Moctafi* departed this life at *Baghdâd*. Some authors relate, that he died the 13th of *Dhu'lkaada*, d and others the 13th of *Dhu'lhajja*, after he had reigned either six years, six months, and twenty days, or six years, nine months, and two days. With regard to his age, the *Arab* writers likewise differ; some of them making him a little above thirty-one, and other thirty-three, years old at the time of his death. He was short of stature, had a handsome face, large eyes, and a long beard. He was likewise religious, munificent, and had a natural aversion to the effusion of human blood; though he found it absolutely necessary, on some occasions, to punish rebellion and other capital crimes in a proper manner. He left behind him immense riches, and a numerous army; though he could not re-annex to the empire all the provinces that had been lost by some of his predecessors. He bore an uncommon affection for the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, as his father had done before him. His principal favourites were *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Hosein* and *Fâtec*, his freed-man; his *Vizirs* *Al Kasem Ebn Abd'allab Ebn Solimân Ebn Wakeb* and the above-mentioned *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ayûb*; his judges *Yusef Abu Harem Ebn Yakûb*, *Abu Omar*, and *Ali Ebn Abu'l Sharwâreb*, and his chamberlain *Hafif Al Samarkandi*. The inscription of his seal was ALI the son of AHMED puts his trust in GOD. The famous physician *Yusef*, surnamed *Al Sâker*, that is, the watchful, or the vigilant, and *Al Kas*, that is, the elder, or the antient, flourished in this *Khalif's* reign. Some authors relate, that he seldom slept above four hours, and spent all the rest of the night in study; from whence he received the appellation of *Al Sâker*. Others say, that he was deprived of his natural rest by a cancer, and derived from thence the first of his surnames; and, in confirmation of this sentiment, it clearly appears from some of his f works, that he was troubled with such a disorder. About nine months before *Al Moctafi's* death, *Ismael Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni*, the sovereign of *Mawarâ'lnahr* and *Khorasân*, departed this life; as did *Mohammed Ebn Nafr Al Merûzi*, a celebrated author, the preceding year, at *Samarkand*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to the eastern historians, *Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Roderic of Toledo*, died, the 16th of the month *Safar* this year, in *Spain* <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 184. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 592, & alib. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 284. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 293. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 133, 223, & alib.

<sup>2</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 294.

<sup>b</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 184, 185. KHONDEMIR, ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 262. Vide etiam EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup.



## S E C T. XL.

- <sup>a</sup> UPON the death of *Al Mo'tafi*, *Jaafar Abu'l Fadl Al Moktader*, surnamed *Bi'llah*, in *And is succeed-*  
common with his two immediate predecessors, ascended the *Moslem* throne. He was *ed by Al Mok-*  
inaugurated at *Baghdâd* the very day on which his brother *Al Mo'tafi* died; being then, if *tader Bi'llah*.  
we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, not quite fourteen years of age. His mother's name  
was either *Sa'f*, or *Sba'b*, and his own at large *Jaafar Abu'l Fadhl Al Moktader Bi'llah Ebn*  
*Al Mo'taded*. This year, *Abu Nasr Ahmed Al Sammâni* succeeded his father *Ismael Ebn Ahmed*  
*Al Sammâni* in the sovereignty of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'lnahr*; as did *Abd'allah* his brother  
*Al Mondar* in that of *Andalusia*, or *Spain*. About a month before the last event happened,  
died *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Nasr Al Termedi*, a famous *Sonnite* theologer of  
the sect of *Al Shâfe'i*. An *Emîr* arrived in *Sicily*, from *Africa*, with some *Moslem* troops, in  
<sup>b</sup> the month of *May*; and, being reinforced by a body of the *Sicilian* forces, made himself  
master of *Taormina*, the *Tauromenium* of the antients, called by the *Arabs* *Tabermîn*, the first  
of *August*, which happened to be one *Sunday*, the present year <sup>c</sup>.
- THE next year, being the 296th of the *Hejra*, commencing *September* 30, 908, *Al Abbâs* *Al Mortadi*  
*Ebn Al Hosein*, *Al Moktader's* *Visir*, and *Fâtec*, were cut to pieces by the soldiery, com- *Ebn Al Mo'-*  
manded by *Al Hosein Ebn Hamdân*, who assembled in a tumultuous manner, the twentieth *tazz is placcd*  
of the former *Rabî*, and, not content with that outrage, afterwards deposed the *Khalîf* *upon the Mos-*  
himself, whom they despised on account of his tender age. The *Moslem* throne being by *lem throne,*  
this means become vacant, they placed thereon *Abd'allah Ebn Al Motazz*, surnamed by *and, after 24*  
them *Al Mortadi Bi'llah*, who appointed *Mohammed Ebn Dawd* his *Visir*. But *Al Mortadi* *hours reign,*  
<sup>c</sup> being immediately deserted by many of those who assisted him in his elevation to the *Khalî-*  
*fat*, *Al Moktader's* forces proved superior to those of the new *Khalîf*, and intirely dispersed  
them. However, *Al Mortadi* made his escape into the desert, after he had reigned about  
twenty-four hours, where he lay a short time concealed. But being soon taken, he was  
instantly brought to *Al Moktader*; who ordered him to be strangled, together with  
*Mohammed Ebn Dawd Ebn Al Harâb*, his *Visir*, and *Sawdar Ebn Al Hafâs*, who had  
concealed him. After these executions, *Al Mortadi's* body was carried out of the impe-  
rial palace, and interred in a spot of ground opposite to his own house, the 2d of the  
latter *Rabî*; *Al Moktader's* adherents giving out every-where, that he died a natural death.  
*Al Mortadi*, at the time of his tragical exit, is said to have been about 49 or 50 years of  
<sup>d</sup> age. During this state of confusion, the mob committed great disorders at *Baghdâd*; but  
the ringleaders were soon after seized, and brought to condign punishment, and all com-  
motions appeased, both there and in every other part of the empire. As for *Al Hosein Ebn*  
*Hamdân*, though he had been the chief author of the late revolt, and the principal foment-  
er of all the disturbances consequent thereupon, the *Khalîf*, at his brother *Ibrahim's* interces-  
sion, did not only pardon him, but likewise made him a present of a sumptuous vest, and  
conferred upon him likewise the government of *Komm* and *Kâshân*. This year, there fell  
such an immense quantity of snow, in one day, at *Baghdâd*, that it was four feet deep in  
every part of the district of that metropolis; which before had never been known in the  
memory of man. This was followed by a most severe frost; during which the cold was  
<sup>e</sup> so intense, that it destroyed most of the palm-trees and vegetables in the territory of *Bagh-*  
*dâd*. Nay, not only water, vinegar, and all other liquors, but likewise eggs of every kind,  
were frozen up by it, and rendered unfit for use. It appears from *Eutyckius*, that *Abu*  
*Abd'allah Al Moktaseb Bi'llah* defeated the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân's* forces, and drove the family  
of *Al Aglab* from thence, the present year; upon which, *Abu Nasr*, or *Nasser*, *Ziyâdat'allah*  
*Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the head of  
that family, fled into *Egypt*, where he arrived in the month of *Ramadân*, and from thence  
retired to *Al Ramla*, in which city he spent the remainder of his days. *Abu Abd'allah Al*  
*Moktaseb*, having thus, by the expulsion of the *Aglabites*, made himself master of *Kairwân*,  
placed *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, one of *Ali's* descendants, upon the throne there; and  
<sup>f</sup> obliged all the subjects of that *Khalîfat* to take an oath of fidelity to him. This revolution  
in *Africa* occasioned an insurrection of the *Sicilian Moslems*, under the conduct of *Abu'l*  
*Fawâres*, against *Ebn Ziyâj*, whom they forced to abandon *Sicily*, the first of *April*, 909,  
and to make the best of his way to *Africa*. It must be remembered here, that the unfor-  
tunate prince *Al Mortadi Ebn Al Mo'tazz* was esteemed by his contemporaries for his wise  
sayings, his even temper and tranquillity of mind, his love of divine knowledge, and  
his fine poetical compositions; and that some of his verses have been preserved *Abu Jaafar*  
*Al Tabari* <sup>d</sup>.

THE

<sup>c</sup> ABU'JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU'LFED. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & EUTYCH. ubi sup.  
D'HERBEL. Biblioth. art. *Mo'tader Bi'llah*, p. 590. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> GREG.  
ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 285, 286. ABU'JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 185, 186. ISM.  
ABU'L-



Al Mohdi,  
the Khalif of  
Kairwân,  
extends his  
conquests.

THE following year, being the 297th of the *Hejra*, *Isa Ebn Mohammed Al Nîsberi*, *Al a*  
*Moktader's* governor of *Egypt*, died the 10th of *Sbaabân*, at *Al Fostât*; and, as soon as the  
news of his death arrived at court, the *Khalif* sent *Yakîn Al Harari* to preside over that pro-  
vince in his stead. *Abu'l Kasem Jonaid Ebn Mohammed Al Sûfi*, the famous *Imâm* of the *Sûfi's*,  
died the present year. About this time, *Leo* was constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and sat  
seventeen years in that see. This year, *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, the founder of the  
dynasty of the *Fâtemites*, assumed the surname of *Al Mohdi*, and greatly extended his con-  
quests in *Africa*. Nay, he visited the *Aglabite* territories in *Sicily*, and exacted an oath of  
allegiance of the *Moslems* settled there. He also put himself at the head of the grandees,  
whom he convoked soon after his arrival in the island, and assisted at their deliberations.  
Whilst he resided in *Sicily*, *Al Isa*, the prince, or regulus of *Sejelmessa*, who had refused to b  
recognize his authority, was brought before him, and put to death by his order. After he  
had spent forty days in this part of his dominions, he returned to *Africa*. He likewise  
caused an exact account to be taken of all his subjects properties and effects, during his  
residence at *Rakada*, or *Rakkada*, the seat of the later princes of the house of *Al Aglab*, and  
sent officers to collect the tribute demanded of them. At the same time, he dispatched  
governors into all the western provinces constituting the *Khalifat* of *Kairwân*; and in par-  
ticular *Al Hasan Ebn Ahmed* into *Sicily*. Though *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah* assumed the  
surname of *Mohdi*, or *director of the faithful*, yet the *Moslems* believe, that this title is pro-  
perly applicable to none but the twelfth *Imâm*, who is to make his appearance at the end of  
the world <sup>c</sup>.

Authors not  
agreed about  
the origin of  
Al Mohdi.

IN the 298th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* took upon himself the title, or appellation,  
of *emperor of the faithful*, and gave out that he was descended, in a right line, from *Ali*  
*Ebn Abu Tâleb* and *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*. For which reason, the *Arab*  
writers call him and his descendants *Fâtemites*; though some of them have handed down  
to us a far different account of this usurper's origin, as will hereafter be more particularly  
observed. He was born, as some will have it, at *Salamiyah*, or, as others with more pro-  
bability believe, in *Irâk*, about the 269th year of the *Hejra*; and built a city, from him  
denominated *Al Mohdia*, wherein he afterwards fixed his residence, the present year. Before  
the conclusion of it, according to *Eutychius*, he likewise put to death *Abu Abd'allah Al Moh-*  
*taseb*, his general; but for what crime this punishment was inflicted on him, we have not d  
been by that annalist informed <sup>f</sup>.

He continues  
victorious over  
the house of  
Al Aglab.

THE next year, being the 299th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Moktader* having been offended  
by *Ali Ebn Mohammed Al Farât*, removed him from the post of *Visir*. This happened in  
the month of *Dhu'lhajja*; soon after which, the *Khalif* threw him into prison, and appointed  
*Ali Ebn Mohammed* (or rather *Abu Ali Mohammed*) *Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân* to  
succeed him. This *Visir* was surnamed *Dakka Sedrabo*, that is, *the person beating his breast*,  
because he always appeared in that attitude whenever any petition was put up to him. *Al*  
*Moktader* was now wholly governed by his women and eunuchs. *Abu'l Hasan Mohammed*  
*Ebn Ahmed*, commonly called *Ebn Kisan*, who was extremely well versed both in the gram-  
mar taught at *Cûfa*, and in that which prevailed at *Basra*, and *Ishak Ebn Honain*, a cele- e  
brated physician, died the present year. About this time, the *Moslems*, under the command  
of *Dâmîân*, the *Emîr* of *Tyre*, and *Leo* of *Tripoli*, with a fleet of 300 ships, committed dread-  
ful ravages on the coasts, and in the islands, of the *Ægean* sea, and utterly defeated the  
*Greek* navy in a sea-fight near the island of *Samos*; *Himerius* himself, the *Greek* admiral,  
having with much difficulty escaped to *Mitylene*. The famous *Lacapenus* was at that time  
governor of *Samos*; but he could afford *Himerius* no considerable assistance in this naval  
engagement. *Al Mohdi* continued victorious over the partizans of the house of *Al Aglab*,  
throughout the whole course of the present year <sup>g</sup>.

His forces un-  
der the com-  
mand of Hab-  
basah invade  
Egypt.

THE following year, being the 300th of the *Hejra*, *Habbasab*, one of *Al Mohdi's* gene-  
rals, overthrew the *Khalif's* forces in the neighbourhood of *Barka*, and made himself f  
master of that city. After the reduction of *Barka*, then extremely populous, situated  
between *Tripoli* and *Egypt*, *Habbasab* marched directly to *Alexandria*, defeated another of  
the *Khalif's* armies, drawn up in order of battle to cover the place, and then entered the  
town without opposition. One of his detachments likewise reduced *Al Fayûm*, taken par-  
ticular notice of by *Abu'l feda*, and *Al Bahasa*. *Al Mohdi*, receiving advice of the great

ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 296. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 500—503. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabri-  
gient. & JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7, 8. <sup>c</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

p. 185. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABI'LDAM AL HAMANI,  
in *Tarikh*, seu. histor. cui tit. *Asmadfer*, in Bibliothec. Escorial. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 342. Vide  
etiam MARCUM DOBELIUM, apud Augustin. Inveg. in Annal. Panorm. tom. secund. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS.  
p. 19. <sup>f</sup> ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 187. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 502, 503.

D'HERBEL. ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 299. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.  
AL MAKIN, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 606.



- a success that had attended his arms, sent a strong reinforcement, commanded by his son *Abu'l Kâsem*, to the victorious troops that had in a manner conquered *Egypt*. *Al Moktader* also, being informed of what had happened, dispatched *Al Kâsem Ebn Samâ*, with a body of auxiliary troops, to reinforce his army in *Egypt*, and to drive the rebels out of the western provinces; who, upon his arrival at *Al Fizab*, or *Al Fiza*, was joined by great numbers of the *Khalîf's* subjects, that flocked to him from all parts. *Al Moktader's* army, therefore, in *Egypt*, after the junction of the forces commanded by *Takîn* (or, according to *Eutychius*, *Takîn*) *Al Harari*, the governor of that province, and *Al Kâsem Ebn Samâ*, consisted of an hundred thousand effective men. *Habbasab*, having been acquainted that the *Khalîf's* troops were in motion, advanced at the head of his army to give them battle, and
- b at last came up with them in the island denominated by the *Arabs* *Ard Al Khamsîn*. Here he attacked them with unparalleled bravery, notwithstanding their force was much superior to his; but the approach of the night obliged the generals on both sides to sound a retreat. The action, therefore, was by no means decisive, though extremely bloody. *Takîn* and *Al Kâsem* having lost in it 20,000 men, and *Habbasab* 10,000. The latter, however, durst not renew the fight the next morning, but stole off in the night, and found himself obliged to return home; so that the *Khalîf's* troops remained masters of the field of battle, and, in effect, gained a victory, as they forced the enemy to abandon *Egypt*. The great church
- c at *Alexandria*, called by the *Arabs* *Al Kaisâria*, or *Cæsarea*, that had formerly been a pagan temple, erected in honour of *Saturn* by the famous *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, was set on fire the third of *Shawâl*; though it does not appear from *Eutychius*, who mentions this accident, that it was then intirely consumed. The same year, died *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* and *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who swayed the *Moslem* sceptre in *Spain*. The former of these was a brave experienced general, of consummate skill in the art of war, who had distinguished himself in many actions of éclat; and the latter was succeeded by his brother *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, who, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, first assumed the title of emperor of the faithful in *Spain*. *Abu'lfeda* styles this prince the lord, or
- d *Emîr*, of *Andalusia*, and calls him *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Heshâm*. He also relates, that this *Abd'alrahmân* was forty-two years of age at the time of his death; that he was grey-eyed, of a middle stature, with a reddish beard, which he dyed black, and of a fair complexion; that he reigned almost six years, and had eleven sons, one of whom, named *Mohammed Al Ma'sûl*, he caused to be put to death, for some crime he had been guilty of; and that he was succeeded by *Abd'alrahmân*, this prince's son. We are assured also by *Roderic of Toledo*, that this *Abd'alrahmân* was the son of *Mohammed*, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar's* son, and consequently his predecessor's grandson; that he was twenty-three years of age when his grandfather died; and that he governed the *Moslems* in *Spain* about fifty years<sup>b</sup>.
- e THE next year, being the 301st of the *Hejra*, *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, the *Karmatian* general, who made an irruption into *Yamâma*, and took *Hajr* and *Al Absâ*, in the reign of the *Khalîf Al Mo'taded*, was assassinated by one of his domestics in a bath, and succeeded in the command of the *Karmatian* forces by his son *Sa'id*. The new general, immediately after his election to that high post, ordered the flesh of the assassin, who murdered his father, to be torn off with pincers, till he expired. The *Khalîf Al Moktader*, being offended at the conduct of *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkan*, his *Vîsir*, deprived him of his office, and advanced to the sublime post of prime minister *Ali Ebn Al Jarâb* in his room. *Abmed Ebn Ismael Al Sammâni* was killed by his guards, the 22d of the latter *Jomâda*, and buried in the city of *Bokhâra*. This year, being the seventh of *Al Moktader's* reign, *Abuna Gabriel* was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, according to some *Christian* writers followed by *Al Makîn*, and sat in that see eleven years. These authors likewise relate, that *Kosmâ*, or *Cosmas*, was made patriarch of the *Jacobites* there about the same time, and presided over those of that communion twelve years. About this time, died *Al Kâdi Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Abmed Al Mocri Al Thakîfi*, and *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Nabada*, the author of the *Chronicon* of *Esfahân*. *Amrân*, the *Moslem* prince of *Al Khams*, was murdered at *Palermo*, January 27th, and *Korhab* appointed *Emîr*, May 18th, the present year<sup>i</sup>.
- f THE following year, being the 302d of the *Hejra*, *Habbasab*, or *Habasab*, returned with a numerous army of *Magrebian*s, or western *Arabs*, into *Egypt*, and possessed himself of

<sup>b</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 502—507. SHARIF AL EDRISI, D'HEREEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 185. ISM. ABU'LFED. in *Egypt*. ABU JAASAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 188. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 300. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. p. 25. <sup>i</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506, 507. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 301. CHRONIC. SICUL. CANTABRIGIENS. & JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. AL MAKIN. Saracen. hist. l. ii. cap. xix. p. 188, 196.



*Alexandria*. He also defeated a body of the *Khalif's* forces, commanded by *Munes*, or *a Munas*, and killed 7000 of them upon the spot; though the remainder found means to throw themselves into the city of *Alexandria*, that had been abandoned by the *Magrebian* troops. Soon after, *Munes* deprived *Takîn* of the government of *Egypt*; and *Dacâ Al A'war* was sent from *Baghdâd* to succeed him. *Korhab*, or as he is sometimes called *Ebn Korhab*, fitted out a fleet that destroyed a squadron of ships sent by *Al Mohdi* to the coast of *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Abu Khazîr*, his admiral, who was killed in the action, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, this year <sup>k</sup>.

*A rebellion ex-* IN the 303d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *July 17th*, 915, *Hosein Ebn Hamdân* rebelled *tinguished in* against the *Khalif* in *Mesopotamia*, defeated an army sent against him, under the command *Mesopotamia.* of *Al Ratek the Visir*, took all their baggage, and even threatened the imperial city of *Baghdâd* itself. But he was at last overthrown by *Munas*, or *Munes*, the eunuch, the best general *Al Moktader* had; who took him and his son *Abd'akwabâb* prisoners, and conducted them under an escorte, upon a camel, with oblong caps, or turbants, upon their heads, and vests of red hair-cloth on their bodies, through *Al Marâsel*, to *Baghdâd*; where, immediately after their arrival, they were thrown into prison. This year, as it should seem, the *Moslems* made an irruption into the imperial territories, under the conduct of *Damiân*, *Emîr* of *Tyre*, and attacked a fortress called *Strobelon*; which they would undoubtedly have taken, had not *Damiân* been surprized by death whilst he was carrying on the siege. According to *Abu'lfeda*, the *Greeks* likewise penetrated almost as far as the borders of *Mesopotamia*, and afterwards retired into their own dominions, with many prisoners, and a vast quantity <sup>c</sup> of spoil, the present year. Soon after which, *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd'akwabâb*, the *Motazalite*, and *Abu Abd'alrahmân Ahmed Ebn Ali Shoaib Al Naisawi*, one of the authors of the book of traditions, departed this life; and the latter of them, who died at *Mecca*, was buried between the mounts *Al Safa* and *Al Merwâ*. However, the empress *Zoe*, who had taken upon her the administration, in order to employ the whole strength of the empire against the *Bulgarians*, sent *Joannes Rademus* and *Michael Toxaras*, as her ambassadors, to the *Khalif's* court, to conclude a peace with that prince. These probably were the embassadors said by some of the *Arab* historians to have arrived from *Constantinople* at *Baghdâd*, in the 304th, and by others in the 305th, year of the *Hejra*, and to have been received by the *Khalif Al Moktader* with the utmost magnificence. The terms of the pacification being <sup>d</sup> settled, and the treaty signed, the imperial ministers, who had been treated with uncommon marks of distinction at the *Moslem* court, returned home. About the same time *Melîb*, the *Armenian*, invaded the *Moslem* territories, advanced as far as *Mara'sh*, plundered all the neighbouring district, and carried off with him a vast number of prisoners. *Ebn Korhab*, the *Emîr* of the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*, lost a considerable fleet, that he had fitted out against the *Christians*, this year <sup>e</sup>.

*The Khalif appoints Ahmed Ebn Al Abbâs his Visir.*

THE next year, being the 304th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* removed *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Farât* from the office of *Visir*, sent him a second time to prison, after he had filled the post of prime minister about a year, and appointed *Hamed Ebn Al Abbâs* to succeed him. It must be remembered here, that *Ali* had been dismissed from the afore- <sup>e</sup> said employment in the 299th year of the *Hejra*, and succeeded by *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân*, who incurred *Al Moktader's* displeasure in 301. Upon which, *Ali Ebn Al Jarâb* was advanced to the dignity of *Visir*, and deprived of his sublime office by the *Khalif* in 303. After which, *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Farât* held a second time the reins of the empire about a year. The *Sicilian Moslems* deposed *Ebn Korhab* in the month of *July*, and sent him back to *Africa*, where he and his son afterwards died. *Abu Sa'id Al Daif* arrived likewise in *Sicily*, with a large body of troops from *Africa*, in order to bring the *Sicilians* back to a sense of their duty, the 15th of *August*, the present year. About the same time, died *Yusef Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Râzi*, and *Al Hosein*, one of *Ali's* descendants, who had expelled the *Sammâniâns* out of *Tabrestân*, in the year of the <sup>f</sup> *Hejra* 301<sup>m</sup>.

*An embassy from the Greek emperor arrives at the Moslem court.*

THE following year, being the 305th of the *Hejra*, commencing *June 24th*, 917, the *Greek emperor* sent an embassy to the *Moslem* court, in order to settle with the *Khalif's* ministers a truce, or cessation of arms, and a ransom of prisoners. The two ambassadors had first an audience of the *Visir*, and afterwards of the *Khalif*. The first of these treated them with great marks of distinction, being most richly dressed; and the latter received them sitting on his throne, and surrounded by his guards, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. He also agreed to the emperor's demands, and sent *Munes*, one of his most expe-

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 302. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 8. <sup>1</sup> GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. p. 286, 287. GEORG. CEDREN, ubi sup. p. 612. EBN SHOH-NAH. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 303. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, ubi sup.

<sup>2</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506, 507. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 304. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. CARUS, ubi sup.



- a rience generals, to conduct the cartel for the redemption of prisoners on the part of the Moslems, and gave him 120,000 *dinârs* to redeem the *Khalîf's* subjects that had been carried into captivity by the Greeks. *Ebn Shobnah* writes, that the imperial embassadors arrived at *Baghdâd* the preceding year; that the *Khalîf's* palace was adorned on this occasion with the most valuable furniture belonging to it, and all sorts of arms disposed in a proper manner; that his guards were ranged in order of battle, to the number of 160,000 men, and received their pay out of a golden purse; that 40,000 white eunuchs and 30,000 black ones, together with 700 ushers, or door-keepers, appeared upon the avenues and at the gates of the palace; that an infinite number of vessels upon the *Tigris* presented themselves to their view, and made a most brilliant appearance; that the palace was hung within and without with
- b 12,000 pieces of silk, 500 brocados, and 12,500 pieces of rich tapestry of admirable workmanship, and almost inestimable value; that, in the middle of the great saloon, there was exhibited a tree of massive gold, which had eighteen principal branches, on which there fluttered a great number of little birds, made likewise of gold and silver, that warbled their notes with most delightful harmony; and that the Greek embassadors beheld these scenes of grandeur with prodigious admiration. About the same time, *Abu'l Hîjâ*, with his brethren and domestics, was delivered out of prison, where, by *Al Moktader's* order, he had been confined. The *Sicilian Moslems* discovering no inclination to submit to *Abu Sa'id Al Daif*, he entered the port of *Palermo* with his fleet, landed a body of troops there, and laid siege to the town. The *Sicilians*, however, having made an alliance with *Ebn Ali Wârâ Al Saari*,
- c and been reinforced by him, defended the city with great bravery till the 12th of *March*, tho' they laboured under such a scarcity of provisions, that an ounce of salt was sold for two *taries*, or *tarens*. But, notwithstanding this vigorous resistance, the troops in garison found themselves obliged to capitulate then, and to open their gates to the victors, after they had granted them their lives, and the secure possession of all their properties and effects <sup>a</sup>.

NOTHING material happened in the *Arab* empire during the course of the 306th year of the *Hejra*; at least nothing material has been mentioned as then happening there, by the best *Moslem* historians. This year, died the celebrated *Imâm*, *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Soraib*, a follower of *Al Shâfe'i*, and *Al Kâdi Mohammed Ebn Hayyan Al Dhobbi*, commonly called *Al Waki*, a famous *Moslem* historian. The *Khalîf* of *Kairwân's* forces, and his fleet, returned home, in the month of *September*, after they had made one *Sâlem Emîr*, or viceroy of the

d *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*. Some of that *Khalîf's* ships of war, with a body of land-forces on board, also surprized the city of *Reggio* in *Calabria*, towards the conclusion of the present year <sup>o</sup>.

- In the 307th year of the *Hejra*, *Abu'l Kâsem*, son of the first *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, or, as he is called by the *Cambridge Chronicon*, the *Soltân* of *Africa*, invaded *Egypt* with an army of 100,000 men. The *Magrebian* forces at first met with extraordinary success, and over-ran a very considerable part of that fine country. They made themselves masters of *Alexandria*, *Al Fayûm*, *Al Baknasa*, and the isle of *Al Ashmaryîn*, and even penetrated into *Al Fîzah*, where the *Khalîf's* army, under the command of *Munes*, had posted itself, in order to oppose them. In the mean time, *Al Moktader*, having received advice, that the
- e enemy had a strong squadron on the coast of *Egypt*, off *Rasbîd*, or *Rosetta*, consisting of 100 ships, sent a powerful fleet, under the conduct of *Thamâl*, his admiral, to attack them. *Thamâl*, in pursuance of his orders, at last came up with the enemy, and fell upon them with such fury, that he either took, sunk, or burnt, almost the whole *Magrebian* fleet; though his naval force did not consist of above 50 ships. The *Sicilian* and *African* prisoners taken by *Thamâl* in this action were spared; but the others, amounting to about 500 men, were all put to the sword. After the destruction of this fleet, *Abu'l Kâsem* retired from *Alexandria* to *Al Fayûn*, and left in the former of those places only a garison of 300 men; of which *Thamâl* having been apprized, he in a few days appeared with his fleet before the town, and carried off the remainder of the citizens to an island in the *Nile*, called the island
- f of *Abukair*. This he did, in order to prevent *Abu'l Kâsem* from meeting with any entertainment at *Alexandria*, in case he should think fit to return thither from *Al Fayûm*. It appears from *Eutychius*, that above 200,000 of the miserable inhabitants of that city had perished since the beginning of the campaign. About this time, a period was put to the power of the *Edrisites*, in the western part of *Africa*. A truce, or cessation of arms, was concluded between *Salem*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, and the people of *Taormina*, the *Tauromenium* of the antients, called by the *Arabs* *Tabermîn*, a little before the end of this year <sup>p</sup>.

THE 308th year of the *Hejra* was rendered famous by the intire defeat of the *Magrebian* army in *Egypt*. *Munes*, *Al Moktader's* general, having come to a resolution to give the

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 287. EBN SHOHNAB, ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 305. Chronic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. p. 8, 9. <sup>o</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 306. Chron. Sic. Arabic. Cantabr. ubi sup. p. 9. Vide etiam JOAN. CARUS. ubi sup.

<sup>p</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506—511. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 307. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. PLIN. PTOL. STRAB. OVID. CLUVER. PARUT, &c.



by the Kha-  
lif's troops.

enemy battle, quitted his fortified camp in *Al Fizab*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Al Fayûm*, and attacked *Abu'l Kâsem's* forces with such bravery, that he overthrew them with very great slaughter. He also made himself master of all their baggage, as well as of all the plunder they had acquired. This blow intirely ruined *Abu'l Kâsem's* affairs in *Egypt*, and obliged him to fly, with the shattered remains of his army, to *Kairwân*, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year. As for *Munes*, he remained about two months in the neighbourhood of *Al Fayûm*, after the signal victory he had obtained, and then returned to *Baghdâd*. But, before his departure, he appointed *Helâl Ebn Badar* to preside over the province of *Egypt*, that he had wrested out of the enemy's hands <sup>a</sup>.

Al Hallâj exe-  
cuted at Bagh-  
dâd.

THE next year, being the 309th of the *Hejra*, beginning May 12th, 921, *Abu Mogbitb Al Hosein Ebn Mansûr Al Hallâj* was put to death at *Baghdâd*. This extraordinary person has <sup>b</sup> been considered in different lights by the *Moslems*; some of them having looked upon him as a sort of divinity, and others as a juggler and impostor. We are told, that, in summer, he could make winter-fruits appear before any number of spectators, and summer-fruits in winter; that, by stretching out his hands in the air, he could make *dirhêms* fall upon the ground, with this inscription upon them, *ALLAH abed, There is but one God*; which he called *the dirhêms of omnipotence*; that he knew every particular transaction in private families; and that he could even penetrate into the most secret recesses of mens minds. A persuasion of such surprising abilities as these could not but gain him a vast number of disciples and followers amongst the vulgar; nor could even several doctors of the law themselves for some time tell what to make of him. Some writers inform us, that he frequently <sup>c</sup> fasted for several days together; and that, when he broke his fast, he only took three mouthfuls of bread, and a little water. With regard to the place of *Al Hallâj's* nativity, authors are not perfectly agreed; some asserting that he was born at *Nisâbûr*, others at *Merû*, others at *Al Tâlakân*, and others at *Al Ray*. He came from *Khorasân* into *Irâk*, and went from thence to *Mecca*, where he lived a year in a cave, or, as some will have it, in a place called *Al Hejra*, which was always open at top. He was seen upon mount *Abu Kobais* standing with his bare feet on a stone, and his head uncovered, being at the same time in a violent sweat. After his return to *Baghdâd*, he was much talked of there; many pretending, that the Deity resided in him, nay, that he was God himself. The *Visir Hamed* <sup>d</sup> having been told, that he had raised several people from the dead, sent for him, in order to interrogate him about his pretensions. Upon his appearance before the *Visir*, he disclaimed the gift of prophecy, the power of working miracles, and the residence of the Divinity in him; saying, that he had nothing extraordinary in him, and that he worshipped God like other men. *Hamed*, therefore, must have immediately dismissed him, had not one of his books been produced, wherein he maintained, that “if a *Moslem* could not go in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, he ought to perform all the prescribed ceremonies in some convenient room at home, fitted up and set apart for that purpose, on the 9th and 10th of *Dhu'lhajja*, feed and cloath thirty orphans, and afterwards give each of them seven *dir-  
bêms*; and that if he did this, he would from thence reap all the benefits and advantages accruing to all *Moslems* from a performance of the aforesaid pilgrimage.” This position <sup>e</sup> being manifestly repugnant to what has been advanced in the *Korân*, the doctors of the law unanimously judged *Al Hallâj* worthy of death; which decision being confirmed by the *Khalîf*, he was executed in the following manner. First, he received 1000 stripes, without uttering so much as a groan; then one of his hands was cut off, then one of his feet, afterwards the other foot, then the other hand, and, lastly, the fatal stroke was given him, which put an end to his pain. After his execution, his body was burnt, the ashes of it thrown into the *Tigris*, and his head exposed to public view in the market-place of *Baghdâd*. The *Kâdi* who condemned *Al Hallâj* was *Abu Omar*, who passed sentence upon him, not only because he endeavoured to propagate a tenet subversive of the *Mohammedan* faith, but likewise because he fathered so pernicious a notion upon the irreproachable doctor *Al Hasan Bakhteri*, in none of whose works it was to be found. It appears from some good authors, though he denied this to the *Visir*, that he was thoroughly infected with the blasphemous opinions of the *Sûfis*, and even scrupled not to assert, that God had taken up his habitation in him. *Abu'l Hosein Ali Ebn Isa*, a famous and learned doctor, who disputed with him, found him perfectly illiterate, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, and reproved him for his great vanity and impiety. *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Al Jondi*, if we will believe the same historian, saw several of his juggling tricks, and particularly the appearance of a beautiful garden exhibited by him. Some *Arabic* verses attributed to him, that have been preserved by *Al Makîn*, seem to point at the union of the divine and human natures in CHRIST; which may have induced some of the *Moslems*, as we find hinted by *Khondemir*, to have taken him for a <sup>f</sup> *Christian*; though, after all, as has been observed by M. D'Herbelot, these verses might only <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 510, 511.



- a contain certain expressions of the *Mohammedan* mystical theology, by which the *Moslems* enthusiasts understood the intimate union of the divinity with the heart of a man detached from the love of worldly things, and transported beyond itself. It may also be farther remarked, that the *Shiites* have entertained the most extravagant fancies of their *Imáms*, and applied particularly to *Al* several things which are said in Scripture of CHRIST; and that most of the other *Mohammedan* sects are tainted with the same madness; there being found many amongst them, and, amongst the *Súfis* especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and boast of strange revelations before the credulous people. “Matters are come to that pass,” says *Al Ghazáli*, “that some boast of an union with God; and of discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, It hath been thus said to us, and we have thus spoken; affecting to imitate *Al Hoséin Al Halláj*, who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him; he having said, as was proved by credible witnesses, *I am the truth*; or, *Abu Yazíd Al Bastámi*, of whom it is related, that he often used the expression, *Subháni*, i. e. *Praise be unto me!* But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief amongst the common people; insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions, and catching at such expressions: for whenever what they say is denied to be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a veil, and logic the work of the mind: whereas what they tell us appears only within, being discovered by the light of truth. But this is that truth, the sparks whereof have flown into several countries, and occasioned great mischiefs; so that it is more for the advantage of God’s true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things, than to bestow life on ten others.”
- Tajo’ddín Ali Ebn Ahmed Al Baghdádi*, who died in the 674th year of the *Hejra*, has written the life of *Abu Moghib Al Hoséin Ebn Mansúr Al Halláj*, of whom we have here been speaking, under the title of *Akbbár Al Halláj*. *Al Ghazáli* likewise and *Ebn Khalecán* have been very prolix on the actions and behaviour of this extraordinary person. M. D’Herbelot, in the account he has given of *Al Halláj*, truly calls *Gayyath Addín Ebn Hamam Addín*, surnamed *Khondemír*, the abbreviator of *Mohammed Ebn Emír Khowand Sháb*, commonly going under the name of *Mirkhond*; though, in another place, he wrongly intimates, that *Khondemír* and *Khowand Sháb* were the very same person: which falls very little short of a clear and express contradiction<sup>r</sup>.

THE same year in which *Al Halláj* was executed at *Baghdád*, that is, the 309th of the *Hejra*, *Yakín Al Harari* was deprived of the government of *Egypt*, and *Abu Fánus* appointed to succeed him in that post. The new governor did not remain five days in his office, having been deposed within that term, in order to make way for his predecessor *Yakín*, or *Takín*. The *Khalíf*, however, soon removed *Yakín*, and substituted in his room *Helál Ebn Yezíd*<sup>s</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 310th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Jorair Ebn Morwayad Al Tabari*, the author of the history we have for the most part followed here, departed this life at *Baghdád*. He was an *Imám* of great piety, as well as of most extensive reading and erudition. The *Moslems* call his valuable work *Al Táríkh Al Tabari*, and have it in such high esteem, that they look upon it as the basis and foundation of all their other histories. *Ebn Al Jūzi* writes, that his history at first consisted of a great number of volumes, and that the copies we now have of it are only an abridgment of a larger work. *Ebn Al Sobki* relates, that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* having asked his friends whether they could take any pleasure in reading a history of every thing that had happened in the world to the age in which they lived, they made answer, that they should very willingly read such a history, if it could any-where be found: upon which, this author having told them, that he had actually compiled 30,000 leaves upon that subject, they immediately replied, that their whole life-time would not be sufficient to read over so voluminous a work in. Whereupon, *Al Tabari* assured them, that he would abridge it as much as he could for their use; and this, says *Ebn Al Sobki*, is the abridgment that still remains in our hands. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that this history began with the creation of the world; that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 224, was a strenuous defender of the *Korán*; and that, not-

<sup>r</sup> GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 287—289. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 188, 189. KHONDEMIR, AL GHAZALI, apud Pocockium. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 267. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ABU’L HASAN EBN AL JORDI, apud Greg. Abu’l Far. ubi sup. TAJO’DDIN AL EBN AHMED AL BAGHDADI, in *Al Akbbár Al Halláj*, BEN KHALECAN, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU’LFED. ad ann. Hej. 309. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Hollage*, p. 423, 424. art. *Bagham*, p. 192, 193. art. *Khondemir*, p. 994. & alib. <sup>s</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 189.



withstanding this, he was looked upon as an heretic, or *shite*, at *Baghdād*. The last of which articles is confirmed by *Abu'lfeda*; who says, he was considered as heterodox by the populace of *Baghdād*, because he made not the least mention of the famous *Abū Ebn Hanbal*, in the treatise he wrote upon the controversies of the *Fakhs*, learned interpreters of the law, or masters of jurisprudence. The *Tārīkh* of *Al Tabari* has been translated into *Persic* by *Abu Ali Mohammed Al Yāli*, who served some of the *Sammāni* princes in the capacity of *Visir*, in the time of *Mansūr Ebn Nūb*, and the 352d year of the *Hijra*, according to *M. D'Herbelot*. The same history has also been translated into *Turkish* by an uncertain author, and many copies of this version are to be met with amongst the *Turks*. *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Mehammed Al Fargāni* obliged the world with a continuation of the *Tārīkh* of *Al Tabari*, and published it under the title of *Selat*. *Abu'l Hasan Mehammed Ebn Abd'almālec Al Hamadāni*, who died in the year of the *Hijra* 521, has written another supplement, wherein he has brought the history of which we are speaking down to his own times. *Abu Jaasar* is said by *Abu'lfeda* to have been born at *Amū*, or *Amel*, the capital of *Tabarestān*, and from thence to have derived the surname of *Al Tabari*. *M. D'Herbelot* is inconsistent with himself, when, in one passage of his book, he asserts, that *Al Tabari* concluded his history with the 300th year of the *Hijra*, and, in another, that he has preserved the *Arabic* verses spoken by *Al Hallāj* at the place of execution, in the year of the *Hijra* 309. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that the *Tārīkh* of *Al Tabari* concludes with the year of the *Hijra* 302. However, we are inclined to believe, that our author continued his work, which he began at the creation of the world, to the day of *Al Hallāj's* execution, if not in a manner to the very time of his own death. *Abu'l Abbās Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sabl*, a doctor of great repute amongst the *Sūfis*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Harūn Al Harrāni*, a celebrated physician, died the preceding year. We must beg leave to observe, that an imperfect MS. copy of the *Tārīkh* of *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, in (A) *Arabic*, according to *Mr. Ockley*, has a place assigned it in the *Boaleian* library at *Oxford*.

The Karmatians take Basra.

In the 311th year of the *Hijra*, the *Khalif* removed *Hchil Ebn Tēzid* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Ahmed Ebn Keigalag* to preside over that province; but he soon made way for *Takīn Al Harari*, who was again put at the head of the administration there, and continued to govern the *Egyptians* till the death of *Al Moktader*. The same year, *Abu Thāher Solimān Ebn Abu Sa'id Al Jannābi*, who succeeded his brother *Sa'id* in the command of the *Karmatian* forces, and pretended to great skill in the occult sciences, penetrated to *Basra* with an army of 107,000 men, made himself master of that city, put all the inhabitants that fell into his hands to the sword, burnt the great mosque there, and thoroughly plundered every part of the town. However, being apprehensive of a visit from the *Khalif's* troops, after he had possessed himself of it seventeen days, he thought fit to abandon the place. The *Khalif* constituted *Ali Ebn Ahmed* (or *Mohammed*) *Ebn Al Farāt*, whom he delivered out of prison for that purpose, in the latter *Rabī*, the third time, his *Vijir*. *Abu Mohammed Ahmed Ebn Al Jorairi*, a doctor held in much esteem amongst the *Sūfis*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Al Sarī Al Zajjāj*, a famous grammarian, departed this life the present year. It appears from *Eutychius*, that the *Moslems* demolished the *Melchite* churches of *St. Cosmas* and *St. Cyriacus* in *Al Ramla*, two others in *Askalen*, *Askelon*, or *Askalūn*, and *Cæsarea*, and another in *Tamīs*, or *Tinnīs*, a very antient city of the lower *Egypt*, which were all afterwards rebuilt by *Al Moktader's* order, in the latter *Jomāda* and *Rajeb*, the present year.

Abu Thāher attacks and plunders a caravan.

THE next year, being the 312th of the *Hijra*, *Abu Thāher* fell in with a caravan of pilgrims, on their return from *Mecca* to *Baghdād*, in a place called *Al Naker*, or *Al Nahr*, attacked their escorte, commanded by *Abu'l Hijl Abd'allah Ebn Hamdān Abu Saifo'ddawla*,

\* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 310. EEN AL JUZI, EBN AL SOBKI, KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Tarikh Al Thabari*, p. 866, 867. & GOLII. not. ad Alfragan. p. 194. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. introd. p. 39, 40. " AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 189, 190. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 311. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 512, 513, 514, 515. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141, 144, 147, 148, &c.

(A) The MS. (1) referred to by *Mr. Ockley* is not properly a part of the *Tarikh* of *Al Tabari*, but only *Al Makin's* abridgment of part of that valuable work. As the diacritical points are preserved in this beautiful manuscript, any person tolerably well versed in the *Arabic* language may, by its assistance, not only oblige the learned world with a much more correct and accurate *Latin* version of part of *Al Makin's* abridgment than that of *Erpenius*, which is a very indifferent one, but likewise with a continuation of that version. For, that part of

*Al Makin's* history, translated into *Latin* by *Erpenius*, and published after his death by *Gilius*, ends with the life of *Al Mostadher* (2) the twenty-eighth *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbās*, who died in the year of the *Hijra* 512; whereas the *Oxford* MS. goes on to his son and successor *Al Mostafsed*, and the rest of the *Khalifs* of that line, and ends with *Rucno'ddin*, or *Rucno'ddin*, the fourth of the *Babrite*, or *Turkish* (3), *Mamluks*, who died in the year of the *Hijra* 676, twenty years after the *Tartars* had made themselves masters of *Baghdād*.

(1) *Laud's* MSS. num. 124. A. (2) *Greg. Abu'l Far. hist. dynast.* p. 367, 377, &c. (3) *Abu'lfed. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Jannab. Al Makriz. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jaub. Al Thum. Mohammed Ebn Abu'l Sarūr Al Sadiki, in Al Raud. &c.*



- a the governor of *Al Mawfel*, *Diār Rabia*, *Dinawār*, a city about forty parasangs off *Cufa*, and at the same distance from *Marāga* in *Adherbijān*, and *Al Jebel* in the *Persian* *frith*. intirely defeated it, and cut to pieces the greatest part of the *Khalif's* troops of which it was composed. As for *Abu'l Hijā* himself, he was taken prisoner in the action, which was extremely sharp, together with a very considerable number of his soldiers and officers, who all fell into the enemies hands. After which, the rebels plundered the caravan, and carried off most of the women and children belonging to it into captivity. The success *Abu Thāber* had met with on this occasion excited him to advance to *Ilejr*, where he took post, without any obstruction from the *Khalif's* forces, which were too weak to oppose him. Most of the people that he permitted to make their escape died of thirst, and the fatigue they were
- b obliged to sustain, in the desert. The *Karmatian* general, who was at this time not above nineteen years of age, is said by the authors followed by *Al Makin* to have made 2220 men and fifty women prisoners, and to have acquired a booty of 1,000,000 *dinārs* in money, together with all the rich effects and provisions of the caravan, worth at least as much more, in this successful expedition <sup>w</sup>.

THE same year, *Abu Thāber* released *Abu'l Hijā*, and many of the other prisoners, and *Abu Thāber* sent an ambassador to *Baghdād*. The purport of this minister's commission was to desire *Al* <sup>finds an em- b. ssador to</sup> *Moktader* to grant his master the sovereignty, or at least to make him perpetual governor, of *Basra* and *Abwāz*; but this the *Khalif* peremptorily refused. However, as he was not able to reduce the rebels, he treated the ambassador with marks of distinction, and made

c him a present of a sumptuous vest. About this time, an insurrection happened at *Damascus*, wherein the *Moslems* demolished the large and beautiful church of *St. Mary* there, on which there had been laid out 200,000 *dinārs*, and carried off all the sacred vessels, and other ornaments belonging to it, of almost inestimable value. They also plundered several monasteries and nunneries in that district, and particularly a nunnery near *St. Mary's* church. They likewise pulled down the church of the *Nestorians*, and many of those belonging to the *Melchites*, in the month of *Rajeb*. The *Khalif* put *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Farāt*, his *Visir*, and his son *Al Mobfen*, to death, in the former *Rabī*, this year <sup>x</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 313th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thāber* advanced to *Cufa*, pillaged <sup>He takes and</sup> the town, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried most of the rest into cap- <sup>pillages Cufa.</sup> tivity. He likewise took away with him from thence 4000 pieces of rich coloured stuff, or silk, and 3000 camels, besides several other effects that he found in the place, of very considerable value. About the same time, *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Khākān*, *Al Moktader's* *Visir*, wrote to *Ali Ebn Isa* at *Mecca*, ordering him to repair immediately to *Egypt*, and inquire into the state of affairs there. *Ali*, therefore, in pursuance of the order he had received, entered *Egypt* in the beginning of *Rajeb*, and exacted tribute of all the religious settled in the lower part of that tract going under the name of *Al Sa'id*, particularly of the bishops and monks in the monastery of *Mīnā*. Many of these religious, thus harrassed, retired to *Irāk*, and carried their complaints to the *Khalif*; who thereupon commanded the tribute that had been imposed upon them to be remitted, removed the *Visir* from his office,
- e and appointed *Abu'l Abbās Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Al Khasīb* to succeed him. About this time, *Nicolas*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, died, when he had occupied that see thirty-three years; after whom came one *Stephen*, an eunuch, who presided over the church there three years. A surprising meteor, resembling an exceeding large and bright star, or comet, of a very red colour, moving with great velocity from north to east, followed by a terrible flame, and attended with an infinite number of sparks issuing from it, about thirty lances long, and two broad, appeared in *Egypt*, on the fifth of the latter *Rabī*, at sun-set. This meteor exhibited the appearance of a fiery serpent, and continued about three hours; after which, not the faintest traces of it were to be seen. About this time died *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Basfar Al Zahed*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Bagawi*,
- f in the 102d year of his age. We must not forget to observe, that a general, called *Mas'ūd*, came from *Africa*, and took the castle, or citadel, of *St. Agatha*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, either this or the preceding year <sup>y</sup>.

IN the 314th year of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* penetrated to *Malatīa*, the *Melitene* of the <sup>The Greeks</sup> *antients*, situated on the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, took it, slew part of the inha- <sup>take Malatīa.</sup> bitants, and made slaves of the rest. However, after they had remained there a few days, they found themselves obliged to abandon the town. The *Khalif* *Al Moktader* commanded *Tufes Ebn Abu'l Sāj*, the governor of *Adherbijān*, to advance to *Wāset* against the *Karmatians*, the present year. About the same time, *Nasir*, or *Nasr Ebn Ahmed Al Sammāni* possessed himself of the city of *Ray*; but soon after, being seized with a violent illness, he found

<sup>w</sup> AL MARIN, ubi sup. p. 190. ALU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 312. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 222, 223. <sup>x</sup> AL MARIN, ubi sup. p. 190. ALU'LFED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 514—517. <sup>y</sup> AL MARIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 516, 517. ALU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 313. CHRONIC. SIC. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.



himself obliged to relinquish that place. The *Cambridge Chronicle* seems to intimate, that the chamberlain (B) of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* came over this year from *Africa*, and reduced the fortress of *Barisâna*; but the particulars of this action are not known <sup>a</sup>.

The Christians gain several advantages over the Moslems according to the Greek writers.

SOME of the *Greek* authors relate, that the *Moslems* invaded the *Christian* territories several years before the aforesaid irruption of the *Greeks* into *Cappadocia*; and that *Jokannes* *Caranus*, the imperial general in those parts, not only drove them back with great loss, but, having besieged and taken the city of *Melitene*, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. This, however, was perhaps the expedition placed in the 314th year of the *Hijra* by *Al Makin*. It seems to appear likewise from *Zonaras*, that, about this time, *Leo* of *Thessali*, the *Moslem* admiral, was defeated by the *Christian* fleet near the island of *Lemnos*, and had almost all his seamen cut to pieces, and his ships sunk. But we find not the least mention of these transactions in any of the *Arab* historians <sup>b</sup>.

The Karmatians make a farther progress in Irâk.

THE next year, being the 315th year of the *Hijra*, commencing *March* 8th, 927, *Abu Thâker Ebn Abu Sa'id*, the *Karmatian* general, overthrew the *Khalif's* forces with very great slaughter, and took *Iusef Ebn Abu'l Nabij*, who commanded them, prisoner. He also possessed himself of the city of *Cûsa*, and even threatened to penetrate to *Baghdâd*; which struck the inhabitants of that capital with the utmost terror and consternation. However, *Al Mektader*, taking 300,000 *dinârs* out of the treasury, and being supplied by his mother with 500,000 more, raised a body of 10,000 horse, which he sent to act against the *Karmatians*. But the general who commanded them, not having been able to bring the enemy to a battle, returned, after the conclusion of the campaign, to *Baghdâd*, without having effected any thing considerable. This so animated *Abu Thâker*, that he advanced at the head of his forces to *Anbâr*; though he soon thought fit to retire, without having attempted any thing against that place. As *Anbâr* was not above ten parasangs off *Baghdâd*, the *Khalif* considered the *Karmatian's* retreat from thence, in the present situation of affairs, as equivalent to a victory; and therefore, with his mother and *Visir*, returned God thanks, in the most solemn manner, for it; and even, by way of farther acknowledgement to the great arbiter of events, distributed amongst the poor of *Baghdâd* no less than fifty thousand *dinârs*. After which, *Abu Thâker* appeared with his army before *Hit*, or *Hait*, a strong castle on the northern bank of the *Euphrates*, about twenty-one parasangs above *Anbâr*, bordering on the deserts of *Al Jazira*; but, upon taking a view of it, he retired with precipitation to *Hajr*. This so raised the drooping spirits of the *Khalif*, that he ordered a second thanksgiving for so auspicious an event, and a farther distribution of 100,000 *dirhems* amongst the poor. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Abu Thâker*, with a small body of troops, consisting of only 800 foot and 700 horse, overthrew *Iusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, probably the *Iusef Ebn Abu'l Nabâj* of *Al Makin*, at the head of 40,000 men, when he thought himself so sure of conquering, that he had ordered his secretary to write a letter to the *Khalif*, notifying the victory his troops had gained over the rebels, before the beginning of the action. In this battle, *Iusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj* himself was taken prisoner, and afterwards put to the sword, by the *Karmatian* general; who found an immense quantity of wealth at *Cûsa*, defeated another of the *Khalif's* armies commanded by *Mûnes*, ravaged all that part of *Irâk* bordering upon the *Euphrates*, and, after having thrown the citizens of *Baghdâd* into an inexpressible panic, returned laden with spoil to *Hajr*. *Abd'ahrahmân Al Nasr Ebn Mohammed*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Andalusia*, or rather the *Khalif* of *Spain*, according to the same author, reduced also the city of *Tolêdo*, and destroyed a considerable part of it, after it had rebelled against him, and sustained a very long siege, the present year. *Mûnes*, one of *Al Mektader's* best officers, having entertained a suspicion of that prince's sinister intentions towards him, refused for some time to go to the imperial palace, at the *Khalif's* invitation; but at last he was prevailed upon to repair thither, and kiss his hand, by the troops that promised to support him. About this time, according to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* agreed upon a sort of truce, or cessation <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 514. 515. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 314. Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 622—627. JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. p. 188—191.

(B) In the *Latin* version of the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Arabic* word *Hajr* is taken for the proper name of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, who at that time was *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, surnamed *Al Mubdi*, the founder of the dynasty of the *Fâtimites*; whereas that word generally denotes the chamberlain, or some such officer, of the *Khalifs*, in the *Arab* historians. That it is not a proper name in the passage here referred to, appears

from hence, that neither the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* reigning at this time, nor any of either his predecessors or successors, ever went by such a name. 'Tis surprising that the very learned Sig. *Giuseppe Simoni Assimani*, a *Maronite*, and professor of *Arabic* in the college at *Rome* (1), who revised and corrected this *Latin* version, should have suffered such a mistake to escape him.

(1) *Jean. Bapt. Carus. ad Chronic. Cantabrigiens. præfat. p. 3.*



a of arms, with the *Calabrians*, after he had taken from them *Aura*, or *Ura*, the *Uria* of the antients, denominated by the moderns *Oria*; upon which, they left in his hands as hostages, says the writer of that *Chronicon*, *Leo*, bishop of *Sicily*, and the prefect, or governor, of *Calabria*. This affair being terminated, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* dispatched *Al Bolzami* and *Al Kolshâni*, two grandees of his court, called by that writer *Sbeikhs*, with *Ebn Sâlem* into *Sicily*, to mulct the inhabitants of that island for some disturbances that had happened. We must not forget to observe, that the *Deylamites*, the first of whose princes was *Wasbûdân Ebn Al Marzabân*, who fixed his residence at *Shabrestân*, began to make a figure, according to *Al Makîn*, in the year we are now upon <sup>b</sup>.

b THE following year, being the 316th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâber* seized upon the town of *Rahaba*, and put a vast number of the inhabitants to the sword. He also made himself master of *Karkîsia*, or *Karkîsyâ*, in *Mesopotamia*, and afterwards retired to *Hajr*, in *Yamâma*, where he chose for the most part to reside. Here he built a palace, to which he gave the name of *Hajra*. The *Khalif* dismissed first from his employment *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Khasîb*, his *Visir*, and afterwards *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Al Jarâb*, his successor; substituting in the room of the latter *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali*, commonly called *Ebn Meklâb*, about the middle of the latter *Rabî*. After the reduction of *Rahaba*, *Abu Thâber*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, made himself master of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and treated the inhabitants of that place in a cruel manner. He likewise penetrated to *Sinjâr*, the *Singara* of *Ptolemy*, a considerable city of *Mesopotamia*, in the province of *Diyâr Rabîa*, which immediately submitted to him. About the same time, if we will believe this author, *Mardawîj Ebn Zayyâr*, or, as he is called by *Al Makîn*, *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz*, the *Deylamite*, having cut off *Asfâr Ebn Shîrîyeh*, his master, who had seized upon *Jorjân* the preceding year, subdued *Kazwîn*, *Ray*, *Hamadân*, *Dînowar*, or *Al Deinawar*, *Kenkewar*, *Yazdejerd*, *Komm*, *Kâshân*, *Esfahân*, *Jarbâlkân*, and the whole mountainous region of *Tabrestân*. The dynasty, therefore, of the *Deylamites*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, commenced the present year. The same historian farther relates, that *Johannes Curcuas*, who presided over all the imperial territories extending from the *Hellespont* to the frontiers of the *Moslem* empire, obliged the citizens of *Akhlat* and *Bedlis* in *Armenia*, at this time, to erect crosses upon the spots, in their respective principal mosques, on which the *Christian* pulpits had formerly stood; and that the *Hâfedh Abu Awanah Takûb Ebn Ishak Ebn Ibrahim Al Esfarayni*, author of a *Masnad*, or body of traditions, drawn up after the manner, and upon the principles, of the *Sabîh* of *Moslem Ebn Al Hejâj*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 316. A body of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s forces, under the conduct of an *African* general, named *Sâin*, took the fortrefs of *Zarnîna*, or rather *Zarnîwa*, in the month of *Sbaabân*, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, this year <sup>c</sup>.

IN the 317th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 14th; 929, *Al Moktader* was constrained to abdicate the *Khalifat*. *Mûnes*, his general, who was greatly esteemed by the soldiery, having conceived an invincible aversion to him, entered the imperial palace, with a party of twelve horse, the 14th of *Al Moharram*, plundered it, and carried *Al Moktader*, together with his mother, aunt, children, wives, and concubines, prisoners to his own house. The next day, the soldiers saluted *Mohammed Ebn Al Mota'ded*, surnamed *Al Kâber*, *Khalif*. Upon his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, the new *Khalif* made *Ebn Ali Ebn Moklâb* his *Visir*, and *Bârûk*, or, as others will have it, *Abd'allah Abu'l Hija Ebn Hamdân Abu Saifo'ddawla*, his chamberlain. When the imperial palace was pillaged, *Al Moktader*'s mother lost six hundred thousand *dinârs*. After the late *Khalif*'s abdication, letters were sent into all the provinces, notifying *Al Kâber*'s accession; and people entertained hopes, that the tranquillity of the empire would be settled upon a lasting foundation. But, the third day of the new *Khalif*'s reign, the troops assembled in a tumultuous manner, with great insolence demanded their pay, cut in pieces *Bârûk* the captain of the guards, drove *Ebn Moklâb* the *Visir* out of the palace, and placed *Al Moktader* again upon the throne. That prince no sooner found himself repossessed of the *Khalifat*, than he sent for his brother *Al Kâler*, forgave him what was past, expressed an inviolable attachment to his interests, recalled *Ebn Moklâb*, and ordered him to communicate to the provinces the news of this last revolution. According to *Eutychius*, not only *Mûnes*, but likewise *Abu'l Hija*, *Nâzûk*, and other principal commanders, contributed to the abdication of *Al Moktader*, and assisted at the inauguration of *Al Kâber*. However, continues the same author, the body of infantry, called *Al Mosâfia*, two days after that event happened, slew *Nâzûk* and *Abu'l Hija*, and brought about the restoration of *Al Moktader*, without any considerable effusion of human

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 190—193. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 315. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 289. KHONDÉMIR, Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigiensi. ubi sup. JOAN. CARUS. ubi sup. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124, 125.

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 193. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 316. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96, 97, 253, 256, &c. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 518, 519. Chronic. Sicul. Cantab. ubi sup. p. 9, 10.



blood. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Al Moktader* had rendered himself extremely disagreeable to the army, by permitting his women and eunuchs to govern with an absolute sway, and to fleece his subjects in a most arbitrary and oppressive manner. He also seems to intimate, that *Munes*, contrary to his own inclination, was forced by the soldiery to concur with them in the violent measures which were at this time pursued; but that afterwards this general not a little contributed to *Al Moktader's* re-establishment upon the *Moslem* throne. About this time, *Egypt* was infested with such swarms of locusts, that they darkened the air, intercepted the solar rays, and devoured every thing green in all those parts of that fruitful country which they so traversed. The same year, *Abu Thâber*, the *Karmatian* general, and prince of *Hajr*, entered *Mecca* with his troops, killed a great number of the pilgrims, on the 8th of *Dhu'lhajja*, in the temple there, demolished the small building and cupola that covered the well *Zemzem*, and plundered the *Caaba*. Nay, we are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that they filled this well with the carcases of those going in procession round the *Caaba*, whom they had massacred, amongst which was that of *Ebn Al Mokalleb*, the prince of *Mecca*, himself. Among other profanations by them offered to that celebrated place of the *Moslem* worship, they took away the famous *black stone*, of which we have formerly given our readers a full and ample description, and could not be prevailed upon for love or money to restore it, though one *Tabcam*, in the name of the people of *Mecca*, offered no less than 5000 *dinârs* for it. However, after they had kept it above twenty-two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from *Mecca*, they sent it back from *Hajr* of their own accord; at the same time bantering its devotees, by telling them it was not the true stone: but, as it is said, it was proved to be no counterfeit, by its peculiar quality of swimming on water. The *Karmatian*, however, who was sent to take away the golden spout, or pipe, that carried the rain-water from the top of the *Caaba*, broke his neck in the attempt. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Euty chius* calls *Abu Thâber* *Abu Sa'id Al Jannâbi*; though he has been more properly named *Solimân Ebn Abu Sa'id Al Jannâbi* by *Abu'lfeda*. The first of those authors also informs us, that, before he advanced to *Mecca*, he incamped in a place going under the name of *Tel Arkûf*, at a small distance from *Baghdâd*, and had several engagements with the *Khalif's* forces; after which, he stopped up all the wells between that capital and *Mecca*, not permitting the caravans of pilgrims to pass to the latter of those cities, either from *Mesopotamia* or *Khorasân*. The same writer also relates, that this *Al Jannâbi* butchered an infinite number of people both within and without the *Caaba*, as also in the streets of *Mecca*; insomuch that the well *Zemzem* was filled with dead bodies, as well as most of the houses of the town, and the ways, valleys, desert places, &c. in the neighbourhood of it. And, to crown all these misfortunes, if any person escaped out of the city with his effects, he was cut to pieces and plundered by the *Arabs* themselves, who were assembled in considerable numbers not far from the gates for that purpose. Some, however, fled to *Jodda*, and made their escape by sea. As the *Karmatian* general carried off all the rich furniture and utensils, both of gold and silver, belonging to the temple of *Mecca*, held in so high a veneration amongst the *Mohammedans*, except the spout, or pipe, above-mentioned, the spoil he acquired on this occasion was of immense value; besides which, he met with a considerable booty in the town; as he gave the place up to his troops to be plundered for seven days together. After he had committed these depredations, he abandoned *Mecca*, and ordered the pillage that had fallen into his hands to be conducted to *Hajr*. It has been already observed, that *Abu Thâber*, to whom *Euty chius* gives also the name of *Solimân Ebn Al Hasan*, attacked the city of *Basra* with his forces in the year of the *Hejra* 311, carried it by assault, put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword, and then of his own accord retired. All which events the last-mentioned author seems to place either in the 312th or 313th year of the *Hejra*; tho' it must be owned, that he so huddles things together there, that we cannot safely depend upon him in this particular. This year a very sharp debate was carried on at *Baghdâd* between *Abu Becr Al Merûzi*, or *Al Marwazi*, the principal of those who were followers of the famous *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, with his adherents, and the members of another sect in that metropolis, concerning the true import and meaning of the controverted passage in the *Korân*. The former inferred from it, that God would hereafter place *Mohammed* upon the throne of his glory near himself; and the latter only, that God would accept of the prophet's intercession for all true *Moslems*, at the day of judgment. The minds of the disputants on both sides were so agitated and inflamed on this occasion, that many murders were committed; insomuch that the city of *Baghdâd*, for some months, became a scene of blood and confusion. About the same time, *Nasr Ebn Abmed Ebn Nasr Al Basri*, a famous poet, surnamed *Al Khabazarzi*, departed this life. It ought to be here remarked, that *Eyliâ*, or *Elias*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, died on *Saturday*, the 13th of the latter *Jomâda*, after he had sat in the patriarchal see there twenty-eight years. It appears from the *Cambridge Chronicle*, that *Sâin*, one of the *Khalif* of *Kair-wân's* generals, made an incursion into *Italy*, and penetrated as far as the



- a the borders of the *Lower Lombardy*, that is, *Campania*, the dutchy of *Benevento*, and the neighbouring tract, with a body of the *Magrebian* troops, took many prisoners, and agreed upon another cessation of arms with the *Calabrians*, the present year <sup>a</sup>.

THE next year, being the 318th of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Mokballed* was appointed by the *Khalif* his *Visir*. That prince likewise, about the same time, conferred upon *Nasero'adawla Ebn Abu'l Hijâ Ebn Hâmdân* the government of *Amed*, *Diyâr Becr*, and *Mayâ-farkîn*, or *Mayyâfârakîn*; ordering him to pay annually a certain sum of money into the exchequer at *Baghdâd*. About the same time, the body of infantry, termed by the *Arabs* *Al Mesûfia*, being grown extremely insolent since the restoration of the *Khalif Al Moktader*, were first expelled the city of *Baghdâd*, then that of *Wâset*, and at last totally dispersed.

- b This year, *Sûn* made an incursion into *Calabria*, took a fortress in that province, named *Termûlab*, and carried with him into the *Moslem* territories 12,000 prisoners, without having sustained any considerable loss <sup>c</sup>.

THE following year, being the 319th of the *Hejra*, *Obeid'allah Ebn Mohammed* was nominated by the *Khalif* to act in the capacity of *Visir*. He did not, however, continue long in that sublime post to which he had been advanced; *Al Hasan Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Wakeb* being appointed to succeed him, before the end of the month *Shawâl*. About the same time, died *Abu Becr Al Nakrawânî*, a noted poet, who wrote some celebrated elegiacal verses upon a cat; being, at the time of his death, about an hundred years old. This year, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, or *Mardawij Ebn Zayyâr*, the king, or prince, of *Delam*, made himself master of *Hamadân*, violated the women there, and put 30,000 of the inhabitants to sword. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of the havoc he had made, sent an army, under the command of *Harûn Ebn Arab*, to reduce him; of which the *Deylamite* being informed, he advanced at the head of his troops to attack the *Khalif's* forces, engaged them between *Hamadân* and *Kazwîn*, and overthrew them with incredible slaughter; after which, he ravaged the country as far as *Hokwân*, and the frontiers of *Irâk*, and at last carried the city of *Esfabân* by assault. But of the great exploits of *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, as well as those of the other *Deylamite* princes, our readers may expect a particular and circumstantial account in another part of this work, to which it will more properly belong <sup>f</sup>.

- c In the 320th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Jan. 13th*, 932, the *Khalif Al Moktader* was killed at *Baghdâd*; of which tragical event some of the oriental historians have handed down to us the following particulars. *Mûnes*, the *Khalif's* general, having entertained a suspicion that his master intended to throw him into prison, left the court in disgust, and retired to *Al Mawfel*. Soon after his arrival there, he assembled a body of troops, with which he marched directly to *Baghdâd*. *Al Moktader*, having received advice of his approach, led his forces out of the city, in order to give him battle. A fierce conflict ensued between the contending parties, in which the *Khalif* was killed, stript, and had his head cut off by one of the barbarians in *Munes's* army, who immediately brought it to his general. The body of that prince was buried by a *Curd*, who passed by it soon after the end of the action, and saw it lie naked, and exposed to public view, on the field of battle. In this manner fell *Al Moktader*, on *Wednesday* the 28th of *Shawâl*, soon after he had completed the 38th year of his age, and had sat upon the *Moslem* throne about twenty-five years. He conferred upon *Abu Fadl Ebn Jaasar Ebn Al Farât* the office of *Visir*, towards the close of the latter *Rabî*. After his death, his head was carried on a lance, in the midst of a vast crowd of people, through the principal streets of *Baghdâd* <sup>g</sup>.

- d This affair, however, has been more particularly related by *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*. Those authors write, that *Mûnes*, being greatly displeased with the *Khalif's* conduct, retired towards *Al Mawfel*; of which that prince being apprized, he wrote to the head of the family of *Hamdân*, who then governed the people there, and commanded him to oppose the rebel with all his forces. The prince, or *Emir*, of *Al Mawfel*, continue they, having received the *Khalif's* letter, immediately drew together an army of 30,000 men, with which he advanced towards *Mûnes*, then attended by only a body of 800 horse, in order to attack him. That general, however, having probably been reinforced by some fresh troops, waited for him upon a spot of ground at a small distance from *Al Mawfel*, engaged him with great bravery, and at last put him to flight; after which, he made himself master of all the towns and villages, as well as all the riches, belonging to the descendants of *Hamdân*. This

THE *Khalif* is killed at *Baghdâd*.

- f This tragical event more particularly related by *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 193, 194. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 289, 290. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 518—525. AHMED EBN YUSUF, ISM. ABU'LFED. POC. NOT. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 119. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou Thaker*, p. 40. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 194. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 522, 523. ISM. ABU'LFED. & Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 522—525. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 191, 192. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 319. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Dûm*, p. 295. & art. *Mardawij*, p. 555.

<sup>g</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 194. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 524—527.



victory had such an effect upon the minds of the soldiery, that a very considerable a part of the *Khalif's* forces cantoned in *Syria* and *Egypt*, and even at *Baghdád* itself, deserted him, and joined *Munes*; which enabled that rebel, after nine months preparations at *Al Mawfel*, to march through *Tecrit*, at the head of a numerous army to *Baghdád*. Upon his arrival there, he pitched his tents before the gate *Al Sammasia*, and immediately invested the town. *Al Moktader's* friends, finding their master and themselves upon the point of being closely besieged, persuaded the *Khalif* to go out of the city in *Mohammed's* cloke, preceded by the doctors of the law, and other persons of note, with copies of the *Koran* open in their hands, in order to shew himself to the rebels; imagining that they would be touched with reverence of his person at so august a sight, and be thereby the more readily induced to return to a sense of their duty. At first he stood upon an eminence, with his attendants, and seemed unwilling to fight; but the signal at last, by his order, being given, a general action immediately ensued. The flower of his troops having already deserted him, *Al Moktader's* men were soon put to flight, and he himself, with several of the run-aways, endeavouring to return into the town, surrounded by a party of the *Magrebian* soldiers; one of whom, after a profusion of the most opprobrious language, ran him through with his sword, and the others instantly dispatched him. After which, they cut off his head, and carried it upon a pole to the rebel general, then at *Al Rasbidia*, who had not been present in the action. The *Magrebian*s likewise intirely stripped him, not leaving him so much as his breeches on to cover those parts which nature commands us to conceal, and buried him in the place where he fell. When *Al Moktader's* head was brought to *Munes*, at the sight of it, he is said to have wept, and to have discovered signs of the most unfeigned grief. He also posted a guard upon the imperial palace, in order to prevent its being plundered, and commanded his men not to offer the least violence to any of the late *Khalif's* family or domestics there <sup>b</sup>.

The circumstance attending *Al Moktader's* death, according to *Mirkhond*.

*MIRKHOND*, the *Persian* historian, has given us a long detail of the circumstances attending this prince's death, most of which have been omitted by the *Arab* writers. *Al Moktader*, according to this author, having caused his brother *Al Káber* to be imprisoned, for the part he had acted in the late revolt, which terminated in the elevation of that prince to the *Moslem* throne, though he sat not above two days thereon, resolved at last to put him to death. *Al Káber*, having been informed of his brother's design, engaged a *Barbarian*, or *Magrebian*, officer, who was an excellent horseman, and entirely at his devotion, to assassinate him. In order to effect this with the greater facility, he procured the assistance of *Munes*, the eunuch, who was not a little disaffected to the *Khalif*, and who consequently came into *Al Káber's* measures with uncommon alacrity. The *Magrebian* charged with his commission, sought all opportunities of killing the *Khalif*; and one day observing him seated in the place called *Shammasia*, to see some feats at arms and horse-races there, he presented himself before him, in order to be permitted to partake of those diversions; when he performed his part with so much dexterity and address, that the *Khalif* made him repeat it several times, and commanded his guards to retire, that he might have a more free and extensive view in the place. The *Magrebian* thinking that a proper opportunity of carrying his design into execution now offered itself, immediately turned his horse towards the *Khalif*, rushed upon him in an instant, and thrust his lance into his breast with such force, that he fell from his seat, and soon after died of the wound he then received. As soon as the officer had given the blow, he rode directly to the prison where *Al Káber* was confined, in order to deliver him from thence, and put him in possession of the *Khalifat*. But passing through the market-place, he met an ass loaded with thorns, which the people of that country make use of to heat their ovens. At this the *Magrebian's* horse took fright, and ran with his master against a butcher's stall with such violence, that a hook belonging thereto stuck fast in his chin; the horse being by this means deprived of his rider, and leaving him hanging thereon. Soon after this accident, a party of the *Khalif's* guards, who observed what had been done, and closely pursued the assassin, came up with him, made a fire of the thorns on the ass's back, and burnt him therein. This is the account of *Al Moktader's* death preserved by *Mirkhond*, an author of good repute; though, for several reasons, we prefer, as more consonant to truth, the relation of that tragical event handed down to us by the *Arab* historians cited here <sup>c</sup>.

His person, character, and the great officers of his court.

WITH regard to his person, *Al Moktader* had a round handsome face, and the hair of his head, as well as his beard, was exceeding gray; though he had but just completed the 38th year of his age at the time of his death. He had likewise very good eyes, was of a middle stature, and a fair complexion. As to his disposition, he was religious, delighted in giving of alms, and fasted often. He had many secretaries, governors of provinces and cities, and counsellors, or *Vizirs*. Some of the women and girls belonging to the court had

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 320. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 290, 291.

<sup>c</sup> MIRKHOND.



- a a great hand in the administration, particularly a girl named *Yamek*, who was so thoroughly versed in all the weightier points of the *Mohammedan* law, that both the judges in the determination of criminal causes, and the doctors of the law, in the most important decisions, found themselves obliged to have recourse to her for her assistance. *Al Moktader* reigned twenty-five years, and created twelve principal counsellors, or *Vizirs*; which cannot, with truth, be said of any of his predecessors. From the time that the *Karmatians* took *Mecca*, and carried from thence the celebrated *black stone*, to the day of this prince's death, not a single *Moslem* performed the pilgrimage thither; which never happened in the reign of any of the preceding *Khalifs*. *Al Moktader* is said to have given away to the poor, and appropriated to charitable uses, above seventy millions of *dinârs*. He also distributed a vast number of
- b jewels, a considerable quantity of the most precious unguents, and above sixty-three grains of civet, amongst the girls that he kept for his own use, and some other favourites that had an uncommon ascendant over him. His *Vizirs*, or *Wazîrs*, some of whom had different names, or surnames, assigned them by authors, were *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Hasan*, *Ali Ebn Ahmed* (or *Mohammed*) sometimes called *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Al Farât*, *Abu'l Kasem Al Khâkânî*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Khâkân*, *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Al Jarâh*, *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed*, generally known by the name of *Ebn Moklab*, *Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Al Khasib*, *Solimân Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Mokballed*, *Obeid'allah Ebn Mokammed Al Kadâni*, *Al Hasan Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Wakeb*, *Abu'l Fadl Ebn Jaasar Ebn Al Farât*, who received from his mother the denomination of *Ebn Kaizarâna*,
- c and *Al Fadl Ebn Jaasar Ebn Al Karân*. The most famous of his judges were *Tusef Ebn Yakûb*, his son *Mohammed*, *Abd'allah Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Ishak Al Bahlûl*, *Omar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Tusef*, *Al Hasan Ebn Ali*, and *Omar Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*. His chamberlains were *Saws*, *Al Mo'tâsi's* servant, *Nasr Al Kasîri*, *Yakûb Al Mo'tadedi*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Rayek*. The inscription of his seal was, *Praise be to God, to whom no other being is similar, and who is the creator of all things*. That this *Khalif*, in whose reign the two Greek emperors *Leo* and *Alexander* died, was a prince of great justice and moderation, appears from his remission of the tribute imposed upon the *Christian* bishops and religious in *Egypt* by *Ali Ebn Isa*, his governor of that country, as well as from several other things we have related of him here; and
- d particularly for the order he issued to obliged his *Moslem* subjects to rebuild several churches in *Egypt* that his officers had demolished there. We are told by *Al Makin*, that a Greek pinnacle, sent by the emperor for intelligence, and to discover a proper place for landing a body of troops in, was taken by some of the *Moslem* guard-ships stationed in the mouths of the *Nile*, in the 314th year of the *Hejra*; and that a man, who by his dress seemed to be a person of distinction, was found therein, who confessed that he was a spy, and declared that the *Christians* would soon appear on the coast with a fleet of 1000 sail, and a numerous body of land-forces on board, in order to make a descent. This news not a little alarmed the governor of *Egypt*, who there upon sent for a reinforcement from *Syria*, and took all other necessary precautions to render abortive the enemy's designs. But the *Christian* fleet
- e being soon after shattered by a storm, in which were lost above 300 ships, and all the soldiers and sailors therein drowned; the *Greeks* found themselves obliged to make the best of their way to their own ports, and thereby delivered the *Egyptians*, whom they had struck with such terror, from all apprehensions of the invasion with which they had been threatened<sup>k</sup>.

- BEFORE we conclude what we have to say of the *Khalif Al Moktader*, it may not be im-<sup>Several</sup>proper to touch upon the characters of two of the most learned men that flourished in his<sup>learned men</sup> reign. The famous *Mohammed Ebn Jâber Ebn Senân Abu Abd'allah Al Harrânî*, a native<sup>flourished in</sup> of *Batân*, or *Battân*, one of the dependencies of *Harrân*, and thence commonly called<sup>Al Mokta-</sup> *Al Battânî*, or *Albatânî*, so justly celebrated for the accurate astronomical observations he made at *Araçta*, or *Aracca*, that is, the city of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, departed this
- f life in the 317th year of the *Hejra*. This great mathematician and philosopher professed the *Sabian* religion, chiefly prevailed at the time of his birth in the city of *Harrân*, and all the adjacent tract belonging to it. And for this reason it is, that his tables are called the *Sabian Tables*. He began his observations in the year of the *Hejra* 264, and concluded them in 306; though the fixed stars are placed therein, according to their situation, in the year 299. In the 320th year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, died *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Zacaria*, *Zechariah*, or *Zacarias Al Râzi*, a person extremely well versed in all kinds of ancient learning, though he excelled most in physic, and is stiled the phoenix of his age by that writer. However, *Osaiba*, the author of *The Lives of the Physicians*, quotes two writers; one of whom places the death of *Al Râzi* either about the year of the *Hejra* 290,
- g or a little after 300, and the other in the year 310, or 320. *Abu'l feda* relates, that he died

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 195—198. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 524—527. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.



in the 311th, and *Ebn Shohnab* fixes his decease in the 310th, year of the *Moslem* æra. In a his younger years, he gave himself up intirely to music; but afterwards applied himself to the study of philosophy, with so much success, that he made a wonderful progress in every branch of it, and composed a great number of books both upon physical and philosophical subjects. He first presided over the hospital either at *Ray* or *Jondisâbâr*, and afterwards for a time over that at *Baghdâd*. He got webs, or pearls, in his eyes, by immoderate eating of beans; and, towards the close of his life, lost both of them by cataracts. He would not permit an oculist, who came to couch his eyes, to touch them with his instrument, because he could not tell of how many tunics, or little coats, the eye did consist; saying at the same time, that he was not so desirous of recovering his sight, as he had already seen enough of the world to make him nauseate and abhor it. We are told, that b he spent almost all his time in writing, either adversaria or fair copies of books. He is said to have penned twelve pieces in alchymy, wherein he asserted the possibility of a transmutation of metals, and to have understood astrology, or the art of predicting future events, from the aspects and configurations of the celestial bodies. He was liberal, munificent and courteous to all men; as likewise extremely charitable to the poor, when they were sick, not only giving them his advice as a physician, but supplying all their wants in the most ample manner. Some authors relate, that he was one of the principal physicians of the *Khalif Al Moktader*, and at the top of his profession when he was not above forty years of age. This is the doctor who, in the schools of physic, is commonly called *Rhazes*, or *Rhazis*, a corruption of *Râzi*; which surname he derived from the city of *Ray*, where he was born. c He has by some been accused of *Pyrrhonism*, or *Scepticism*, because he did not sufficiently understand *Aristotle* in many particulars. M. *D'Herbelot* thinks, that he was the author of the piece, intituled, *Ekbtiarat Al Najûmiab*, which has been abridged in *Persic* under the title of *Hakkam Alâlamîab*, in the *French* king's library, N° 890, and not *Fakbro'ddîn Ebn Omar*, as some suppose. *Al Râzi* also wrote a comment upon *Aristotle's* treatise *περί ερμηνείας*, *De Interpretatione*, called by the *Arabs* *Bari Arminias*, that is, *the book of interpretation*, according to some of the eastern writers. *Al Ca'bi* is reported to have told *Al Râzi*, that he demonstrated himself to be ignorant of physic, but his not being able to cure his own eyes; to be a stranger to astrology, by not foreseeing the misfortunes that came upon him; and to be unacquainted with alchymy, by his poverty. But all the facts here mentioned are looked d upon as envious falsehoods by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Bakhtîshûa Ebn Yahya* and *Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korra*, the *Sabian*, and father of *Thâbet Ebn Senân*, the historian, were likewise two of the *Khalif Al Moktader's* principal physicians, and in great favour with that prince. But of the latter of these we shall give a more particular account, at the conclusion of our history of the following reign <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 291—293. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 317. OSAIBA, EBN SHOHNAB, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Batan*, p. 193, & art. *Razi*, p. 712, 713. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 213, 214, 251, 252.

## S E C T. XLI.

Al Kâher  
succeeds his  
brother Al  
Moktader in  
the Khalifat.

AFTER the death of *Al Moktader*, *Mînes* proposed that prince's son *Abu'l Abbâs*, who e had been his pupil, to the grandees of the court for *Khalif*. But, in opposition to this motion, *Ishak Al Nûbakhti* thought fit to observe, that the late *Khalif Al Moktader* had been intirely under the management and direction of his mother, his aunt, and his servants; that they should be again in the same situation, if a minor ascended the throne; and that therefore, as they now wanted a prince who could govern both himself and his subjects, they ought to cast their eyes upon *Abu Mansûr Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'taded*, surnamed *Al Kâher Bi'llab*, as the most proper person of the house of *Al Abbâs* to be advanced to the *Khalifat*. *Mînes*, for some time, shewed himself extremely averse to the elevation of *Al Kâher*, as being perfectly well acquainted with the cruel and avaritious disposition of that prince. However, he suffered himself at last to be persuaded by *Al Nûbakhti* to concur with the other great officers in f the election of the new *Khalif*, assisted at his inauguration, and took the oath of allegiance to him. *Al Kâher*, upon his accession, conferred the office of *Hâjeb*, that is, chamberlain, or master of his chamber, upon *Balik*, ordered all *Al Moktader's* children and domestics to be brought before him, and caused them to be tortured, to force them to confess what sums of money his predecessor had distributed amongst them. He also put his mother-in-law *Sha'b*, or *Sa'f*, to the rack, to oblige her to produce the remainder of her money and her jewels, after she had deposited in his hands all her rich cloaths, her most valuable furniture, and other effects, and 100,000 *dinârs*. However, she persisted in the declaration she had made upon oath, that she had nothing remaining in her possession of any real value; though

two



- a two persons asserting the contrary appeared as evidences against her. This so enraged the *Khalif*, that he commanded her, though then very infirm, and even sick of the dropsy, to be stript naked, and hung up by the heels, with her head downwards, in such a posture that her urine ran all over her body. Nay, he is said not only to have exposed to public view, but even to have kicked or beaten, those parts that modesty enjoins her sex to conceal. In the midst of her tortures, however, she had courage enough to tell him that she was his mother, and to reproach him with ingratitude; she having once diverted the *Khalif Al Moktader*, her son, from his resolution, when he had determined to put him to death. This monster's own mother, according to some of the eastern writers, was named *Fenân*. He is said to have made *Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem* his *Visir*, soon after he took the government upon him; though several authors make *Ebn Moklah* his first *Visir*. Two persons of distinction, called *Ebn Salma* and *Ebn Aldâya*, were sent by the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* this year to *Sicily*, to mulct the *Moslems*, probably for the depredations they committed in the *Christian* territories, there. About the same time, died *Abu Amru Mohammed Ebn Yusef*, the learned *Kâdi* of *Baghdâd*, *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Saleh*, one of the followers of the famous *Al Shâfeî*, and *Abu Noaim Abd'almâlec*, a learned and religious *Moslem* of the same sect. *Al Kâber Bi'llah* was created *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*, the 28th of *Shawâl*, the present year <sup>m</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 321st of the *Hejra*, beginning *Jan. 1st*, 933, and not the 322d of that æra, as we find advanced by *M. D'Herbelot*, *Al Kâber* gave the charge of *Visir* <sup>He cuts off several of his great men.</sup> to the famous *Ebn Moklah* (if he had not that honourable post conferred upon him the preceding year); who, according to an eastern writer of good repute, first formed the beautiful character now used by the *Arabs* from the *Cûfic*. About this time, the *Khalif* commanded *Abmed Ebn Al Mo'tasî* to be confined in a house by himself, where he soon pined away with grief. *Sba'b*, or *Sa'f*, *Al Moktader's* mother, died this year, after *Al Kâber* had thoroughly pillaged her, stript her of all her possessions, and treated her in a most barbarous manner. This and other instances of his avarice and cruelty so alienated the affections of *Balik*, *Ali* his son, *Ebn Moklah*, *Abmed Ebn Zairac*, and *Mûnes*, who was at first inclined to favour *Abmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Moktader's* pretensions to the *Khalifat*, from *Al Kâber*, that they conspired against him, and came to a resolution to depose him. But *Tdharîf*, or *Tbarîf*, *Al Saccari* having found means to convey himself into the palace in women's cloaths, notwithstanding the conspirators had possessed themselves of all the avenues to it, and discovered the whole affair to the *Khalif*; that prince, thus opportunely informed of the design, by the assistance of the dependents of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, got *Balik*, his son *Ali*, *Mûnes*, and *Abmed Ebn Zairac*, into his hands, and ordered all their heads to be cut off. As for *Ebn Moklah*, he made his escape to *Wâset*, where he kept himself concealed, till, by the assistance of *Simâ*, the chief of the *Turkish* militia, or rather the leader of the partisans of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, he brought about a new revolution at the *Moslem* court. He was succeeded by *Abu Jaasar Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem* in the sublime post of *Visir*, or *Wazir*. The same year, *Yakîn Al Harari* the governor of *Egypt*, whom we have already so often mentioned, died at *Mesr*, or *Al Fostât*, and was succeeded by *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Tagaj*, surnamed *Al Akhsîd*, as he was soon after by *Abmed Ebn Keigalag*. *Ebn Salma* and *Ebn Aldâya* returned this year to *Africa*, but met with a very indifferent reception from the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*; that prince being highly displeased with their conduct. About this time, according to <sup>c</sup> *Abu'lfeda*, commenced the dynasty of the *Bûiyans*, which was founded by one *Bûiya*, a *Deylamite*, of royal extraction, surnamed *Abu Shajâ'*. *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein*, commonly known by the name or surname of *Ebn Doreidi*, a celebrated poet and philologer, who wrote a great number of learned books, but was too much given to wine and music, died in the month of *Sbaabân*, being at the time of his death about ninety-eight years of age; as did likewise, on the same day, *Abu Hassem Ebn Ali*, a *Môtazalite* sophist, or metaphysician, born in the year of the *Hejra* 247. Both of these learned men were interred in the common burying-place at *Baghdâd*. *Mohammed Ebn Yusef Al Farbâri*, so denominated from *Farbâr*, a town in the territory of *Bokbâra*, placed by some of the eastern writers at a small distance from the *Oxus*, where he was born in the year of the *Hejra* 231, (who <sup>f</sup> had been acquainted with the famous *Al Bokbâri*) and *Abu Jaasar Abmed Ebn Mohammed Al Azdi*, the principal of the sect of *Abu Hanîfa* in *Egypt*, two men of great piety and erudition, also departed this life, the present year. We must not forget to observe, that the *Khalif Al Kâber* commanded the heads of the conspirators to be exposed to public view in all the principal streets of *Baghdâd* <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 293, 294. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 526, 527. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 197—200. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 320. KHONDEMIR, Chron. Sic. Cantabr. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 294—298. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 233, 589, &c. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 199. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 321. EBN SHOHNAH, Chronic. Sic. Cantabrig. & JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup.



Al Kâher is  
deposed.

THE next year, being the 322d of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 22d, 953, *Ebn a*  
*Mohlab* excited the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians* to a revolt against *Al Kâher*, by insinuating to  
their leaders, that he had broken his word with regard to *Balik*, his son *Ali*, *Abmed Ebn*  
*Zairac*, and *Mûnes*, whom he had put to death, after he had promised them their lives, and  
taken them under his protection; that he had served many other persons of transcendent  
merit in the same manner; and that, in short, they themselves had great reason to be afraid  
of his perfidious conduct. Secret conferences were likewise held between him and *Simâ*,  
general of the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians*, who had all the *Turkish* militia at his devotion; whom  
he sometimes visited in women's cloaths, sometimes in the habit of a common beggar, and  
at others in that of a blind mendicant; wherein the plan of operations relative to the depo-  
sition of the *Khalîf* was gradually settled and adjusted. Not content with this, he also b  
made a present to *Simâ's* astrologer of 200 *dinârs*, and another to his interpreter of dreams,  
engaging them thereby to assist him in the execution of this plan, and by their predictions  
and interpretations to inspire the general himself with such sentiments as might impel him  
to act with vigour in the affair. The former of these, therefore, assured *Simâ*, that his horo-  
scope indicated a violent death to him on the part of the *Khalîf*; and the latter, that his  
dreams pointed out to him the same thing. This so alarmed and terrified *Simâ*, that, in  
his defence, he resolved to drive *Al Kâher* from the throne as soon as possible; of which  
the *Vîfir* being informed, he sent *Salâm*, or *Salâma*, the *Khalîf's* chamberlain, and *Ijâ*, his  
physician, to apprize him of the danger he was in. But *Al Kâher* having spent the greatest  
part of the night in carousing, and being then asleep, upon their arrival at the palace, they c  
were not permitted to see him. Soon after this, the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians* forced their way  
into the palace, possessed themselves of every apartment there, and by the noise they made  
on this occasion awaked him; when, being struck with terror, he hid himself under the  
roof, or covering, of a bagnio, where he for a short time lay concealed. But the rebels  
soon discovered him, took him from thence, deprived him of the use of his eyes with a  
red-hot iron, threw him into prison, and plundered the city of *Baghdâd*. A little before  
his deposition, he put to death *Ishak Al Nûbakhti*, who had been so instrumental in his  
elevation to the *Khalîfat*. *Al Kâher* was deposed on *Wednesday*, the sixth of the former  
*Jomâda*, after he had reigned about one year and seven months, and was succeeded by  
*Abmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Mektader*, surnamed *Al Râdi*, or *Al Râdi Bi'llah*; he himself, d  
according to *Al Makîn*, having been the first who saluted him *Khalîf*. However, if we  
will believe *Abu'lfeda*, he could not be prevailed upon, by any means whatsoever, to abdi-  
cate, before proper witnesses, the *Khalîfat*. *Al Kâher* remained in a state of confinement  
till the latter *Rabî*, in the year of the *Hejra* 333, when the *Khalîf Al Motaki* released him,  
and sent him home. After he had recovered his liberty, he was reduced to such extreme  
poverty, that he found himself obliged to beg on *Fridays* at the door of the great mosque  
in *Baghdâd*. The son of *Abu Mûsa Al Hâshemi* once gave him a thousand *dirbêms* there.  
Another person, according to *Al Makîn*, at a certain time saw him in rags addressing himself  
to the people, that resorted to the mosque of *Al Mansûr*, in the following terms: "Remem-  
ber him who was formerly your *Khalîf*, and is now reduced to the necessity of asking e  
"you for alms." He died either in the 338th, or the 339th, year of the *Hejra*; being then,  
according to some, fifty-two, or, as others will have it, fifty-five years of age; and was buried  
in the house of *Ebn Thâber*. He was rash, cruel, avaritious, and a person of a very iniquitous  
conduct. His *Wazîrs*, or *Vîfirs*, were *Ebn Mektab*, *Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Abd'allah*,  
*Abmed Ebn Abd'allah Al Hafani*, and *Isa*; and his chamberlains *Ba'ik*, *Ali Ebn Balik*,  
and *Salâmi Al Tolûni*. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Wednesday*;  
but the inscription of his seal has not been handed down to us. We must beg leave to  
remark here, that *Sa'id Ebn Batrîk*, a native of *Al Fostât*, was constituted patriarch of  
*Alexandria*, and received the name of *Anba Eutychius*, the 8th of *Safar*, the preceding  
year, being the 321st of the *Hejra*, and the first of *Al Kâher's* reign. He was at first a f  
physician, of the *Melchite* persuasion, and, at the time of his promotion, about sixty years  
of age °.

Some farther  
particulars  
relating to  
Al Kâher.

MIRKHOND writes, that the *Khalîf Al Kâher* owed his advancement to *Mûnes*, the eunuch,  
who had been his master and governor; but that he soon forgot his obligations to that  
general, and ordered him, together with many other servants of the *Khalîf Al Mektader*,  
to be put to death. The same author likewise observes, that *Mûnes* was a person of an extra-  
ordinary size; and that his head was so large, that his brains, being taken out of it, after  
it had been cut off, weighed six pounds of *Baghdâd*; upon which, a *Persian* poet thought fit to  
remark, that the larger any head was, the greater number of infirmities it was subject to.  
After this execution, continues that historian, the dependents and domestics of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l g*

° GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 298, 299. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 199, 200. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej.  
322. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 526, 527, 530, 531.



- a *Sāj*, excited a tumult in *Baghdād*, during which, they talked of placing *Abu Ahmed Ebn Al Moṭaṣṭ* upon the *Moslem* throne. *Al Kāber*, having been apprized of this, commanded *Abu Ahmed* to be brought before him; and, after having sent him into the *Harem*, the most retired part of the palace where the women lived, ordered him to be nailed with four nails to the wall of one of the chambers there; tho', according to some of the *Arab* writers; this poor prince was only immured in that place, where he soon after ended his days. Whilst *Abu Ahmed* was in this wretched situation, *Al Kāber* sent for one *Abu Yahya*, a man of the gown, who was very rich, and told him he wanted 200,000 *dinārs*. *Abu Yahya* declared to the *Khalīf*, that he was not able to supply him with so large a sum. Upon which, that prince said to him, " *Abu Ahmed*, who is within here, assured me that you
- b " could, and he would advise you to do it." *Abu Yahya* then stepped into the room where *Abu Ahmed* was confined, and, to his infinite surprize, saw him there nailed to the wall. This sight struck him with such terror, that he immediately furnished *Al Kāber* with the money demanded of him, and by that means maintained himself in the possession of all his dignities and employments <sup>p</sup>.

- AMONGST the learned men that flourished in *Al Kāber's* reign, we may rank *Isa*, already *Isa Ebn Yusef* mentioned here, and *Senān Ebn Thābet Ebn Korrah*, likewise taken notice of above, both *Ebn Al Attār* of them physicians to that prince. *Isa* was the son of one *Yusef*, who went under the *and Senān Ebn* name of *Ebn Al Attār*, and was a great favourite of the *Khalīf* he had the honour to serve. *Thābet Ebn* Such confidence did *Al Kāber* repose in *Isa*, that he frequently sent by him his commands *Korra were* to the *Viṣīr*, and imparted many secrets to him. As for *Senān Ebn Thābet*, he likewise had *Al Kāber's* good interest with his master; but was not so much esteemed by him as was *Isa Ebn Yusef* *principal phy-* *sicians*.
- c *Ebn Al Attār*. However, the *Khalīf*, being now and then not a little pleased with his conversation, pressed him to embrace *Mohammedism*; which, for some time, he stily refused, but, as he was extremely afraid of *Al Kāber's* ferocity, he at last agreed to do it, and accordingly professed himself a *Moslem*. After which, he continued, during a certain term, in the *Khalīf's* service; but being often terrified by *Al Kāber's* commands, he found himself obliged to fly into *Khorasān*, from whence he afterwards returned to *Baghdād*, where he died in the 331<sup>st</sup> year of the *Hejra*. The following merry story has been told of this *Senān* by *Abu'l Faraj*. The *Khalīf* once commanded him to examine the physicians of
- d *Baghdād*, in order to discover their abilities, and see whether or no they imposed upon his subjects. Soon after he had received this order, a person of gravity and a very good aspect, exceedingly well dressed, came to him to be examined; upon which *Senān*, having first paid his respects to him in a proper manner, desired him to give a specimen of his skill in physic, and to name the doctor who had instructed him in that art. Upon this, the other took a paper out of his sleeve, that contained in it a certain number of *ḍinārs*, laid it down before *Senān*, and frankly told him that he knew nothing at all of the matter; that he could neither write nor read; but that, as he supported himself and his family by his practice, he begged he would not ruin him, by telling the truth to the *Khalīf*. To this
- e *Senān*, who could not forbear laughing at what he heard, replied, that he would not expose him, provided he would promise never to attend a patient whose distemper he did not understand, and that he would neither prescribe phlebotomy nor cathartics in any cases but such as were perfectly well known to him. This the doctor readily agreed to, saying at the same time, that he never ventured beyond oxymel and a julep, when he prescribed to his patients; and immediately left him. The next day, a young physician of an agreeable mien, in a neat and decent dress, waited upon *Senān*, who asked him to whom he was obliged for his knowledge in the art he professed. The other answered, " To my father." " Who is your
- f " father?" said *Senān*. " The doctor," replied the young man, " who was with you yesterday." " A noble doctor, truly!" replied *Senān*. " Do you," continued he, " prescribe " in the same manner? " Always," returned the young physician. " Take care then," said *Senān*, " that you go on as you have done, improve in your profession as your father " does, that he may have a son as like him" (rather than *go in peace*, as *Dr. Pococke* has translated the original *Arabic* here) " as possible." All *Senān's* works are held in great esteem. He was an excellent astronomer, and one who had rendered himself famous throughout the east. Nor is this to be wondered at, since the *Sabians*, whose religion both he and his ancestors professed, cultivated the study of astronomy above any other sect or nation, during the period we are now upon. As the *Khalīf Al Kāber* obliged *Senān* to embrace *Mohammedism*, he has been surnamed *Al Kāberi*, or the *Kāberian*, by some of the oriental writers <sup>q</sup>.

M IRKHOND, Vide etiam AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 198, 199. <sup>q</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 29 — 301. EDM. CASTEL lex. heptaglot. in voc. צהב. p. 3157. Lond. 1669. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. apud JOANNEM SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxoniens. D'HERBEEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Senan Ben Thabeth*. p. 504.



## S E C T. XLII.

Al Râdi is  
proclaimed  
Khalif.

AFTER the deposition of *Al Kâber*, his nephew *Abu'l Abbas Ahmed Ebn Al Moklab*,<sup>a</sup> surnamed *Al Râdi*, or *Al Râdi Billah*, was taken out of the prison where he had been confined by that prince, and placed upon the *Moslem* throne. This happened on the sixth of the former *Jomâda*, the very day his uncle was deposed. The new *Khalif*'s mother was denominated *Takim*, according to *Al Makin*. Upon his accession, *Ali Ebn Isa* petitioned for the post of *Visir*; but the new *Khalif* told him, that *Ebn Moklab* was better qualified to take upon himself the government of the empire, in the present critical situation of affairs; and therefore he conferred upon him that arduous charge. About this time, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, the king, or prince, of *Deylam*, overthrew, in several engagements, *Mu'bin Ebn Mâli*, took *Amid*, or *Amed*, in *Mesopotamia*, and possessed himself of the province of *Tabrestân*; *Motabar Atâ'a*, the *Khalif*'s lieutenant of *Khorasân*, not being able to make head<sup>b</sup> against him there. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Al Kâber*, a little before he was deposed, granted to *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz* the inv. s. ture or *Ray*, *Markab*, *Zanzân*, and *Abbar*, upon condition that he restored the city of *Esfahân*, from whence his brother *Wasmakîn* had driven the famous *Ali Abu'l Hasan Amado'ddawla Ebn Bâha* a little before. With this proposal *Mardawij* immediately closed, and recalled his brother from *Esfahân*; but soon after receiving advice, that *Al Kâber* was deposed, and his nephew *Al Râdi* advanced to the *Khalifat*, he sent *Wasmakîn* with all possible expedition to seize again upon that city, and to secure to himself, without delay, the possession of *Ray*, *Abwâz*, and *Fârs*. He also concluded a treaty of peace with *Amado'ddawla Ebn Bâha*; the principal article of which was, that each party should keep possession of what he had made himself master of. It<sup>c</sup> appears from *Abu'lfeda*, that *Joannes Curcuas*, the imperial general, invaded the *Moslem* territories, and took the city of *Malatia*, after a long and obstinate siege, the first day of the latter *Jomâda*, the present year. After the surrender of the place, he sent a detachment of his troops to conduct the *Moslem* garison, that had made a brave defence, to one of the *Khalif*'s fortresses, and reduced a large extent of territory to the obedience of the emperor. *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah Al Mobdi*, the first of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Kairwân*, died the 14th of the former *Rabî*, after he had reigned twenty-four years, three months, and six days, the present year; being at the time of his death (C) about fifty-three, or, according to *Abu'lfeda*, sixty-three, years of age. He was succeeded by his son *Abu'l Kasem Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Kayem*, who was created *Khalif* at *Al Mobdia*, the day his father expired; tho'<sup>d</sup> the *Moslems* of *Sicily*, for near six months, heard nothing of this remarkable event. Nay, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, the new *Khalif*, for reasons of state, concealed his father's death a whole year. About the same time, *Abu Ali Mohammed Al Rudbâri* and *Al Hosein Ebn Abd'allah Al Nassaj* (or the weaver), two of the principal *Sâfis*, as well as *Abu Neaim Al Forjâni Al Astarabâdi* and *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Jaafar Al Kattâni*, a celebrated scholar of *Al Jonaid*, two very learned men, departed this life. We are told by *Abu'lfeda* and the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that *Abu'l Kasem* sent a body of his troops into *Italy*, that reduced the city of *Genoa*, and made a descent upon the island of *Sardinia*, the following year<sup>e</sup>.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions of the year of the *Hejra* 322, it must be observed, that the famous, or rather infamous, *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Shalmagâni*,<sup>e</sup> so denominated from *Shalmagân*, a town in the territory of *Wâset*, the place of his nativity, was crucified, together with *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Awn*, one of his disciples, for the impious opinions he maintained. This impostor held, that as much of the Deity resided in created beings, and particularly men, as their respective capacities would admit; that every human soul passed from one body to another, through an indefinite and indeterminate series of ages; and that *Ali* was the most excellent of mortals, nay that he was either God himself, or at least a partaker of the divine nature, and extremely like him. *Al Shalmagâni*, with many

<sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 201, 202. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 301. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 528, 529. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 555. Chron. Sic. Cant. p. 10. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. Sarranic. rer. epit. p. 99. Panormi, 1720.

(C) *Erpenius*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makin*, makes *Al Mobdi* to have been 53 years old at the time of his decease; whereas, according to the original *Arabic*, both in the *Oxford* manuscript, and that which he translated, this prince was only thirty years of age when he died. However, it must be owned, that *Al Makin* (3), or rather the historian he follows, affirms the founder of

the dynasty of the *Fâtemites* to have been born in the year of the *Hejra* 269, and consequently to have been about fifty-three years old at the time of his death. Notwithstanding which, *Abu'lfeda* (4) and *Ebn Shab-nab* (5) make the 322d year of the *Hejra*, in which he died to have been coincident with the 63d year of his age.

(3) *Al Makin*, *hist. Sar.* p. 187, 201.

(4) *Ism. Abu'lfed. ad ann. Hej. 322.*

(5) *Ebn Shab-nab.*



- a of his followers, kept himself for some time concealed; but at last, in the month of *Shawâl*, this year, he came out of his lurking-place, and endeavoured to poison the minds of the *Khalif's* subjects with his impious tenets. Being brought before *Ebn Moklab*, upon whom *Al Râdi*, at *Simâ's* persuasion, had conferred the post of *Wazîr*, he denied the erroneous opinions laid to his charge; though he owned, that his followers asserted God to have taken up his residence in him. *Ebn Moklab*, not satisfied with what he alleged in his defence, sent him, for farther examination, to the *Khalif*; *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Awn* and *Mohammed Ebn Abdûs*, two of his disciples, at the same time attending him. Upon the appearance of these impostors before the *Khalif*, he commanded *Ebn Abu Awn* and *Ebn Abdûs* to beat *Al Shalmagâni* with their fists, though they had not scrupled to attribute divinity to him; which the latter of them, with no small reluctance, did, though the other, instead of doing it, kissed his head and his beard, crying out, "My Supporter, my Lord, and my God!" *Al Shalmagâni* was then asked, whether he had not a little before denied, that he ever arrogated to himself divine honours? to which he answered in the affirmative, and seemed to blame *Ebn Abu Awn* for his extravagant conduct. However, being at last, on a certain day, examined by all the great doctors of the law, he was by them judged worthy of death; and, in consequence of the sentence then passed upon him, he was, with *Ebn Abu Awn*, executed, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, at *Baghdâd*. After the execution, the bodies of both of them were reduced to ashes, in order to inspire the populace with the greater abhorrence of their impiety. For a more particular account of all the blasphemous tenets propagated by *Al Shalmagâni* and his followers, as well as the *Sâfis*, who were at least nearly related to them, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors cited here<sup>r</sup>.
- b
- c

- In the year of the *Hejra* 323, beginning *December* 11th, 934, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, or *The principal Ebn Zayyâr*, the king of *Deylam*, who had made himself master of *Al Jebâl*, and other adjacent provinces, was assassinated by some of the *Turks* in his service, and succeeded by his brother *Wafmakîn*, *Washmakîn*, or *Washmakîr*. But of this we shall give our readers a more particular and circumstantial account hereafter. The same year *Abu Thâber*, the *Karmatian* general, and prince of *Hajr*, plundered a caravan, and put a great number of pilgrims to the sword. *Abu Mohammed Naserc'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân* likewise delivered up to his brother *Ali Abu'l Hasan Saifo'ddawla Mayâfârkin*, or *Mayyâfârakîn*, and *Diyâr Beer*, the present year. About the same time, *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûyia* possessed himself of *Esfabân*, and proposed afterwards to reduce to his obedience *Hamadân*, *Komm*, *Kâsbân*, *Karaj*, *Al Ray*, *Kazwîn*, *Kenkewar*, and all the territories of *Wafmakîn*. In the month of either the former or latter *Jomâda*, the troops mutinied at *Baghdâd*, broke open the house of *Ebn Moklab*, *Al Râdi's* *Wazîr*, and obliged him and his son to fly over the *Tigris* into the western town; though the commotion, raised by them on this occasion, was afterwards appeased. The same year, died *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Arasab*, commonly called *Nasthuyah*, descended from the famous *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abu Sâfra*, who had formerly been the *Khalif's* governor of *Khorasân*. He bore the character of a most celebrated grammarian, and was born in the year of the *Hejra* 244. *Abu Beer Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Mohammed Ebn Tagaj*, surnamed *Al Akhsîd*, subjugated also *Egypt*, which he entered in the month of *Ramadân*, and annexed it to the opulent province of *Syria*, which he had before wrestled out of the *Khalif's* hands. Several violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in *Egypt*, the third of *Dbu'lkaada*, soon after *Anba Theodosius*, or *Stephen*, who had been with *Mînes*, the eunuch, at *Baghdâd*, was constituted patriarch of *Antioch* in *Syria*. About the same time, many of those meteors called *falling stars*, of a very remarkable kind, likewise appeared in *Egypt*. This year the followers of the famous *Almed Ebn Hanbal*, who were now become very numerous, raised a great commotion in *Baghdâd*, entering people's houses, spilling their wine, if they found any, beating the singing-women they met with, and breaking their instruments to pieces; infomuch that a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty. We must not forget to observe, that *Rendâsb*, the *Moslem* governor of *Tabermîn*, or *Taormina*, died there the preceding year; nor that the *Cambridge Chronicle* mentions a dreadful tempest and inundation, as happening at *Palermo* in *Sicily*, and destroying many men and houses there, in that we are now upon<sup>s</sup>.
- d
- e
- f

THE following year, being the 324th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Nov.* 30th, 935, the *Khalif Al Râdi*, finding himself pressed on all sides by the usurpers who had dismembered the *Moslem* empire, and reduced to great straits by the incapacity of his *Vizîr*, created *Abu* Al Râdi creates a minister superior to his Vizir.

<sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 265. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. in art. *Hakem beamrillab*. See also SALE's prelim. disc. p. 176, 177. <sup>s</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 202, 203. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 301, 302. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 323. Chronic. Sic. Arabic Cantabrigiens. p. 10, 11. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.



*Becr Mohammed Ebn Rayek Emîr Al Omrâ* (D), or assigned him the charge of *commandant of commandants*, which the title of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, that is, the *Emîr of Emîrs*, or the supreme *Emîr*, imports. This great officer, or rather prime minister, was trusted with the administration of all military affairs, and had the intire management of the finances, in a much more absolute and unlimited manner than any of the *Khalîf's Visirs*, committed to him. Nay, he officiated for the *Khalîf* in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*, and had his name mentioned in the public divine service throughout the empire. In a word, *Al Râdi* was intirely governed by this *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Rayek* and his secretary, insomuch that he could not take out of the treasury a single *dinâr* for his own use, without their permission. As for *Ebn Moklab*, who was a person of considerable abilities, though not equal to the post in which he had been placed, the *Khalîf* left him for some time in possession of the charge of *Visir*; but at last, on account of his shuffling and pragmatial disposition, he found himself obliged to dismiss him. *Ebn Rayek* came from *Wâset*, over the people of which city he then presided as governor, or rather sovereign, the 25th of *Dbu'lhajja*, to *Baghdâd*. Soon after which, he appointed *Abmed Ebn Ali* of *Cûfa* his secretary of state. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that the *Hajarîans*, with *Al Modbaffer Ebn Yâkût* at their head, deposed *Ebn Moklah*, and after him *Ali Ebn Isa*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Isa*, and *Abu Jaafar Ebn Al Kasem*, whom they had successively appointed to officiate as *Visir*, within the space of a few months. He also writes, that *Ebn Rayek*, who had assumed to himself the sovereignty of *Wâset* and *Basra*, *Al Barîdi*, who had seized upon *Abwâz*, and the other governors of provinces, having refused to send their respective tributes to *Baghdâd*, the *Khalîf's* treasury was quite exhausted, insomuch that he found himself obliged to employ *Ebn Rayek*, who had amassed considerable sums, as the *Emîr Al Omrâ*; which put the government of the *Moslem* empire, without any restriction or reserve, into his hands. The same author likewise intimates, that he disarmed the *Sâjiâns* immediately after his arrival at *Baghdâd*; which inspired the *Hajarîans* with an aversion to him. *Mohammed Ebn Tagaj*, and some of his officers, assembled a body of troops at *Barka*, whither they had been obliged to retire out of *Egypt*, with which they returned to *Alexandria*, drove the garison of that city to the river of *Rashîd*, pursued them thither, and intirely defeated them. Many of the *Egyptians* were killed in the action, and most of the rest taken prisoners; after which, the citizens of *Alexandria*, that had been forced to abandon the place, returned home. About the same time, *Al Râdi* granted the investiture of *Egypt*, in the fullest and most solemn manner, to *Al Akhsîd*, and recalled *Abmed Ebn Keigalag* from that country. This year, *Adado'ddawla Abu Shajâ' Fanakbofrû Ebn Rocno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Bûiya*, afterwards lord, or king, of *Persia*, was born at *Esfahân*: and, before the close of it, *Hajaza Al Barmaki*, descended from *Yabya Ebn Kbâled Ebn Barmak*, or *Barmac*, extremely well versed in various parts of learning, *Abd'allah Ebn Abmed Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Ebn Al Moflesi*, the author of a great number of books of good repute, and the *Imâm Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Nisâbûri*, a follower of the famous *Al Shâfeî*, born in the 238th year of the *Hejra*, departed this life. An east-wind, that blew with great violence in *Sicily* the 11th of *July*, utterly destroyed the vintage there. From this time the office of *Visir* became only a nominal post, the *Emîr Al Omrâ* continuing to govern the *Khalîfat* with an absolute sway, till the power of the *Seljûkiâns*, or oriental *Turks*, began to decline at *Baghdâd*.

An inglorious treaty concluded with Abu Thâher.

THE next year, being the 325th of the *Moslem* æra, *Ebn Rayek*, who possessed the charge of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, and, in consequence thereof, had the intire direction of the state, concluded a treaty of peace with *Abu Thâher*, prince of the *Karmatians*, who had made himself master of *Cûfa*, by no means glorious to the *Khalîf*. For, the principal article of this treaty was, that *Ebn Rayek* should remit the *Karmatian* from *Baghdâd* the annual sum of 120,000 *dinârs*. However, *Abu Thâher*, in consideration of this tribute, engaged never for the future to molest the caravans of pilgrims in their passage to *Mecca*.

Al Barîdi becomes tributary to the Khalîf.

THE same year, *Ebn Rayek*, and the *Khalîf* in person, marched with a powerful army to *Wâset*, in order to drive from thence the rebel *Abu Abd'allah Al Barîdi*, who had seized upon that city. *Al Barîdi*, finding himself not in a condition to make head against the *Khalîf's* forces, purchased a peace of *Al Râdi*, by submitting to pay a monthly tribute of

<sup>t</sup> KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. EUTYCH. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 324. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienf. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, ubi sup. <sup>u</sup> KHONDEMIR & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 325.

(D) That the name of this great officer was *Emîr Al Omrâ*, and not *Emir Al Omara*, as we find it written (6) by M. D'Herbelot, will be acknowledged by every one who is not an intire stranger to the genius of the Arabic

language. Hence the word *Omrâ*, the plural of *Emîr*, is given as a title (7) to all the nobility of the first rank, in the empire of the *Mogul*, or *Megbol*, and in *Tartary*.

(6) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 705.

(7) Fraser's History of Nadir Shâh, p. 55. Lond. 1742.



- a 30,000 *dinârs*. But, after the *Khalîf's* departure to *Baghdâd*, he rebelled again, took *Basra*, together with the district belonging to it, and in a short time grew more powerful than he was before \*.

THIS rebellion greatly embarrassing the *Khalîf's* affairs, the scene of it being in the Al Barîdî is very neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, *Ebn Râyek* sent *Yahcam*, the *Turk*, with a numerous army <sup>driven from</sup> to extinguish it, and, if possible, to get the author of it into his hands. But *Al Barîdî*, <sup>Wâset, Ah-</sup> finding himself not in a condition to oppose *Yahcam*, fled at his approach; upon which, <sup>wâz, and</sup> *Wâset*, *Abwâz*, and *Basra*, immediately submitted to the *Khalîf's* forces, and *Ebn Râyek* <sup>Basra, and</sup> appointed *Yahcam* to preside over *Abwâz* in quality of governor, who thereupon engaged him- <sup>flies to Ama-</sup> self to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalîf* of 38,000 *dinârs*. After *Al Barîdî* had been driven <sup>do'ddawla's</sup> from *Wâset*, *Abwâz*, and *Basra*, he took sanctuary at *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya's* court; who sent his brother *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya* with him, attended by a strong body of troops, to dislodge *Yahcam* from his new acquisitions, the following year. The *Moslems*, about this time, plundered the church of the resurrection at *Jerusalem*, and reduced a considerable part of it to ashes; one *Christopher*, a native of *Askalon*, or *Askelon*, being then the patriarch there. The same year, died *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Kbûrraz*, a grammarian, who wrote a pretty large commentary upon the *Korân*. An insurrection happened at *Gergenti*, the *Agrigentum* of the ancients, in *Sicily*, April 17th, when the people of that city assembled in great numbers, drove *Ebn Amrân* from *Calata-Bellotta*, called by the *Arabs* *Ka'lat-Al-Bellât*, and pillaged the garison of that place. *Al Emîr Sâlem*, receiving advice of what had happened, marched against the insurgents with an army of *Sicilians* and *Cottâmians*, or *Catâmians*, a very powerful and warlike *Arab*, or *Moorish*, nation, and laid siege to *Ajrab*, or *Ojrab*; of which the *Gergentines* being informed, they advanced to the besiegers camp, engaged the *Emîr's* forces, on Saturday, June 24th, and overthrew them with incredible slaughter. A prodigious number of the *Cottâmians*, together with *Abu Dekâk*, their general, perished in the action. After this defeat, they made excursions as far as the gates of *Palermo*, and even attempted to form the siege of that city. For which purpose, they advanced to a place going under the name of *Mesîd Bâlis*, not far from the town; but were repulsed by the inhabitants of *Palermo* with very considerable loss; who, being supported by *Al Emîr Sâlem Ebn Al Rasîd*, and *Al Maimûn Ebn Mûsa*, pursued them as far as *Marnûa*, and put many of them to the sword. This *Emîr* had been appointed governor of the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily* by *Abu'l Kasem*, or *Al Kayem*, the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, and grievously oppressed the *Sicilians*, particularly the *Gergentines*, who could not bear his yoke, and therefore expelled the *Moslem* garison out of their city. This so enraged the *African Khalîf*, that he sent an army to reduce them; which shut them in on all sides, cut off all communication between them and the other *Sicilians*, and reduced them to very great straits. However, they found means to apply to the *Greek* emperor for assistance, who thereupon sent a body of his best troops to their relief; which enabled them to repulse the besiegers in all their assaults, to destroy vast numbers of their men, and, in fine, to sustain a sharp and vigorous siege for four whole years \*.

- e THE provinces of the *Khalîfat* at this time were divided in such a manner amongst divers <sup>The Khalîf at</sup> princes, that the *Khalîf* possessed only an appearance of pre-eminence in dignity, which <sup>this time is only</sup> regarded more the affairs of religion than those of the state. This will be sufficiently <sup>in possession of</sup> manifest from the following list of the tyrants, or usurpers, who had set up for themselves, <sup>the city and di-</sup> in different parts of the *Moslem* empire, at the commencement of the year we are now <sup>strict of Bagh-</sup> dâd. upon.

THE cities of *Wâset*, *Basra*, and *Cûfa*, with the rest of the *Arabian Irâk*, were considered as the property or peculium of *Ebn Râyek*, the *Emîr Al Omrà*; though *Al Barîdî* seized upon them, in the beginning of the present year.

- f THE country of *Fârs*, *Farsistân*, or *Persia* properly so called, was possessed by *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya*, the first prince or chief of the dynasty of the *Bûiyans*, who held his residence in the city of *Shîràz*.

PART of the tract denominated *Al Jebâl*, together with the remainder of the *Persian Irâk*, which is the mountainous part of *Persia*, and the country of the ancient *Parthians*, recognized for their master *Rocno'ddawla*, or *Rucno'ddawla*, *Al Hasan Ebn Bûiya*, the brother of *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya*, who resided at *Esfabân*.

THE other part of that country was possessed by *Wasmakîn*, *Washmakîn*, or *Washmakîr*, the *Deylamite*, the brother of *Mardawîj*.

DIYAR RABIA, *Diyâr Becr*, *Diyâr Modar*, and the city of *Al Mawfel*, or *Mesul*, acknowledged for their sovereigns the *Hamdânites*, or the princes of the race of *Hamdân*.

\* AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 204. \* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 528—531. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. p. 11, 12. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. 99, 100. AL KADI SHAHAEO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in hist. cui tit. *Ajmodjar*, conserv. in Biblioth. Escorial. & Lat. reddit. à Marco Dobeijo. Vide etiam AUGUSTIN. INVEG. annal. Panorm. tom. ii.



EGYPT and Syria no longer obeyed the *Khalifs*, but only *Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Tagaj*,<sup>a</sup> surnamed *Al Akhsîd*, who had been formerly appointed governor of those provinces by the same *Khalifs*.

AFRICA had been subjugated by the *Fâtemites*, who had chased from thence the *Aglabites*, governors of the city of *Kairwân* and its dependencies for the *Khalifs*. The master of that country at this time was *Al Kayem Abu'l Kasem Ebn Obeid'allah Al Mohdi*, whose successors founded a new *Khalifat* in Egypt.

SPAIN, or at least the Moslem part of it, was governed by *Abd'alrahmân Al Nasr Ebn Mohammed*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who soon after this time assumed the title of *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, prince, king, or emperor, of the faithful, which was peculiar to the *Khalifs*.

THE Moslem provinces in Sicily, except the city of *Gergenti*, whose inhabitants had<sup>b</sup> expelled the *Magrebian* garison, had for their immediate governor *Al Emîr Sûlem Ebn Al Rasbîd*, who was the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s lieutenant there.

THE Moslem territories in Crete owned for their sovereign one who probably was a descendant of *Apockapsus*, or *Abu Kabs*, the Spanish *Magrebian* admiral, who reduced that island, about the year of our LORD 812.

THE provinces of *Khcrâsîn* and *Mawarâ'lnabr*, or the *Transoxana*, were under the domination of *Al Nasr Ebn Ahmed*, of the dynasty of the *Sammânicus*.

THE provinces of *Tabrestân*, *Ferjân*, or *Georgiâna*, and *Mazanderân*, had kings of the first dynasty of the *Deylamites*.

THE province of *Kermân* was occupied by *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Eylû*, or *Elias*, *Al Sam-*<sup>c</sup> *mâni*, who had made himself master of it, before the commencement of the present year.

AND, lastly, the provinces of *Yamâma* and *Babrein*, including the district of *Hajr*, were in the possession of *Abu Thâber*, the *Kermatian*.

HENCE it appears, that, in the 325th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Râdi*, or rather *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, kept possession of only the city of *Baghdâd*, and its dependencies; scarce even the very shadow of sovereignty remaining in any other part of the empire to him. It is true, at first the name of the *Khalif* was revered by the princes, who had set up for themselves, in all the provinces, mentioned in the mosques, during the time of public service there, throughout the empire, and imprest upon the current coin. But their veneration for him being gradually diminished, the princes, or *Emîrs*,<sup>d</sup> considered him only as the great *Imâm*, or sovereign pontiff of the religion of the *Moslems*, who had nothing more to do than to perform divine service, harangue the people in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*, and decide certain points of right; in the last of which particulars his power was likewise very much limited. It is also true, that the same *Khalifs*, in process of time, shook off the yoke of these *Emîrs*, and asserted their independency on them. But notwithstanding this, their power gradually declined, and was scarce the shadow of what it had formerly been, from the period we are now upon to the taking of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, who intirely abolished the *Khalifat*.<sup>e</sup>

Ebn Moklah  
is removed  
from the post  
of Visir.

IN the 326th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Nov. 8th, 937, *Ebn Moklah*, who, after the amotion of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Isa* and *Al Fadl Ebn Jaasar* from that post, had been re-esta-<sup>e</sup> blished in the charge of *Visir*, wrote, on the part of the *Khalif Al Râdi*, a letter to *Yahcam*, the *Turk*, telling him that now it was time for him to advance to *Baghdâd* at the head of a body of troops, in order to deliver the *Khalifat* from the tyranny of *Ebn Râyek*, and to occupy his place. But this letter having been intercepted, *Ebn Râyek* discovered to the *Khalif* the treason of the *Visir*, who had dared to write such a letter to *Yahcam*, without his master's knowledge, and even against his express orders. *Ebn Moklah*, upon his appearing before the *Khalif*, at first denied the fact; but the letter in his own hand-writing being produced against him, he was found guilty of what had been laid to his charge, sent immediately to prison, brought afterwards to his trial, and condemned by the judges to have his right hand cut off, for having committed so heinous a crime. When sentence was pronounced, he complained bitterly of the severity of it, and of the iniquity of cutting off the right hand<sup>f</sup> of a man who had invented the most beautiful character that had ever been in use amongst the *Arabs*, had written several copies of the *Korân*, the book held in the highest veneration and esteem amongst the *Moslems*, in so elegant a manner that they passed for master-pieces in the art of writing, and had finally been *Visir* to three successive *Khalifs*. Nor did he content himself with bare complaints. He inveighed bitterly against the judges, *Ebn Râyek*, and the *Khalif* himself. Wherefore, the executioner, in pursuance of the sentence that had been passed upon him, did not only deprive him of his right hand, but likewise, some days afterwards, cut out his tongue. After which, he was confined in one of the dungeons belong-

<sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p 203, 204. MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, FEN SHONNAH, ABU'L FAR. ISM. ABU'LFED. EUTYCH. CHRONIC. SIC. CANTAB. GEORG. CEDREN. JOAN. ZONAR. RODERIC. TOLETAN. D'HEREEL, CARUSIUS, alique scriptor. plurim. pass.



- a ing to the imperial palace. *Al Makin*, or rather his translator *Erpenius*, relates, that, having no servant allowed him, he drew water out of a well (E) that was by him with his left hand and his mouth. He died, according to *Al Makin*, in the month of *Shawwāl* 329, or, as *Abu'l-huda* will have it, in the year 338, and was no less than three times interred; first, in the prison where he died, afterwards in his son *Abu'l-Hasan*'s house, and lastly in his own. He is said likewise to have written three copies of the *Korân* that in beauty surpassed all the rest, and to have performed three times the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. It has also been remarked, that when he beat *Ebn Sibâd* for reading to him in a careless manner, that reader wished he might lose his hand; which afterwards came pass. We are informed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Ebn Moklab* wrote a letter to the *Khalîf* himself, advising him therein to dismiss *Ebn Râyek*, and all his adherents, and telling him, that this would bring into his coffers 3,000,000,000 *dirhams*. But the *Khalîf*, continues that writer, communicated the contents of this letter, in which *Ebn Moklab* likewise pressed him to confer the post of *Emîr Al Omrà* upon *Yabcam*, to *Ebn Râyek*; which, at last, proved the total ruin of the *Vîfir*. A specimen of his poetical performances, which were tolerably good, has been preserved by *Al Makin*. Notwithstanding what has been here observed, a certain writer affirms, that not *Ebn Moklab*, but his brother *Abd'allah Al Hasan* was the inventor of the modern *Arabic* character; though this was brought to a greater degree of perfection by *Ali Ebn Bow.îb*, who flourished in the following century, and reduced to its present form by *Takût Al Mufîssîmî*, secretary to the *Khalîf Al Mufîssîm*, the last of the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*.\*
- c THE deposition and imprisonment of *Ebn Moklab* for the present occasioned a sort of *Yabcam* *seizes* calm, though *Ebn Râyek* was by no means hereby secured in the possession of his charge. *upon Baghdâd, and forces the* For, *Yabcam*, resolving not to lose the opportunity offered him by the treason of the *Vîfir*, *Khalîf to make him* advanced at the head of his troops into the territory of *Baghdâd*, overthrew the *Khalîf*'s forces under the command of *Ebn Râyek*, and made himself master of that capital. This *Emîr Al Omrà* obliged *Ebn Râyek* to betake himself to flight, and to abandon the post of *Emîr Al Omrà*, which was immediately occupied by *Yabcam*. The *Khalîf* himself, however, gained nothing by this change; still living in an intire dependence on his minister, and even without the least appearance of authority. The affairs of the *Karmatians* this year were in a very declining condition, insomuch that *Abu Thâber* found it extremely difficult to maintain himself
- d in the possession of *Hajr*. We must not forget to observe, that *Moezzo'ddawla Akmed Ebn Bûiya* took *Abwâz* in the beginning of the campaign, and put *Basra* once more into the hands of *Al Barîdî*; though he could not possess himself of *Wâset*. Here *Yabcam* still kept his ground, forced *Moezzo'ddawla* to retire, and afterwards drove *Ebn Râyek* from *Baghdâd*. Upon *Yabcam*'s expulsion of his predecessor from the *Khalîf*'s councils, after he had remained in the sublime post of *Emîr Al Omrà* one year, ten months, and sixteen days, he himself immediately entered upon that charge, and made *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Shîrazâd* his secretary of state. This year, the *Sicilians*, under the conduct of *Ebn Al Sabâyah* and *Abu Târ*, revolted against *Al Emîr Sâlem*; but were routed by him *Sept. 17th*, though he lost one of his principal officers in the action, named *Abu Nattâr Al Afwad*, who seems to
- e have been of *Moorish* or *Magrebian* extraction. Several of the ringleaders, that fell into his hands, the *Emîr* ordered to be impaled the 20th of the same month, to deter others from joining the revolters; but this severity produced a quite contrary effect. For the *Sicilians*, being exasperated at *Sâlem*'s cruelty, assembled a numerous army, and engaged the *Magrebian* forces, commanded by the *Emîr* in person, *October 7th*, with very great

\* *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 205. *GREG. ABU'L FAR.* ubi sup. p. 303. *ABU'LFED.* in chron. ad ann. *Hej.* 326. *EBN KHALECAN*, *D'HERBEL*, *Biblioth. orient. art. Moklab*, p. 589, 590. & *art. Radbi*, p. 705. Vide etiam *GEORG. JAC. KEHR*, in monarch. *Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c.* p. 5. *Lipsiæ*, 1724.

(E) The passage here referred to in *Al Makin*, *Tekâl annabo labako darb*, has been translated by *Erpenius*, "Aiunt autem illic apud eum fuisse puteum;" whereas it ought to have been rendered, "Aiunt autem magnam eum prehensisse miseriam (vel angustiam)" in conformity to the parallel passage in *Abu'l Faraj* (8), *W'ala-bako j'akâ shakid ela an mat*, "Et magna eum prehensit miseria, donec moreretur." Which passages imply, that *Ebn Moklab* was reduced in prison to a state of great misery, and continued in such a state to the time of his death. Mr. *Guise* (9) has the following marginal note on *Erpenius*'s translation of these words of *Al Makin*: "Hæc non significant voces Arabicæ; videntur potius

"idem valere quod apud *Abul Pharagî*" rectius *Abu'l Faraj*) "de eodem—Magnaue miseria afflictus est, donec moreretur." And that this observation is just, as well as our translation of the foregoing were of *Al Makin*, seems to be clearly evinced by *Abu'l Faraj* (10), when he relates, "that to *Ebn Moklab*'s other MISERIES was added a diarrhoea; of which, not being allowed the use of a servant, he MISERABLY perished." Other arguments might be offered, would the limits prescribed us in this part of our work permit, in support of the emendation of *Erpenius*'s *Latin* version of *Al Makin* here submitted to the consideration of the learned.

(8) *Greg. Abu'l Far.* ubi sup. p. 303.

(9) *Al Makin*, *hist. Saracen. Arab. Lat. per Therman Erpenium*, cum annotat. *MSS. Guil. Guisii*, p. 205. in *Bibl. Beol. Oxon. c. 7. 4. art.*

(10) *Ism. Abu'lfed.* in chron. ad ann. *Hej.* 326.

bravery;



bravery; but, after an obstinate dispute, they were intirely defeated, and pursued as far as the gates of *Palermo*, which the victors entered without opposition, and immediately formed the siege of the citadel there. *Abu'l Kasem*, or *Al Kayem*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, having received advice of this rebellion, sent *Khalil* with a powerful fleet, and a strong body of land-forces on board, to extinguish it. *Khalil* soon arrived on the coast of *Sicily*, made a descent with his troops, took possession of the city of *Palermo*, Oct. 23d, and intirely dismantled it; which so incensed the *Gergentines*, that they sallied upon the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s troops with such courage, that they put them to flight, killed many of them upon the spot, amongst which were *Ebn Abu Hierir* and *Ali Ebn Abu'l Hosein*, *Sâlem*'s son-in-law, two officers of distinction, and dispersed the rest in such a manner that they could never afterwards rally. But, notwithstanding this blow, *Khalil* continued the siege of *Gergenti*; tho', for the space of eight months, he could make little or no impression upon the town. It must be remembered, that the *Moslems* concluded a treaty of peace with the *Greeks*, by one article of which a mutual release of prisoners was agreed upon, the present year <sup>a</sup>.

The transactions of the year of the Hejra 327.

In the 327th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* *Al Râdi*, with a powerful army, commanded by *Tabcam*, marched against *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, who presided over the people of *Diyâr Rabia*, *Diyâr Becr*, and *Al Mawfel*, or *Mesul*, overthrew him with great slaughter, and pursued him to the gates of *Al Mawfel*; to which city he afterwards laid siege, and obliged *Nasero'ddawla* to fly to *Amed*; but whilst the *Khalif* was engaged in this expedition, *Ebn Râyek* appeared at the head of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*; of which *Tabcam* being informed, he concluded a peace with *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of 500,000 *dinârs*. In order to pacify *Ebn Râyek*, he also put him in possession of *Harrân*, *Al Kobâ*, or *Edeffa*, *Al Aweisem*, *Kinnisîn*, and several districts bordering upon the *Euphrates*. This year, *Abu Thâker*, prince of the *Karmatians*, permitted the caravans of pilgrims, together with the escorte that attended them, to pass, for the first time since the year 319, out of *Syria* to *Mecca*; though he obliged them to pay, for this permission, the sum of 25,000 *dinârs*. *Omayyab Ebn Ishak*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, rebelled against *Abd'alrahmân Al Nasr Ebn Mohammed*, the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Andalusia*, in the city of *Skantarîn*, the present year. *Ebn Ishak*, being supported by a body of *Gallician* troops, defeated a *Moslem* army, that was sent against him; but, in a second engagement, he was overthrown by *Abd'alrahmân*'s forces, and lost the greatest part of his men; which obliged him to submit immediately, upon the terms prescribed, to the *Emîr*. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Hâtem Al Râzi*, the author of the piece, intituled, *Al Harjo wa Al Tadilo*, and *Abu'l Donya Othmân Ebn Al Khattâb Al Ashajjo*, two famous traditionists, as likewise *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, of *Jaffa*, or *Joppa*, a celebrated author, and *Abu'l Kasem Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mahmûd*, commonly called *Al Alani*, the *Môtazalite*, who entertained several heterodox tenets, died before the close of this year. About the same time, *Khalil*, the *Magrebian* general, who commanded the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s forces that carried on the siege of *Gergenti*, returned with the greatest part of his troops to *Palermo*, where he exacted a large sum of money of the inhabitants, by way of mulct, or fine, which he sent immediately to *Africa*. This enabled the *Khalif* to order him from thence a reinforcement; after the arrival of which in *Sicily*, he took *Abuthâr*, or *Buteria*, *Al Sirât*, the *Afforus*, or *Afforium*, of the antients, and the modern *Azaro*, or *Ajaro*, *Asklûfinah*, or *Sciasanum*, and *Kalbarah*, all of them places of considerable strength. He also advanced at the head of his army to *Calata Bellotta*, to form the siege of that town; of which the *Gergentines*, to whom the preservation of that fortress was of the utmost consequence, receiving advice, they fell upon the besiegers with such fury, that they put a great number of them to the sword, and, as the *Cambridge Chronicle* seems to insinuate, forced the rest to abandon the siege. This action happened on the 10th of *July*, and proved so fatal to the *Magrebian* troops, that they durst not appear again in the neighbourhood of *Calata Bellotta* before the commencement of the following campaign <sup>b</sup>.

Ebn Râyek is defeated by Al Akhsîd.

The next year, being the 328th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek* made himself master of *Hems*, *Damascus*, and *Al Ramla*; after which, he penetrated to *Arîsh* in *Egypt*. But here *Mohammed Al Akhsîd Ebn Tagaj* met him, and gave him battle, about the middle of the month of *Ramadân*. *Ebn Râyek*'s troops behaved with such bravery in the beginning of the action, that they bore down all before them, and forced the *Egyptians* every-where to give way. But, instead of following their blow, and pursuing the fugitives with the ardour they ought to have done, they amused themselves with plundering their camp; upon which, a body of *Al Akhsîd*'s troops that had been placed in ambuscade, and observed the disorder they were in, rushed out upon them, and charged them with such

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 205, 206. EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 705. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Chronic Sic. Cantabrigienf. p. 12, 13. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, ubi sup. p. 100. Panormi, 1720. <sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 206. ISM. ABU'LFED. 2d ann. Hej. 327. Chron. Sic. Arab. Camab. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

fury,



a fury, that they soon put them to flight. The greatest part of *Ebn Râyek's* forces were killed upon the spot, and the rest of them so effectually dispersed, that they could never afterwards rally; *Ebn Râyek* himself not having been able to make his escape to *Damascus* with above 70 men. After this, *Ebn Râyek* defeated *Abu Nafr* (F), *Al Akhsîd's* brother, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, and put a vast number of his men to the sword. This victory was soon followed by a peace between *Ebn Râyek* and *Al Akhsîd*, by the principal articles of which the city of *Al Ramla* was ceded to *Al Akhsîd*, upon condition that he paid to *Ebn Râyek* the annual sum of 140,000 *dinârs*; and the latter of these *Emîrs* remained in peaceable possession of the remaining part of *Syria*, which he had before in a great measure reduced by force of arms<sup>c</sup>.

b THIS year, *Al Sabkari* was killed in that part of *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, called by the *Arabs* *Thogâr*; which seems to answer to the *Syria Antiochena* of the antients. About the same time, died *Mohammed Al Calini*, one of the *Imânian Imâms*, generally denominated *Ebn Shambûd*, *Al Mckri Mohammed Ebn Ahmed*, and *Abu Mohammed Al Mortasb*, a doctor of the *Sûfis*; as also *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem*, going for the most part under the name of *Ebn Al Ambarek*, a celebrated grammarian, and the author of the book, intituled, *Kitâb Al Wacfi wa Al Ibtidâi*, a piece held in good esteem amongst the *Moslems*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 271. *Abu Omar Ahmed Ebn Abd Rabbih Ebn Janib Al Corthebi* likewise departed this life, before the close of the year we are now upon. His grandfather *Janib*, who was a native of *Corduba*, is said to have been first one of *Heshâm Ebn Abd'arab-mân's* slaves; though he had afterwards his liberty given him by that prince, who was the second *Emîr* of the house of *Omniyah* that presided over the *Moslems* in *Spain*. As for *Abu Omar*, he was one of those learned men who spent their time chiefly in forming volumes of the traditions that had before been only committed to memory. The book that bears the title of *Al Acd*, or *Al Akd*, one of the most excellent of its kind, is a proof of his singular merit. At the time of his death, he was about eighty-two lunar years of age<sup>d</sup>.

It appears from some of the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, that *Sa'id Ebn Batrîk*, known also by the name of *Anba Eutychius*, an excellent physician, and a native of *Al Fostât*, who had been advanced to the patriarchate of *Alexandria* in 321, died the present year. This author, who was a *Melchite*, began his annals with the creation of the world, and brought them down to the year of the *Hejra* 327. This work, intituled *Nadhm Al Jawhar*, a texture of gems, or a string of pearls, has been published with a *Latin* version by the famous Dr. *Pocock*, professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages in the university of *Oxford*, where it was printed in the year of our LORD 1656. We are told by M. *Renaudot* (G), that it is incomparably better than any general history to be met with amongst the *Oriental*s; and that it has been followed not only by the *Christian* writers, but likewise by *Al Makrizi*, and other *Mohammedan* authors. *Eutychius* is also said to have composed a physical treatise, that bore the title of *Kitâb fil thebb*, and to have been extremely well versed in all the branches

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 206, 207. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 328. EUSEB. RENAUD. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 343. Parisiis, 1713.

<sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

(F) *Abu Nafr* himself, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was killed in the action; which so affected *Ebn Râyek*, that he sent an embassy to *Al Akhsîd*, to carry to that prince his compliments of condolence, and to assure him, that he had no hand in, and was extremely sorry for, his brother's death. To which this author adds, that *Ebn Râyek* sent his own son *Mozahem* to *Al Akhsîd*, and desired that prince to sacrifice him to the manes of his brother if he thought proper. But *Al Akhsîd*, continues he, was so far from being acted by any vindictive sentiments on this occasion, that he made *Mozahem* a present of several sumptuous mantles, or clokes, treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and at last sent him back loaded with honours to his father in *Syria* (11).

(G) Our learned and polite readers will not expect, that we should here give any formal answer to the false and injurious reflection thrown out by M. *Renaudot* against Mr. *Selden*, whom he represents as intirely unacquainted with oriental history, and to his unpolite treatment of the great Dr. *Pocock*, to whom he affects to shew

an apparent disregard, almost as often as he speaks of him. For, in order to expose such treatment of those shining ornaments of oriental literature as this, it is sufficient barely to mention it. We must, however, beg leave to observe, that M. *Renaudot* treats the very learned *Job Ludolfus* in much the same manner; and that he scarce ever bestows encomiums upon any but some few of his own nation. This indicates a meanness of soul, which cannot fail of drawing down upon that writer the contempt of all men of real learning, who must be acted by more elevated sentiments, and indued with a more generous turn of mind. But, notwithstanding the high notion he entertained of his own superior abilities, with regard to eastern literature, which discovers itself in almost every page of the book here referred to, were we disposed to recriminate, we might very justly remark, that scarce any piece of the same size abounds more with inaccuracies, not to say egregious blunders, than the performance he so highly valued himself upon (12.)

(11) Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 328.

(12) Renaud. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 347, 348. Et alibi pass. Parisiis, 1713. Vide etiam Renaud. prefat. ad hist. patr. Alex. Jac. Et Joan. Gagn. prefat. ad Ism. Abu'lfed. de vit. Et reb. ges. Mohammed. Et c. p. 12—16. Oxon. 1723.



of literature then in vogue. Another piece has likewise been ascribed to him of the controversial kind, which was written against the *Egyptian* heretics, who gave him no small trouble, during the time that he sat in the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, which was seven years and six months. He was at last attacked by a diarrhoea, which from the beginning he judged would prove fatal to him, and therefore removed to *Alexandria*, where he died on *Monday*, the last day of the month *Rajeb*. His brother, *Isa Ebn Batrik* was likewise a physician of great note, on whose account he compiled the general history above-mentioned. Other books of considerable erudition have likewise been attributed to him. The learned Dr. *Cave* and the abbot *Martin la Farina* took *Eutychius* to have been the author of the *Chronicon Siculum*, in the public library at *Cambridge*; which *Arabic* MS. formerly belonged to the famous *Thomas Erpenius*, and has been published, with a *Latin* version, by *Joannes Baptista Carusius*, a *Sicilian* writer. But that *Eutychius* could not have been the author of this *Chronicon*, we may fairly infer from the following considerations. First, the history itself ends with the year of *CHRIST* 965; whereas *Eutychius* died in the 328th year of the *Hejra*, which nearly corresponds with the 940th of the *Christian* æra. Secondly, the compiler of it appears to have been a *Sicilian*, from the perfect knowledge he had of the cities, towns, and villages, of *Sicily*; and from his supputation of years, which exactly answers to that of the *Sicilians*, who begin their year on the first of *September*, in common with almost all the *Greeks*, and make the creation of the world to have preceded the birth of *CHRIST* 5508 years, not 5491, or 5492, as the church of *Alexandria* maintains. Thirdly, the person who penned the *Chronicon* makes use of only the *Roman* or *Latin* names of the months, and never computes by the years of the *Hejra*, as *Eutychius* does; which of itself sufficiently demonstrates, that this history ought not to be attributed to him. As the *Cambridge* manuscript is found at the end of a MS. copy of *Eutychius's* annals, we are not to be so much surprised at what has been advanced by the learned men above-mentioned in the point before us; but we cannot so well account for the palpable mistake of Dr. *Cave* and *Carusius*, when they assert that *Eutychius* died in the year of our *LORD* 950, except we suppose that they never perused the *Târikh Al Moslemân*, or the history of the *Moslems*, written by *Al Makin*, which has been so often referred to here <sup>a</sup>.

The transactions in Sicily this year.

THE same year, *Khalil* with the *Magrebian* forces took post again before *Calata Bellotta*, and formed a second time the siege of that place; of which the *Gergentines* being apprized, they sent a body of troops to the relief of the town, which in the month of *November* surprized the besiegers by night, and made themselves masters of their camp. About the same time, *Al Emîr Sâlem*, who had presided over the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily* twenty-two years, and had been a victorious prince, departed this life in his castle. A grievous famine likewise raged in *Palermo* and the neighbouring villages to such a degree, that parents found themselves obliged to eat their children, for want of other food. The *Magrebian*s laid siege a third time to *Calata Bellotta*, notwithstanding the blow they had formerly received, and took it in the month of *March*, the present year <sup>c</sup>.

The Khalif Al Râdi dies.

THE following year, being the 329th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 6th, 940, the *Khalif Al Râdi* died, the 16th of the former *Rabî*, of a dropsy, at *Baghdâd*. Some authors, however, relate, that immoderate coition was the cause of his death. He reigned six years, ten months, and ten days; and had completed the 30th year of his age a few months before his decease, according to *Al Makin*. As to his person, he had, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, a thin beard, and was of a swarthy complexion. With regard to his disposition, he was liberal, munificent, mild; well versed in the literature of the *Arabs*, eloquent, a good poet, and a great admirer of the conversation of learned men. He was the last of the *Khalifs* that wrote verses, at least of the *Khalifs* that wrote such verses as were thought worthy of having a place assigned them in the *Moslem* annals. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makin*. He was the last likewise of the *Moslem* emperors that officiated constantly in the mosque, that commanded the forces, that had the disposal of the public money, and that in short exercised any kind of real authority over the *Arabs*. His successors, for a considerable period at least, enjoyed little more than the bare title of *Khalif*, and of this they were even at last deprived by the *Tartars*. *Ebn Moklah* was his first *Wazîr*, or *Vîsir*, and *Mohammed Ebn Yâkût* his first chamberlain. The latter of these was succeeded in his post by *Dacâ*, who had before served the *Khalif* in an

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 208, 209. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 530—533. & alib. EBN ABI OSAIB. in vit. medicor. JOAN. SELDEN. præfat. ad Eutych. orig. eccles. Alexandrin. edit. Londini, 1642. RENAUD. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobit. p. 347, 348. Parisiis, 1713. D'HEREBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 194. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. præfat. ad Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. Panormi, 1720. <sup>c</sup> Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. Vide etiam bin. inscript. Arabic. a Joan. Bapt. Carus. edit. Panormi, 1720.



- a inferior capacity. The first day of *Al Râdi's* reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Saturday*, according to *Al Makin*. *Macarius* was constituted patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, in the year of the *Hejra* 323, about a year after this prince's accession, and sat in that see, if we will believe the above-mentioned author and *Al Makrizi*, about twenty years. His mother, who was one of his father *Al Moktader's* concubines, has been denominated *Thalûm* by *Abu'lfeda*; and the name of *Talûm* has been given her by *Al Makin*. *Senân Ebn Thâbet Al Herrâni*, that most celebrated physician, was one of his constant companions, and in the highest favour with him. Amongst the memorable events of this year we may likewise rank the death of *Bakhtîshâ Ebn Yakya*, who had been physician to the *Khalîf Al Moktader*, and made no inconsiderable figure at that prince's court. *Mati Ebn Yûnes*, *Mata Ebn Yûnes*,  
b or *Matta* (*Matthew*) *Ebn Yûnas*, surnamed *the sage*, and *the philosopher*, who, according to *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Al Nadîm*, his companion and intimate friend, was the greatest logician of the country and age wherein he lived, died about the time we are now upon, in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Râdi*. He instructed many young men in the principles of logic, which he himself learned of *Râfîl* and *Benyâmîn*, two *Jacobite* monks; though he laid the first foundation of his knowledge in the school of one *Mâr Mâri*. He was a native of *Dair Kani*, or *Dair Kana*, and a strenuous assertor of the tenets of the *Nestorian* sect. Some of the eastern writers have represented *Al Râdi* as endued with many virtues highly becoming a great prince, several of which have been just touched upon; but, for a detail of these, the learned and curious reader must have recourse to those writers themselves, the limits we have prescribed ourselves in this part of our work not permitting us to expatiate any farther upon them here<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 201, 207, 208. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 303, 304. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 329. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Radhi*, p. 706.

## S E C T. XLIII.

- c **W**HEN the *Khalîf Al Râdi* expired, *Yahcam*, then *Emîr Al Omrà*, was at *Cûfa*; and, upon his receiving advice of that prince's death, he immediately dispatched one of his secretaries to *Baghââd*, with orders to *Abu'l Kasem Solimân*, the nominal *Vîsir*, to con-  
voke the descendants of *Ali*, the judges, the house of *Al Abbâs*, and all the principal officers of the empire, to elect a new *Khalîf*. They had not been long assembled, before they pitched upon *Ibrahim Abu'l Ishak Ebn Al Moktader*, surnamed afterwards *Al Mottaki*, or *Al Mottaki Bi'llah*, whom they unanimously saluted emperor of the *Moslems*. *Al Mottaki*, after his inauguration, sent a sumptuous vest and a banner, or standard, to *Yahcam* at *Wâset*, and continued him in the sublime post of *Emîr Al Omrà*. He also confirmed *Abu'l Kasem Solimân*, on whom that post had been conferred by his predecessor, before his death, in the office of *Vîsir*, though he had then not the least authority in the state; the empire  
d being absolutely governed by *Yahcam's* principal secretary, *Abu Abd'allah*, who was a native of *Cûfa*. *Salâma Al Tolûni* was made the *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, by *Al Mottaki*, at the recommendation of *Yahcam*. The new *Khalîf*, whose mother's name was *Halût*, or *Halûta*, was proclaimed the 17th of the former *Rabî*; and, on the 20th of the same month, the grandees of the empire took the oath of allegiance to him. It is remarkable, that *Al Makin*, if we can depend upon *Erpenius's* edition of that author, calls this *Khalîf Al Moktasi*; though he is named *Al Motaki*, or *Al Mottaki*, by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Ebn Shohnah*, *Khondemir*, and other oriental historians<sup>g</sup>.

- THIS year, *Mabcân Ebn Mâli*, *Ma'bcân Ebn Mâli*, or *Macan Ebn Cali*, as he is called by the learned M. *Reiske*, in his *Latin* version of part of *Abu'lfeda's* *Chronicon*, was driven out of  
e *Jorjân*, of which he had taken possession some time before, by *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Modkaffer Ebn Al Mokhtaj*, one of *Al Emîr Sa'id Nasr Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni's* generals. This *Mabcân*, *Ma'bcân*, or *Macan*, according to some of the oriental writers, was king, or prince, of *Deylam*, and received an overthrow from *Nasr*, who made war upon him; but whether or no this was the defeat hinted at by *Abu'lfeda*, in the place here referred to, we cannot take upon us to determine. Be that, however, as it will, *Mabcân*, finding himself obliged to abandon *Jorjân*, retired into *Tabrestân*, and from thence marched at the head of

<sup>g</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 209, 210. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 304. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. &c. Vide etiam JO. JAC. REISKE, in Abu'lfed. annal. Moslemic. &c. p. 261, 262. Lipsiæ, 1754



his forces to join *Washmakîn*, whom *Abu Ali*, after his late victory, was then advancing against with a powerful army, in order to expel him from *Ray*, and the district appertaining to it. After the junction of these two *Deylamite* princes, they moved against *Abu Ali* with all their forces, and gave him battle; but were overthrown with very great slaughter, and lost the most considerable part of their troops, the rest being so intirely dispersed, that they could never afterwards be rallied. As for *Mahcân Ebn Mâli* himself, he was killed in the action; having been shot through the head by an arrow, that pierced his helmet, and laid him dead upon the spot. After this defeat, *Washmakîn* fled into *Tabrestân*, and left *Ray* to the mercy of the victor; which immediately submitted to him, the place at that time not being in any posture of defence. The victory gained on this occasion was very glorious to the arms of *Al Emîr Sa'id Nafr Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni*, and enabled *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed* to annex a large extent of territory to the dominions of that prince <sup>b</sup>.

Yahcam is  
assassinated  
by a party  
of Curds.

THE same year, that is, the 329th of the *Hijra*, a party of *Curds*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, assassinated *Yahcam*, as he was hunting on the banks of the *Jaur*, the 24th of the month *Rajeb*, after he had possessed the charge of *Emîr Al Omrâ* two years, eight months, and nine days. Of this unexpected event *Abu'lfeda* has handed down to us the following particulars. *Yahcam*, or, as he is called in the *Leyden MS.* of that author's *Chronicon*, *Bahcam*, having sent a body of troops from *Wâset* to reduce *Abu Abd'allah*, or, as he is denominated in this *MS.* *Obeid'allah*, *Al Barîdi*, set out from that city, to take the command of these troops upon him. But he was met upon the road by an express, who informed him, that his forces had already proved superior to the enemy, and obliged *Al Barîdi* to betake himself to flight. Upon this, *Yahcam* directed his course towards the banks of the *Jaur*, or, as it is named in the above-mentioned *MS.* of *Abu'lfeda*, the *Kbûr*, or *Kaur*, hunting through all the tract he traversed. Being arrived near the *Jaur*, he made an incursion, with a small party, into a district bordering upon that river, inhabited by a rich and numerous tribe of *Curds*, in order to pillage them. Having surprized this people, who by no means expected such a visit, he killed several of them, and dispersed the rest. However, a young *Curd*, observing the barbarity and rapacity of this plunderer, whom he did not know to be *Yahcam*, made directly at him, and ran him through with his lance; upon which, he fell instantly to the ground, and soon after expired. The *Khalîf*, receiving advice of what had happened to *Yahcam*, immediately took possession of his palace, where he found immense treasures, buried under ground; all which he seized, and gave orders to have them expended in the service of the state. He also found there the rich tapestry, and other valuable furniture, of which *Yahcam* had caused the imperial palace to be stripped, immediately before the elevation of *Al Mottaki* to the *Moslem* throne. After *Yahcam's* death, the *Khalîf* conferred the post of *Emîr Al Omrâ* upon *Cûrtakîn* the *Deylamite*; but not being pleased with his conduct, he soon dismissed him, and appointed *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râjek*, who came from his residence in *Syria* to *Baghdâd* for that purpose, to succeed him. Before the dismissal of *Cûrtakîn*, *Abu Abd'allah Al Barîdi*, prince of the city of *Basra*, and its dependencies, who had possessed himself of those territories and *Abwâz* in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Râdi*, and had been lately defeated by *Yahcam*, aspired to the dignity of generalissimo of the *Khalîf's* forces, entered *Baghdâd*, and demanded of *Al Mottaki* the sum of five hundred thousand *dinârs*, to distribute amongst his troops. With this demand the *Khalîf* was at last obliged to comply. But *Al Barîdi* having got the money into his hands, refused to bestow any part of it upon the soldiery; who thereupon mutinied for their pay, drove him, his brother, son, and many of his attendants, out of *Baghdâd*, and forced them all to go by water to *Wâset*. About this time, so grievous a famine raged in several parts of *Sicily*, that many of the towns and villages of that fruitful island were thereby intirely depopulated. Nay, we are told, that parents were so pressed with hunger on this melancholy occasion, that they were obliged to feed upon their own children, in order to preserve themselves alive. The *Khalîf* of *Kairwân's* forces, under the command of *Khalîl*, made themselves masters of *Calata Bellotta* and *Gergenti*, in *Sicily*, before the close of the present year. The latter of those cities had been besieged about four years by the *Magrebian* troops. Soon after it had surrendered, *Khalîl* sent a considerable number of its inhabitants, who had been the most active in the late revolt, prisoners to *Africa*; but before they had reached the *African* coast, the ship, in obedience to a private order *Khalîl* had received from *Al Kayem*, was sunk, and all the wretches on board it drowned. It may not be improper to remark, that *Yahcam's* (A) successor is named *Cûrtakîn*,

<sup>b</sup> ISM. AB'ULFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 329.

(A) We must beg leave to observe here, that the different positions, and omissions, of the diacritical points, in the *Arabic* proper names, as they appear in different manuscripts, render it difficult to determine

of what letters such proper names were originally formed. Thus, for example, the word *Yahcam*, in the MSS. of *Al Makîn* and *Abu'l Faraj*, is written *Bahcam*, in the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'lfeda's Chronicon*, or general history,



- a *Cûrtakîn*, or *Kûrtakîn*, in Dr. Pocock's printed copies of *Abu'l Faraj*, *Cutekin* in M. Reiske's Latin version of part of *Abu'lfeda's Chronicle*, and *Cûtelîn* in Gellius's edition of *Al Makin*. The affinity of character between the Arabic letters *Câf* and *Lâm* has undoubtedly occasioned the difference of lections in the manuscripts of *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makin*; but which of these approaches the nearest to truth, we shall not take upon us absolutely to determine. However, as *Erpenius's* manuscript of *Al Makin*, in the orthography of proper names, is extremely corrupt; and as the Arabic name, formed of its proper elements, has no-where been exhibited by M. Reiske; our readers will not be displeased to find the word *Cûrtakîn*, that occurs in Dr. Pocock's printed copies of *Abu'l Faraj*, and differs but little from *Cutekin*, preferably to the others, made use of here <sup>c</sup>.
- b In the 330th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Sept. 26th, 941, *Al Barîdi*, according to *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makin*, marched at the head of his forces to *Baghdâd*, in order to make himself master of that city, and the imperial palace there; which obliged the *Khalîf Al Mottaki*, who was not in a condition to sustain a siege, to retire to *Al Mawfel*. He was attended by *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek*, *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Abu Ali Ebn Moklab*, and *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*; the last of which persons joined him and his retinue near *Tecrit*. That city, called by the Syrians *Tagrit*, is, according to *Abu'lfeda*, situated near the confines of *Affyria*, about six days journey from *Al Mawfel*, and not far from the source of one of the branches of the *Tigris*, that waters the adjacent tract as far as *Baghdâd*. *Al Mottaki* was supplied on this occasion with carriages, beasts of burthen, money, and all kinds of provisions, by *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, who conducted him, and his train of attendants, in a proper manner, to *Al Mawfel*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that the *Khalîf*, after his arrival at *Tecrit*, wrote to *Abu Mohammed Al Hasan Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, the prince of *Al Mawfel*, to desire his assistance and protection; and that this *Emîr* not only ceded to *Al Mottaki* one part of the city of *Al Mawfel* for his residence, but likewise, as he expresses it, poured out upon the head of his son *dimîrs*, that is, gave him a large sum of money. To which another writer adds, that the *Khalîf* was so well pleased with his reception at *Al Mawfel*, that he dignified *Abu Mohammed Al Hasan Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân* with the title, or surname, of *Nasero'ddawla*; that is, the protector, or defender, of the state. In order to re-establish the *Khalîf* in the sovereignty of *Baghdâd*, this prince sent an army, under the command of his brother *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Abd'allah*, to that city; which drove from thence *Al Barîdi*, overthrew him with great slaughter, and took above 2000 *Deylamites* prisoners; all which *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Abd'allah* sent under an escorte to *Al Mawfel*. Before the *Khalîf's* return to *Baghdâd*, *Nasero'ddawla* ordered a party of his guards to dispatch *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek*, the 24th of *Rajeb*, and caused himself to be created *Emîr Al Omrâ* in his room. After the defeat of *Al Barîdi*, the *Khalîf* conferred upon *Abu'l Hasan Ali*

The Khalif  
is driven from  
Baghdâd.

<sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in chron. ad ann. Hej. 325. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 210. AL KADI SHAHAEDDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. Chronic. Sic. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. p. 13. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup.

history, as may be inferred from the learned M. Reiske's Latin (1) version of part of that celebrated piece. So *Al Akhsîd's* son is denominated, in one or (2) both the MSS. of *Abu'l Faraj*, followed by Dr. Pocock, *Abu Jawr*, or *Abu Jawor*; in that of *Al Makin*, translated into Latin by *Erpenius*, and published by *Gellius*, *Abu Hir*, or *Abu Havor*; and, in the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'lfeda's Chronicle*, *Anîfîr*, as we learn from (3) M. Reiske. To mention only one proper name more, though many might be offered, the same *Emîr Al Omrâ* is called, in the above-mentioned MS. or MSS. of *Abu'l Faraj*, *Tûzîr*; in that of *Al Makin*, *Bûzîr*; and, in the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'lfeda's* general history, according to (4) M. Reiske, *Tûrîr*. All which orthographical differences arise from the different positions, and an omission of some of the diacritical points. For, in the first instance, the same character, only a little diversified by the diacritical points, forms the Arabic letters *Ya* and *Ba*, or *Y* and *B*; in the second, *Ba* and *Nûn*, *Hâa*, and *Gim*, or rather *Jim*, that is, *B* and *N*, *H* and *J*, are represented by the same characters, and determined by an omission, and the different positions, of the diacritical points; and, in the third, the powers of *Ta* and *Ba*, *Za* and *Ra*, that is, *T* and *B*, *Z* and *R*, are represented and deter-

mined (5) in the same manner. This we have thought proper, once for all, to take notice of here, that our readers may not be surprised, if the orthography of proper names should not appear to them perfectly uniform in the different parts of this work. To which we may add, that such an uniformity is likewise prevented from taking place by other concurring causes; since the same words may be considered either as with or without the vowel points, and the same Arabic elements may be expressed differently by our letters with sufficient propriety. So we may write the Arabic proper name answering to *Solomon*, *Solimân*, *Solymân*, *Solaimân*, *Soleiman*, *Solaymân*, or *Soleymân*; that of the city to which the *Moslems* go in pilgrimage, either *Mecca* or *Mekka*; and that of the metropolis of *Khorasân*, *Nisabûr*, *Naisabûr*, or *Neisabûr*; to omit a vast number of instances of the same kind, that might with equal facility be produced. However, we chuse to follow that orthography in such words as these, where it may be done with equal propriety, which has been the most generally received; as the contrary practice might seem to favour of pedantry and affectation, the imputation of which we would very willingly avoid (6).

(1) *Abu'lfed. annal. Moslem. Latin. ex Arab. fœd. à Jo. Jac. Reiske, p. 262. Lipsiæ, 1754.* (2) *Edw. Poc. præf. ad lector. p. 5. sub. fin.* (3) *Jo. Jac. Reiske, ubi sup. p. 270.* (4) *Id. ibid. p. 264. & in præfat. p. 21.* (5) *Vide Leonard. Chappel. element. ling. Arab. lib. prim. p. 1, 2. Lond. 1730.* (6) *Vide Leonard. Chappel. præfat. p. 2, 3. & præf. legend. ubi sup. p. 82—85.*



*Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân* the honourable surname, or title, of *Saifo'ddawla*, or *Seifo'ddawla*,<sup>a</sup> that is, *the sword of the state*, or *of the court*. Nay, according to *Abu'lfeda*, he made him a present of several sumptuous mantles, or clokes, and even constituted him *Emîr Al Omrà*; though this, it must be owned, runs counter to what has been handed down to us by *Al Makîn*. *Al Barîdi* was chased from *Baghdâd* three months and twenty days after he had possessed himself of that city. The first thing that *Nasero'ddawla* took upon him to do, after the expulsion of *Al Barîdi* from *Baghdâd*, was to reduce the gold coin of the empire to its primitive and original standard; the *dinârs* at that time having been so much debased, that they were not in reality worth above ten, though they went for thirteen, *dirhems*. This year, *Al Mottaki* took *Nasero'ddawla's* daughter in marriage for his son, and gave her a dower of 500,000 *dirhems*, and 100,000 *dinârs*; by which means, *Nasero'ddawla* reduced the *Khalîf* to the necessity of alienating his own and his mother's domains, emptied that prince's coffers, and secured to himself all the ready money which could then be raised. This excited great murmurings amongst the *Turkish* soldiery, and disposed them to come to a rupture with him as soon as a favourable opportunity offered. Nay, they soon after drove his brother *Saifo'ddawla* from his camp, and even obliged *Nasero'ddawla* himself to retire to *Al Mawfel*, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*. It seems to be intimated by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, that *Khalîl*, the *Magrebian* general, returned to *Africa*, and left *Ebn Al Cûfi* and *Ebn Attâf* at *Palermo* to preside over the *Moslems* in *Sicily*, either this or the preceding year. We must not forget to observe, that the *Khalîf* and *Nasero'ddawla* entered *Baghdâd* in the month of *Shawâl*, attended by a strong body of troops, and put an end to all the disorders that had for some time before been committed in that metropolis. It appears from some of the oriental writers, that *Nasero'ddawla* was not only master of *Al Mawfel*, but likewise of a considerable part of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, when the *Khalîf Al Mottaki* had the misfortune to be driven this year from *Baghdâd*.<sup>b</sup>

Abu Becr  
Mohammed  
Ebn Abd'al-  
lah Al Moja-  
melic and  
Abu'l Hasan  
Ali Ebn Abu  
Bashar Al  
Ashâri die  
this year.

THE same year, died *Abu Becr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Al Mojamelic*, a noted *Fakih* of the sect of *Al Shâfi'i*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 235; as did also *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Ismael Ebn Abu Bashar Al Ashâri*, who was buried in the street called *Mashraat Al Zawâya*, at *Baghdâd*. The latter of these was one of the most celebrated doctors of the *Moslems*, and descended from the tribe to which the famous *Abu Mûsa Al Ashâri*, whom he ranked amongst his ancestors, belonged; from whence he deduced the surname of *Al Ashâri*,<sup>c</sup> according to the *Mohammedan* writers. He was born at *Baghdâd*, in the 260th year of the *Moslem æra*, and at first a *Môtazalite*. But, having differed from his master *Abu Ali Al Jobbâi* in opinion, as to God's being bound, or obliged, as the *Môtazalites* assert, to do always that which is best, or most expedient, he left him, and set up a new sect of himself. The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to God, the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant. *Al Jobbâi* being asked what he thought would become of them, answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor punished. But what, objected *Al Ashâri*, if the third say, "O LORD, if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have entered paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me." To which *Al Jobbâi* replied, that God would answer, "I knew that if thou hadst lived longer, thou wouldst have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell." Then retorted *Al Ashâri*, the second will say, "O LORD, why didst thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins, nor to be cast into hell?" To which *Al Jobbâi* could return no other answer, than that God prolonged his life, in order to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection, which was best for him. But *Al Ashâri* demanding farther, why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life, to whom it would have been equally advantageous; *Al Jobbâi* was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him? "No," says *Al Ashâri*,<sup>d</sup> "but the *Sheikh's* ass will not pass the bridge;" i. e. "he is posed," or "the dispute is ended." From *Al Ashâri's* manifest superiority in this dispute, the above-mentioned opinion of the *Môtazalites* seemed to great numbers of the *Moslems* indefensible; so that they left *Al Jobbâi*, and thenceforth adhered to the decisions of *Al Ashâri*. This gave such offence to the *Hanbalites*, who in the aforesaid point agreed with the *Môtazalites*, that they branded *Al Ashâri* and his followers with the imputation of infidelity; asserted it not only to be lawful, but even meritorious, to kill him, and conceived the most implacable aversion to every one that entertained any favourable sentiments of his sect. Hence it came to pass,

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 210, 211. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 330. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Motaki, p. 636, 637. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 305. Chronic. Sic. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. p. 13, 14. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 101. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 665.

that



- a that the monument erected over him was afterwards demolished, and even all traces of it destroyed, by his friends, lest the *Hanbalites*, who were very numerous and powerful in *Baghdâd*, should dig up his body, and commit it to the flames. Some authors, however, relate, that he was interred very privately; and consequently insinuate, that no monument was ever erected over him, for the reason above assigned. With regard to the conference, or dispute, above-mentioned, between *Al Asbâri* and *Al Jobbâi*, we must beg leave to observe, that it has been related by different writers in a different manner; though these relations, in the main, and all the most material circumstances, agree. The principal opinions of the *Asbârians* were, 1. They allowed the attributes of God to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparison to be made between God and his creatures.
- b This was also the opinion of *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, *Dawd Al Esfahâni*, and others. 2. As to predestination, they held, that God had one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever he willetb, both of his own actions and those of men, so far as they are created by him, but not as they are acquired, or gained, by them; that he willetb both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and as he willetb and knoweth, he willetb concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the same in the preserved table: and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose. 3. With regard to mortal sin, they taught, that if a believer, guilty of such a sin, die without repentance, his sentence is to be left to God, whether he pardon him out of his mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, or whether he punish him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradise: but that it is not to be supposed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant, shall be delivered from hell-fire. And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the *Môtazalites*. In fine, the chief reason why the *Hanbalites* bore such a mortal hatred to *Al Asbâri* and his followers seems to have been this, that the latter maintained, that God only acted according to the general laws he had established; whereas the former, on the contrary, believed, that God always acted according to the particular determinations of his will, and ordered all things for the good, or benefit, of every creature. This hatred rose to such a height, that the *Hanbalites* breathed nothing
- d but vengeance against the *Asbârians*, for daring to differ in opinion from them, and even endeavoured to effect their utter excision. They also attempted several times to dig up *Al Asbâri's* body, in order to reduce it to ashes; but were hindered from carrying their design into execution by the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, or person placed at the head of the administration in the city of *Baghdâd* <sup>c</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 331st of the *Hejra*, beginning Sept. 15th, 942, *Nasero'ddawla* <sup>Tûzûn is apud</sup> went to *Al Mawfel* from *Baghdâd*; of which the *Deylamite* troops being informed, they <sup>pointed Emîr</sup> plundered his house. His brother *Saifo'ddawla* soon after followed him thither; having, <sup>Al Omrâ.</sup> with great difficulty, escaped the fury of a body of *Turks* he commanded at *Wâset*. However, in a short time, he left *Al Mawfel*, made the best of his way to *Baghdâd*, and prevailed upon the *Khalîf* to put into his hands the sum of 400,000 *dinârs*, to distribute amongst his forces, in order to engage them to drive *Tozûn*, or *Tûzûn*, the *Turk*, out of the city. But, as soon as the money was paid him, he abandoned the metropolis to *Tûzûn*, who entered it without opposition the 25th of *Ramadân*; which obliged the *Khalîf* to confer upon him the sublime post of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, though he entertained very unfavourable sentiments of him. About the same time, *Al Emîr Sa'id Nasr Ebn Abmed Al Sammâni*, the lord, or sovereign, of *Khorasân*, and several adjacent provinces, after a lingering illness, during which he built a sort of oratory, or private chapel, in his palace, wherein he constantly for some time before his death, performed his devotions, departed this life. He has been represented as a just, pious, merciful, and magnanimous prince; and was
- f succeeded by his son *Nûh Al Sammâni*, surnamed *Al Emîr Al Hamîd*, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter, in the government of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'lnabr*. *Mohammed Ebn Isbak Al Fargâni*, a famous doctor of the *Sûfis*, and *Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korra*, a most celebrated physician, according to *Abu'lfeda*, died also before the close of the year we are at present upon. This year, *Al Mottaki* also sent as a present to the *Greek* emperor the handkerchief with which our Saviour wiped his face, and wherein the print of his face was to be seen, which had been preserved in the church of *Al Robâ*, or *Edeffa*, at present called *Orfa*; who thereupon released a great number of *Moslem* prisoners. It appears from *Al Makîn*, that, before this event happened, the *Greeks* had made an irruption into the province of *Diyâr Beer*, laid waste a considerable part of it with fire and sword, killed a vast
- g number of the *Moslems* there, and carried off many others with them into captivity. They

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ARU'FED. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 230, 245, 258, &c. D'HERLEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Asbâri*, p. 133. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 165—169.



also had taken the cities of *Arzan Al Râm*, at present *Erzerum*, and *Daras*, or *Dârâ*, and even penetrated to *Nisibis*, or *Nasîbin*, called by the latter Syrians *Soba*. The same author likewise relates, that our Saviour sent the handkerchief above-mentioned to *Abgar*, the black king of *Al Robâ*; and that, upon its arrival at *Constantinople*, it was conducted in great pomp by the patriarch, bishops, Greek nobility, &c. to the church of *Santa Sophia*, where it was then deposited, and for a long time afterwards remained<sup>f</sup>.

The Khalif is obliged a second time to abandon Baghdâd.

THE following year, being the 332d of the *Hejra*, commencing Sept. 4th, 943, a robber, supported by *Ebn Shîrazâd*, one of *Tûzûn*'s chief commanders, to whom he paid monthly for his protection 15,000 *dinîrs*, appeared in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and committed even within sight of that capital terrible depredations. In the mean time, the *Khalif Al Mottaki*, perceiving that *Tûzûn* took every day more and more upon him, discovered an inclination to deprive his prime minister of the office he had assigned him the preceding year; which so incensed the *Turk*, that he obliged the *Khalif* to abandon a second time the city of *Baghdâd*. That prince, being thus reduced to the necessity of leaving his capital, formed a design to retire to *Al Mawfel*. Of which the house of *Hamdân*, then in possession of that place, having been apprized, *Saïfo'ddawla* met him first upon the *Tigris*, at a small distance from *Tecrit*; and was followed by *Nasero'ddawla*, who, in short time, joined them there. These princes conducted *Al Mottaki* to *Al Mawfel*, attended by an escorte, and for some time treated him there in a manner suitable to his dignity and high rank. But, finding at last that they began to grow weary of him, he meditated a return to *Baghdâd*; and was accompanied by them to *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, where, for a short time, he thought fit to reside. From this place he wrote to *Tûzûn*, and made him some overtures for a reconciliation; intimating in his letter, that, if these proved acceptable to him, he would soon follow them to *Baghdâd*. This year, the *Russians*, by means of a fleet they had equipped on the *Caspian* sea, and the river *Corr*, or *Kor*, made an irruption into the *Greater Armenia*, penetrated as far as the city of *Barda'c*, or *Bardaa*, which they took and sacked, and then returned home without having sustained any considerable loss. About the same time, *Nasero'ddawla* appointed one *Mohammed Ebn Ali* to preside over the provinces of *Kinnisrîn*, *Hems*, and *Al Awâsem*, which he had annexed to his territories in *Mesopotamia*. Such a scarcity of all sorts of grain continued now several months at *Baghdâd*, that the inhabitants of that metropolis were terrified with the thoughts of a famine. The famous *Abu Thâber*, prince of the *Karmatians*, died of the small-pox in the year we are now upon. He left behind him three brothers, *Sa'îd Abu'l Kasem*, the eldest, *Abu'l Abbâs*, who was of a very weak and infirm constitution, and *Abu Yakûb*, who was greatly addicted to gaming. The *Greeks* are said to have taken *Râjo'lain*, *Râs Al Ain*, *Resaina*, or *Resena*, on Tuesday, the twelfth of the former *Rabî*, the present year, and to have pillaged the town two whole days. We are likewise told, that they took about 1000 *Moslems* prisoners in this expedition, and put a very considerable number of the *Khalif*'s subjects to the sword<sup>g</sup>.

Al Mottaki is deposed.

IN the 333d year of the *Hejra*, beginning Aug. 24th, 944, the *Khalif Al Mottaki* was deposed by *Tûzûn*, before he had sat quite four years upon the *Moslem* throne. In answer to the *Khalif*'s letter, sent him from *Al Rakka*, towards the close of the preceding year, the usurper assured this prince, that the proposals he had made him for an accommodation were perfectly agreeable to him; that he would engage himself by oath, if required, to perform all the articles of the future treaty demanded of him by the *Khalif*; and that *Al Mottaki* might depend upon being received with all the honours due to a person in his sublime station, by him at the head of the troops, and the people of *Baghdâd*. In the mean time, *Al Akhsîd*, to whom the *Khalif* had likewise written, complaining of the miserable situation of his affairs, and desiring that general's assistance against *Tûzûn*, arrived at *Al Rakka*, with many rich presents, for *Al Mottaki*'s use; which, with the promise of large sums of money, and a proper body of troops to support his interests, raised the drooping spirits of that prince. However, *Tûzûn*'s answer had such an effect upon him, that he resolved to return to *Baghdâd*; though both *Al Akhsîd* and the princes of the house of *Hamdân* did their utmost to divert him from that resolution, not thinking it safe for him to rely upon the faith of *Tûzûn*, whom they considered as an insolent and perfidious traitor. But, not being able to prevail upon him to follow such salutary advice, *Al Akhsîd* departed from *Al Rakka* for *Egypt*, taking the route of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, in his way to *Mejr*, or *Al Fostât*; and *Nasero'ddawla* set out at the same time for *Al Mawfel*. Soon after which, the *Khalif Al Mottaki*, who had refused to fix his residence in *Egypt*, under the protection of *Al Akhsîd*, left *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and arrived at *Hît*, or *Heit*, a town of *Irâk*, seated on

<sup>f</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 305, 306. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 331. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 213, 214. JOSEPH. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 306, 307. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 332. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 211, 214. D'HERBEEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 636, 637.



- a the northern bank of the *Euphrates*, at a small distance from the deserts of *Al Jazîra*, and about twenty-one parasangs off *Al Anbâr*. Here he staid till he received advice, that *Tûzûn* had promised again, and even engaged himself by oath, to obey and defend him, upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*; after which, he set out, with a considerable retinue, for that city. At some distance from which, he was met by *Tûzûn*, at the head of a body of troops, that formed a camp in a place called *Al Sendiya*, who lighted off his horse, walked by the *Khalîf*'s stirrup on foot, prostrated himself before him, and assigned him a proper place in his camp, where he treated both him and his family with all possible deference and respect. But, notwithstanding these marks of submission, by which he pretended to have fulfilled his promise, he had no sooner got the poor prince into his hands, than he dispatched
- b a courier to *Baghdâd*, to bring *Abu'l Kasem Abd'allah Ebn Al Mostafi* to the camp; whom, in open violation of his oath, and defiance of the most solemn engagements; he caused to be proclaimed *Khalîf* in the presence of *Al Mottaki*, and gave him the surname of *Al Mostafi*. As for the deposed *Khalîf*, he was soon after deprived of his sight, and reduced to the condition of a private person; in which he lived till the month of *Sbaabân*, and the year of the *Hejra* 357, when he departed this life in the 60th, or 61st, year of his age. He was deposed on *Saturday*, the 20th of *Safar*, after he had almost completed the fourth year of his *Khalifat*, according to *Al Makin*. With regard to his disposition, he has been considered by the eastern writers as a just and religious prince, that had scarce any thing left him besides the bare title of *Khalîf*, the privilege of having his name impressed upon
- c the current coin, and the liberty of officiating as *Imâm* in the public mosques. His chamberlains were *Salâma*, the servant of *Hamârûiya*, *Bedr Al Jersani*, and *Abmed Ebn Khâkân*. In the year of the *Hejra* 329, when this prince sat upon the *Moslem* throne, a grievous famine visited several parts of *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Irâk*; which was succeeded by a dreadful pestilence that raged till the beginning of the next year. At *Baghdâd*, in particular, the people were forced to live upon bran and hay for a considerable time, and such a frightful mortality hereupon ensued amongst the *Moslems* there, that many of them were frequently buried in the same grave, and that without either funeral-service or ablution. We are likewise told that the *Russians* laid siege to *Constantinople*, and were obliged to abandon that siege, after they had sustained no inconsiderable loss, the very
- d same year <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 307. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 333. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 211, 212, 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 637.

## S E C T. XLIV.

- e THE same day on which *Al Motakki* was deprived of his power, that is, on *Saturday* *Al Mostafi* the 20th of the month *Safar*, *Abu'l Kasem Abd'allah Ebn Al Mostafi Bi'llah* was elected <sup>is elected</sup> *Khalîf*, and had the surname, or title, of *Al Mostafi*, or rather *Al Mostafi Bi'llah*, given <sup>Khalîf.</sup> him, at *Al Sendiya*, by *Tûzûn* and the other *Moslem* commanders, then present, who all took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother's name was *Gafû*, or *Ghafû*; but from whence she came, or in what country she was born, does not clearly appear from any good author. We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that a woman, named *Alam*, who was one of *Al Mostafi*'s greatest favourites, having assured a *Moslem*, very intimate with *Tûzûn*, that he was an exceeding prudent, pious, and opulent prince, and this having been immediately imparted to *Tûzûn*, he was, without delay, saluted *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, or emperor of the faithful.
- f Upon his accession, he continued his benefactor *Tûzûn* in the post of *Emîr Al Omrà*; who, in consequence of this, had the government of *Baghdâd*, with the district belonging to it, intirely committed to him <sup>1</sup>.

- THE same year, one *Abu Yezid Ebn Condâd*, of the tribe of *Zenat*, or *Zanat*, whose mother was an *Ethiopian* slave in the city of *Tofer*, or *Tozer*, the *Tifurus* of *Ptolemy*, rebelled <sup>rebels against</sup> against *Al Kayem*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, in *Africa*. His arms were attended <sup>Al Kayem in Africa.</sup> with such wonderful success, that he reduced the cities of *Kairwân*, *Al Rakkâda*, and *Tunis*, besides all the other fortresses of lesser note, overthrew, in a bloody battle, an army sent against him by *Al Kayem*, besieged that prince himself in the citadel of *Al Mohâia* for seven months, that is, from the former *Jomâda* to the last day of *Dbu'lhajja*, or the conclusion of the present year, and flattered himself with the hopes, as he was reduced to great straits for want of provisions, of starving him to a surrender. We must not forget to observe, that the new *Khalîf Al Mostafi* released his predecessor *Al Kâber* from his confinement in the imperial palace, in the latter *Rabî*, of the year we are now upon, and sent
- g

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 214. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 307, 308. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



him to the house of *Ebn Thâber*, that he might not be in a condition to disturb his a future repose, *Abu'lfeda* relates, that this poor prince had only a cotton shirt on his back, and wooden shoes on his feet, when he was conducted to the place destined for his reception <sup>k</sup>.

The operations  
of this cam-  
paign in Syria.

NOT long after the deposition of *Al Mottaki*, *Saifo'ddawla*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, made himself master of *Hems* and *Aleppo*; but was forced to raise the siege of *Damascus* by *Al Akhsîd*, who pursued him into the prefecture of *Kinnisrîn*, and brought him to a general action there. Victory, however, declared absolutely on neither side; upon which, *Al Akhsîd* returned to *Damascus*, and *Saifo'ddawla* to *Al Mawfel*. Soon after which, the Greeks made an irruption into Syria, and penetrated almost as far as *Aleppo*; but were b overthrown by *Saifo'ddawla*, and forced to fly into the Christian territories, with very considerable loss. Some authors, however, have related the operations of this campaign in Syria in a different manner; of which farther notice will hereafter be taken in a proper place <sup>l</sup>.

Moezzo'd-  
dawla assumes  
the title and  
office of Emir  
Al Omrà.

THE next year, being the 334th of the *Hejra*, commencing August 13th, 945, *Tûzûn* departed this life, in the month of *Al Moharram*, at *Baghdâd*. He was succeeded in the sublime office of *Emîr Al Omrà* by *Zairac Ebn Shîrazâd*, a Turk, in the violence and impetuosity of his disposition no way inferior to his predecessor, to whom the army took the oath of fidelity, as well as to the *Khalîf*. *Zairac* was at *Hît*, or *Heit*, a town of *Irâk* upon the *Euphrates*, when that honourable post was conferred upon him; but being obliged to take upon himself the government without delay, he immediately set out from thence for c *Baghdâd*. In the mean time, *Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Bûiya*, having received advice of the death of *Tûzûn*, moved with a strong body of troops from *Abwâz*, into the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*; of which the *Khalîf* and *Ebn Shîrazâd* being informed they hid themselves, and the Turks abandoned the city to *Moezzo'ddawla*, retiring with great precipitation towards *Al Mawfel*, at his approach. Soon after the retreat of the Turkish forces, *Moezzo'ddawla* took possession of *Baghdâd*, recognized the authority of *Al Mostacî*, who appeared in his imperial robes before him, appointed *Ebn Shîrazâd* to preside over all the officers employed in collecting the tribute and public revenues, and assumed to himself the charge of *Emîr Al Omrà*. This pacification was effected by the intervention of *Al Hasan Ebn Mohammed Al Mohallebi*, one of *Moezzo'ddawla*'s most intimate friends, on the twelfth of the former d *Jomâda*, the day on which that prince entered *Baghdâd*. And, in commemoration of this happy event, the *Khalîf* gave him the name, surname, or title, of *Moezzo'ddawla*, or the strength and support of the court, or of the state. His brother *Ali* also, at the same time, was denominated by *Al Mostacî Amado'ddawla*, or the pillar of the court, or of the state; and his other brother *Al Hasan Rucno'ddawla*, or *Rocno'ddawla*, that is, the angular stone of the court, or of the state. The *Khalîf*, in order to testify the high regard he had for them, likewise commanded all their names, surnames, and titles, to be stamped, or impressed, upon the current coin. As for *Moezzo'ddawla*, he distributed his troops over all parts of the city of *Baghdâd*, occupied himself the house, or palace, that had been built for *Mînes*, and assigned *Al Mostacî*, for the subsistence of himself and his family, a daily allowance e of 5000 *dirhems* <sup>m</sup>.

The Khalîf  
Al Mostacî  
is deposed.

BUT the repose of the *Khalîfat* was soon disturbed by the intrigues of *Alam*, *Al Mostacî*'s female favourite, who was now no less instrumental in his deposition, than she had before been in his elevation to the Moslem throne. For *Moezzo'ddawla* having been apprized, that she was caballing with some of the great men at court, who formed a faction there, in order to remove him from the post of *Emîr Al Omrà*, he appeared at the head of a strong party in the *Khalîf*'s palace, on the 22d of the latter *Jomâda*, being the day appointed by that prince for granting an audience to the ambassador of the *Emîr* of *Khorasân*. *Moezzo'ddawla*, according to custom, took his seat close by the *Khalîf*, and prostrated himself before him; which ceremony was scarce over, when two *Deylamite* officers approached *Al f Mostacî*, who held out one of his hands to each of them to kiss; but, to his great surprize, they seized upon him, dragged him from his throne, tied his turban, which they had before unfolded, about his neck, and hurried him away to *Moezzo'ddawla*'s palace, where he was immediately thrown into irons. As for *Alam*, who had been the principal cause of this new revolution, the conspirators seized upon her, and cut out her tongue. They also, by *Moezzo'ddawla*'s order, deprived *Al Mostacî* of his sight, and plundered the imperial palace. This *Khalîf* reigned only one year, four months, and two days; though he did not die before the year of the *Hejra* 338, being then in the 41st year of his age. *Helâl*

<sup>k</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 199. PTOL. geograph. lib. iv. cap. 3. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Caïem Bemrillah*, p. 241. SHAW'S geograph. observat. on the inland countr. of the wint. circ. p. 211. <sup>l</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. <sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 308, 309. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 216, 217. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 334. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Mostacî Billa*, p. 627, 628.



- a *Ebn Ibrabim Ebn Zabrûn Al Harrâni*, a *Sabian*, his principal physician, was a person of profound erudition, extremely well versed in every branch of physic, and greatly esteemed at *Baghdâd*. He served likewise, in the capacity of physician, *Tûzûn*, *Al Mostacfi's* first *Emîr Al Omrâ*; of whose knowledge and abilities he entertained a very mean opinion, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. It appears from *Al Makin*, that the emperor *Romanus* was deposed by his sons, *Constantine* and *Stephen*, on the 26th of the latter *Rabî*, in the year of the *Hejra* 333; and that they confined him afterwards to a monastery in the island of *Prote*, called *Al Abrûi* by the *Arabs*. Both which events happened, soon after the *Khalif Al Mostacfi* had ascended the *Moslem* throne. As for the other transactions of the imperial court about the times that we are now upon, our readers will find a full and ample account of them in
- b a place to which this more properly belongs <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ISM. ABU'LFED. KHONDEMIR, & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 557.  
Lond. 1748.

## S E C T. XLV.

- c THE same day that *Al Mostacfi* was deposed, that is, the 22d of the former *Jomâda*, *Al Motî* is *Abu'l Kasem Al Fadl Ebn Al Moktader* was created *Khalif*, and inaugurated at *Baghdâd*. <sup>created Kha-</sup>  
The new *Khalif*, whose mother's name was *Masa'la*, received the surname, or title, of *Al<sup>1st</sup> Motî*, or rather *Al Motî Li'llab*, and continued *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya* in the office of *Emîr Al Omrâ*; having himself no other share of the public revenues, nor of the power and authority formerly annexed to his sublime station, than what that prime minister, or rather haughty usurper, was pleased to allow him. Nor would *Moezzo'ddawla* permit him to have a *Wazîr*, or even any servant whatsoever, except a secretary, whose sole business it was to keep an exact account of the money with which he was supplied out of the treasury, and the expences of his family <sup>o</sup>.
- d THE unsettled state of affairs at *Baghdâd* excited *Nasero'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Abd'allah* <sup>Nasero'ddawla</sup> *Ebn Hamdân*, the lord, or *Emîr*, of *Al Mawfel*, to undertake an expedition against that city, or rather against the *Deylamite* forces, under *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya*, then <sup>la posses- himself of the east rn part of</sup> *Baghdad*.  
cantonèd in it. As the people of *Baghdâd*, according to *Khondemir*, had before requested *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya* to deliver them from the tyranny of *Zairac Ebn Shîrazâd*, the *Turk*; so now, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, they seem to have called in to their assistance *Nasero'ddawla*, in order to expel the *Deylamites*, whose yoke at this time began to sit very heavy upon them. *Moezzo'ddawla* having received advice of *Nasero'ddawla's* approach, quitted the city with great precipitation, and conducted the *Khalif Al Motî*, whom he took along with him, to *Tecrit*, a place belonging to *Nasero'ddawla*; which he gave up to his
- e troops to be plundered, ravaged the adjacent territory in a dreadful manner, and then returned to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival there, he found that *Nasero'ddawla* had possessed himself of that part of the town seated on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*; and that it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable to dislodge him from thence. However, he took post with all his forces in the other part, and made the proper dispositions for attacking the enemy. Before the close of the year, the *Deylamite* parties frequently skirmished with those of the *Hamdânites*, which occasioned a considerable effusion of *Moslem* blood; but nothing decisive happened on either side. In the mean time, the *Khalif* himself seems to have been treated with great contempt; not the least mention being made of his name, during these troubles, in any of the mosques of *Baghdâd* <sup>p</sup>.
- f IN the month of *Safar*, this year, the rebel *Abu Yezid* raised the siege of *Al Mokdîa*; *Al Kayem* and, in that of *Shawâl*, *Al Kayem Abu'l Kasem Mohammed Ebn Al Mohdî*, the *Fâtemite Khalif* and *Al Akh-* of *Kairwân*, died in his capital city. He was succeeded by his son *Ismael*, who assumed <sup>this die, and</sup> the surname, or title of *Al Mansûr*. On the 22d of *Dbu'lhajja*, the famous *Mohammed* <sup>Saifo'ddawla is driven from</sup> *Al Akhsbid*, the sovereign of *Egypt*, and part of *Syria*, departed this life at *Damascus*. He was born, in the 268th year of the *Hejra*, at *Baghdâd*. A little before he left *Egypt*, in order to march against *Saifo'ddawla*, and not long before his death, he found in his palace a satirical schedule, written by an unknown hand. This piece was penned with great bitterness and virulence, censured his conduct in the most severe terms, and contained some menaces, which made no inconsiderable impression upon him. After his decease, *Abu'l*
- g *Kasem Mahmûd*, or, as he was called in the *Turkish* language, *Abu'l Kasem Anûjûr*, his son, mounted the throne of *Egypt*; but being a child, *Câfûr*, an *Ethiopian*, one of his father's eunuchs, took the government of that kingdom upon him. In the mean time, *Saifo'ddawla*

<sup>o</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 219. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 311. ISM. ABU'LFED. & KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. in art. *Motî Bilab*, p. 65. <sup>p</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup.



made himself master of *Damascus*, and fixed his residence there. But having, by his indiscreet behaviour, alienated the affections of the people of that large and opulent city from him; they implored the protection of *Câfûr*, and, by the assistance of the *Egyptian* forces, expelled him from thence. Before *Câfûr* returned to *Mesr*, *Misr*, or *Al I'ojât*, he appointed *Badr*, or *Bedr*, who had formerly been one of *Al Akhsîd*'s slaves, to preside over *Damascus*, and all the circumjacent tract. *Bedr* continued about a year in that post, and was succeeded by *Abu'l Modhaffer Ebn Tagaj*, *Al Akhsîd*'s brother. After his expulsion from *Damascus*, *Saifo'ddawla* went to *Aleppo*, and shut himself up in that place. About the same time, died the *Wazîr Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Al Farra*, in the 91st year of his age; *Omar Ebn Al Hosein Al Kharaki*, a doctor of the sect of *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*; *Abu Becr Al Shabali*, a *Sûfi* of great austerity of life, whose father had been chamberlain to *Al Mowaffek*, brother to the *Khalîf Al Mo'tamed*, and *Mohammed Ebn Isa*, commonly called *Abu Mûsa*, a celebrated *Fakih* of the *Hanefite* sect. It appears from *Al Makîn*, that there was so great a scarcity of grain the present year at *Baghdâd*, that it occasioned a dreadful famine; and that, during part of the time of this public calamity, several women roasted and boiled children, in order to eat them; for which they were put to death, and their bodies thrown into the *Tigris*. We are likewise told by *Abulfeda*, that so grievous a famine raged this year at *Baghdâd*, that a person was taken up, when he was upon the point of eating a child he had roasted for food; and that this was followed by a pestilence, which swept away a vast number of the inhabitants of that miserable city <sup>a</sup>.

The military operations of the year 335.

IN the 335th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Aug. 2d, 946, it was rumoured at *Baghdâd*, that *Rucno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Bûiya* had seized upon *Ray*, and subdued all the neighbouring mountainous tract. The same year, *Saifo'ddawla* took the castle of *Ziyâd*, and made an irruption into the *Christian* territories, where he committed dreadful ravages and depredations. A great number of prisoners likewise fell into his hands. He also defeated an imperial army, sent to oppose him, killed 200,000 *Greeks* upon the spot, took 2000 prisoners, and then retired into his own dominions, without having sustained any considerable loss. We must not forget to observe, that *Abu Becr Al Sawli*, a man extremely well versed in all kinds of polite literature, and particular history, who had for one of his scholars the famous *Al Darcathani*, and wrote many excellent books, departed this life, the present year <sup>c</sup>.

Saifo'ddawla's success, in the year 336.

THE following year, being the 336th of the *Hejra*, commencing July 23d, 947, *Saifo'ddawla* besieged the castle of *Bursa*, or *Bursia*, in *Bithynia*, the *Pruja* of the antients; which surrendered to him the beginning of the next campaign. The imperial general also took the fortress of *Al Hadb*, and dismantled it, as we learn from *Al Makîn*. *Saifo'ddawla* likewise demolished the walls of *Bursa*, and ruined its fortifications, as appears from the same author. About this time, *Al Moterassi*, prince of the *Karmatians*, with a body of *Arabs*, overthrew *Abu Awîl Ebn Dawd Ebn Hamdân*, who had been made by his cousin-german *Saifo'ddawla* governor of *Hems*. This defeat put that city, with all its dependencies, into the victor's hands. Of which *Saifo'ddawla* being informed, he marched with a body of troops from *Aleppo*, and came up with *Al Moterassi* in the territory of *Damascus*; upon which a sharp and bloody conflict ensued. This battle ended in the entire defeat of *Al Moterassi*, who was killed in the action, and all his men, except a few that made their escape, put to the sword. *Saifo'ddawla* ordered the head of the *Karmatian* to be cut off, and carried in triumph upon the point of a lance to *Aleppo*; on which occasion, an elegant distich of *Arabic* verses was composed by *Abu Farâs Ebn Hamdân*, that has been preserved by *Al Makîn*. That prince reached *Aleppo* in about ten days time, attended by his cousin-german *Abu Awîl Ebn Dawd Ebn Hamdân*, whom he had delivered out of the enemies hands. Soon after this, *Moezzo'ddawla Abmed Ebn Bûiya* had an interview at *Al Marwef* with *Saifo'ddawla*; which terminated in a treaty of peace, or rather an alliance, between those two powerful princes. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than *Moezzo'ddawla*, pleased with the success of this negotiation, took his leave of *Saifo'ddawla*, and returned to *Baghdâd* <sup>d</sup>.

The Fâtemite Khalîf, Ismael Al Mansûr, extinguishes the rebellion in Africa.

THE same year, *Ismael Al Mansûr*, the *Emîr* of *Libya*, as he is called by *Abu'lfeda*, or rather the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, in the month of *Ramâdan*, returned in triumph to *Al Mohdîa*. The rebellion in *Africa* had been extinguished by that prince, who overthrew *Abu Yezid* in two engagements, the preceding year, by the reduction of *Al Catâma*, or *Al Cottâma*, a fortress of very great strength, that surrendered to him in the month of *Al Moharram*, 336. The rebel *Abu Yezid* had defended this place with great bravery, for a considerable time; and, when it was obliged to capitulate, he endeavoured to make his escape. But,

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D'HUREL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Akhsîd*, p. 48.

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 220. ISM. ABU'LFED. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 335.

<sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 220, 221. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 336.

being



a being closely pursued by a detachment of the *Khalif's* forces, he was at last taken, loaded with irons, and thrown into prison; where, being grievously wounded, a few days after the surrender of *Al Catima*, he expired. After his death *Al Mansûr* ordered him to be flay'd, and his skin to be stuffed with hay; which was no sooner done, than expresses were dispatched into all the provinces that formed the *Khalifat* of *Kairwân*, in order to communicate to the people of those provinces the news of the success that had attended the *Khalif's* arms. But the transactions of this part of the world, during the present period, will be more largely descanted upon hereafter, in a place to which they more properly belong <sup>1</sup>.

In the 337th year of the *Hejra*, beginning July 11th, 948, *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bâiya* made himself master of *Al Mawfel*; *Nasero'ddawla*, then the *Emîr* of that place, retiring at his approach to *Nasîbîn*. But receiving advice that the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Kho-  
raçân* had broke into his territories with a very respectable force; he thought fit to abandon his new conquest, which thereupon returned to its former sovereign, who took immediate possession of it. About the same time, *Saifo'ddawla* made an irruption into the imperial provinces; but was defeated by the *Greeks*, who after the action, took *Ma'raçh*, and laid siege to *Tarsus*. Either this or the preceding year, *Ismael Al Mansûr*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, sent *Al Hâsan Ebn Ali Ebn Abu'l Hosein Al Calbi* from *Africa* to preside over the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*. The new *Emîr's* father, *Ali Ebn Abu'l Hosein Al Calbi*, married the daughter of *Sâlem Ebn Al Rasbîd*, a former governor of *Sicily*, and was killed in an action between the *Gergentines* and *Khalil*, the *Magrebian* general, already taken notice of, in the year of the *Hejra* 327. *Al Hasan* reduced most of the *Christian* part of the island to the obedience of the *Magrebian Khalif*, and governed the people committed to his care with great prudence, equity, and moderation. This we learn from the *Cambridge Chronicle*, from *Abu'lfeda*, from *Al Kâdi Shabâbo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawî*, and from *Abu Mohammed Abd'alaziz Ebn Shedad Tamim Al Sanhâjî*, the author of the *Akbbâr Kairwân*, or the history of *Kairwân*, who gives a very particular account of *Al Hasan*, and his administration, in his piece, intituled, *The annals of Sicily*. It seems to appear from some writers of good repute, that this *Emîr* had the investiture of the island of *Sicily* granted him by *Al Mansûr*; and that he assumed to himself at this time, by a sort of hereditary right, the government of it. We are informed by the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, that *Mohammed Ebn Nasero'ddawla* attacked the *Greeks* that made an irruption into the *Moslem* provinces, killed 400 of them upon the spot, and took a great number of them prisoners, the present year <sup>2</sup>.

The next year, being the 338th of the *Hejra*, commencing July 1st, 949, *Amado'd-  
dawla Abu'l Hasan Ebn Bâiya*, who had laboured under a long illness at *Shîràz*, where he had fixed his residence, departed this life. An old ulcer in his kidneys, and a complication of disorders proceeding from thence put a period to his days, in the latter *Jomâda*. At the time of his death, he had reigned at *Shîràz* sixteen years, and was about fifty-seven lunar years old. He was the eldest of the sons of *Bâiya*, and a prudent and magnanimous prince. The *Khalifs*, in their letters to him, always gave him the title of *Emîr Al Omrà*; and the *Khalif Al Motî Li'llah* honoured his heir and successor *Adado'ddawla*, after his death, with the same title. In the last year but one of his life, perceiving his end to be at no great distance, he wrote to his brother *Rucno'ddawla* to send him his son *Adado'ddawla Fanâkbofrâ*, whom he had appointed to succeed him, as he should leave no male issue behind him. Nor did *Rucno'ddawla* refuse complying with his request. Upon his nephew's arrival, therefore, at *Shîràz*, *Amado'ddawla* dignified him with the title and power of *Soltân* (B), placed him upon his throne, and commanded all the nobles and grandees of his court

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 333. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 22. <sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336, 337. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 311. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigient. ubi sup. p. 12, 14. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in hist. cui tit. *Ajma'if*. ABU MOHAMMED ABD'ALAZIZ EBN SHEDAD TAMIM AL SANHAJI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 229. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. in Sacacen. rer. epit. p. 101. Panormi, 1720.

(B) Though the word *Soltân*, or *Al Soltân*, occurs as a title in the passage of *Abu'lfeda* here referred to, yet it seems not to have been directly applied to any of the eastern princes in that sense before the year of the *Hejra* 393. For, we are informed by some good oriental writers, that *Mahmûd Gazni*, the son of *Sabektekin*, was first dignified with this title by *Khalaf Ebn Ahmed*, the governor of *Serjîstân*, or *Sijîstân*, in that year. It was then, according to them, first adopted in the room of the term *Emîr*, which till that time had been constantly

used. The word *Soltân* is common to the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* language; and denotes a king, prince, lord, or emperor. The princes of the dynasties preceding the *Gaznawids*, such were the *Tâberian*, *Sassânian*, *Sammânian*, *Deylamite*, &c. went amongst their subjects under the denomination of *Emîr*, or *Al Emîr*; whereas the *Gaznawids*, *Khorârazmians*, *Seljukians*, and the later *Mohammedan* potentates, were generally styled by the people they governed *Soltân*, or *Al Soltân*. Nay, the title of *Soltân*, or *Sultan*, is at



court to obey him. After his uncle's decease, *Adado'ddawla* ascended the *Persian* throne; a but, being despised by the army, that refused to execute his orders, his father *Rucno'ddawla* came from *Al Ray* to *Shiráz*, to settle his government upon a solid and lasting foundation. The first thing *Rucno'ddawla* did after his arrival was, to walk bare-legged to *Estakbr*, to visit his brother's tomb; all the troops following him with their legs likewise bare, and forming a sort of august procession, on this doleful occasion. After he had staid three days at the tomb, performing his devotions there, he was with some difficulty, prevailed upon by the officers of the army to return to *Shiráz*. It seems to appear from *Abu'lfeda*, that *Rucno'ddawla* succeeded his brother *Amado'ddawla* in the dignity and title of *Emír Al Omrá*; and that *Moezzo'ddawla*, the youngest of the sons of *Báiya*, was never really dignified with that title. For, though he was possessed of *Irák*, in which b the capital of the *Moslem* empire was seated, and the *Emírs Al Omrá* did consequently reside there; yet, according to this author, he was considered only first as his brother *Amado'ddawla's*, and afterwards as *Rucno'ddawla's*, deputy, or lieutenant, in that province \*.

The Sicilians  
conspire against  
Al Hasan,  
their Emír.

THE same year, some of the principal *Sicilians* entered into a conspiracy against *Al Hasan Ebn Ali Ebn Abu'l Hosein Al Calbi*, the *Emír* of that island; but it was discovered, by the policy and address of the *Emír*, when it was upon the point of being carried into execution. The ringleaders being seized, the most guilty of them had their hands and feet cut off, and were afterwards either hanged or impaled. The chief of these were one *Koreish* and his associates. After condign punishment had been inflicted upon the principal of the conspirators, a calm immediately ensued, and the public tranquillity in the *Moslem* part of c the island was intirely restored. We must not forget to observe, that the *Khalif Al Mostacfi Bi'llah*, who had been deposed in 334, died in prison, the present year \*.

Saifo'ddawla  
defeats the  
Greeks, and  
is overthrown  
by them in his  
turn.

THE following year, being the 339th of the *Hejra*, beginning *June* 20th, 950, the *Karmatians* sent back to *Mecca* the celebrated *black stone*, belonging to the temple there, after a detention of it in their custody twenty-two years. About the same time, *Saifo'ddawla* penetrated into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, laid a considerable tract therein, which he ravaged for two months together without controul, waste with fire and sword, and carried off with him a vast number of that prince's subjects into captivity. He also at last came up with the imperial general at *Al Malakát*, beyond *Kbarsena*, and attacked him d with such bravery that he put him to flight, killed 30,000 of his men upon the spot, and took 2000 of them prisoners. But he was soon after himself attacked by the *Greeks*, in the mountainous defile of *Maki'alathafár*, or *Makt'aladhafár*, near *Al Massífiya*, in *Al Rám*, and overthrown with véry great slaughter; having scarce been able, with a few of his shattered troops, to make his escape. The next day, according to *Al Makín*, the imperial general put 5000 of the country people, who probably had assisted the enemy in this invasion, to the sword, and made 3000 of them slaves. To which we may add, from *Abu'l Faraj*, that the *Greeks* recovered all the spoil and prisoners that had fallen into the hands of *Saifo'ddawla*, as well as seized upon all the baggage, military chest, &c. of the *Moslems*, whose retreat they found means to cut off, on this memorable occasion \*.

Abu'l Kasem  
Abd'alrah-  
mán Ebn  
Ishak and  
Abu Nasr  
Mohammed  
Ebn Tarkhán  
Al Fârábi die  
the present  
year.

THE same year, died *Abu'l Kasem Abd'alrahmán Ebn Ishak*, known by the name of *Al e Zajjaj*, the most celebrated grammarian of his age, and particularly famous for the excellent grammar he composed, intituled, *Al Jaml*; as did likewise *Abu Nasr Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Tarkhán Al Fârábi*, a *Moslem* philosopher of exceeding great note. The latter of these learned men was by nation a *Turk*, born at *Otrár*, a very large city of *Turkestán*, or *Mawarâ'lnahr*, known also amongst the *Arabs* by the names of *Fâráb* and *Fâriáb*; from whence *Abu Nasr* derived the appellation of *Al Fârábi*. He understood several languages besides the *Turkish*, which was his mother-tongue; and, after his arrival at *Baghdád*, applied himself to the study of the *Arabic*, a competent knowledge of which he soon acquired. He was instructed in logic and philosophy by *Abu Basfar Matta Ebn Túnes*, one of the most eminent logicians and philosophers of the age in which he lived. Having made a f considerable progress in these studies, he removed to *Harrán*, where he farther improved himself, by the assistance of *Abu'l Haya*, a *Christian* philosopher; and, after his return to *Bagh-*

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 338. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 311, 312. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 221, 222. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122, 214. \* Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. p. 14. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. in Saracenicar. rer. epit. p. 101. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 200. † AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 222. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 339. AHMED EBN YUSEF, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 119. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 40. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 312.

this day assumed by many of the *Moslem* princes, as But, for a farther account of this title, our readers may well as the Grand Signor, both in *Asia* and *Africa*. have recourse to the authors cited here (7).

(7) D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 533, 825, &c. Val. Schind lex. pentaglot. p. 1373. Huet. lib. 1512.



- a *dād*, finished the studies he had so happily begun there. From thence he undertook a journey through *Damascus* to *Mesr*, *Misr*, or *Al Fostât*; and, after some stay there, retired to the former of those cities. Here he resided, when *Saifo'ddawla* was sovereign of the place, and had many favours conferred upon him by that prince. His speeches and harangues were always received with uncommon applause, and he soon outshined all the learned that resorted to *Saifo'ddawla's* court. But, notwithstanding this, and the due encouragement given his rare merit, he affected solitude, and seemed extremely fond of a retired life. He was exceedingly well versed in the *Aristotelian* philosophy, understood music, translated *Aristotle's Analytics*, and left many monuments of his vast erudition behind him. He generally appeared either in the *Turkish* dress, or that of the *Sûfis*, and had riches and every species of luxury in the greatest contempt; being himself so temperate and abstemious, that he lived upon four *dirhems* a day, which *Saifo'ddawla* allowed him for his subsistence. After his death, which happened at *Damascus*, he was buried without the *little gate* there, and died in the 80th lunar year of his age. With regard to *Otrâr*, the place of his nativity, it may not be improper to remark, that it is situate upon the bank of a small river, called by *Abu'lfeda* the river *Al Shâsh*, towards the frontiers of the *Kalmaks*, not far from *Balâsâgûn*, or *Balâshâgûn*; though *Sharîfaddîn*, in his life of *Timûr Bek*, removes it two parasangs from the northern bank of the *Sihûn*, or *Sîr*. The last author likewise observes, that the river *Arj*, with a bridge over it, runs about a league to the east of this city; as also that it is six stages from *Tâsh-kunt*, and twenty-six parasangs from *Samerkand*. It was the capital, or metropolis, of *Turkestan* in the year of our LORD 1200, when *Soltân Kotboddîn Mokammed Ebn Taccash Khwarazm Shâh* took it from *Karakitay Kûrkhan*, king of *Turkestan*. The city of *Otrâr*, whose inhabitants are for the most part of the sect of *Al Shâfeï*, has been described by *Al Berjendi*, the geographer. The famous *Timûr Bek*, or *Timûr Beg*, died here, in the year of the *Hejra* 807, and of CHRIST 1405; a more distinct and circumstantial account of which event our readers may hereafter expect, in a future part of this work <sup>2</sup>.

- IN the 340th year of the *Hejra*, commencing June 9th, 951, *Faraj Mobaddad*, sur-  
named *Saklabi*, arrived at *Palermo* from *Africa*, with a powerful fleet, and a strong body of  
land-forces on board. The *African* troops being joined by the *Sicilian* auxiliaries, under the  
command of *Al Hasan*, the *Emîr*, *Saklabi* set sail with them for *Reggio*; but, upon his  
arrival there, found that both the inhabitants and the garison had abandoned the place at  
his approach. After which, the *Moslems* besieged *Kassâna* and *Jerûja*, two fortresses subject to  
the emperor; but could not reduce them to the obedience of the *African Khalîf*. However,  
according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, *Saklabi* concluded a treaty with them, took hostages  
from them for their future good behaviour, and then returned to *Sicily*. This year died  
*Abd'allah Ebn Al Hossein Al Karkhi*, a celebrated *Hanefite Fakih*, a *Motazalite*, of uncommon  
sanctity and austerity of life, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 260; as did also *Abu*  
*Ishak Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Ishak Al Merûzi*, or *Al Marwazi*, a *Fakih* of the sect of *Al Shâfeï*,  
at *Mesr*. This *Abu Ishak* wrote many books, that were held in good esteem, and was confiered  
as the general of his order, or principal of the followers of *Al Shâfeï*, in the province of *Irâk* <sup>3</sup>.
- THE next year, being the 341st of the *Hejra*, beginning May 29th, 952, *Yusef Ebn*  
*Wajîb*, the lord, or *Emîr*, of *Omân*, being joined by a body of *Karmatian* troops, besieged  
both by sea and land the city of *Basra*. But *Al Mohallebi*, *Moezzoddawla's* *Wazîr*,  
having put himself at the head of the *Khalîf's* forces, in order to attack him, *Ebn Wajîb*  
thought fit to abandon the siege, after he had lain only a few days before the town, and to  
retire with such precipitation that the *Wazîr* could not come up with him. This precipi-  
tate retreat, or rather flight, occasioned such an intire dispersion of his troops, that they  
could never afterwards be brought into the field. The *Magrebian* general *Saklabi*, who seems  
to have remained in a state of inaction this year, in *Sicily*, took up his winter-quarters  
at *Palermo*, and left his ships at *Messina*; fully intending to pay the enemy a visit in *Calabria*,  
the following spring. *Abu Thâker Ismael Al Mansûr*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Kairwân*,  
died in the month of *Shawâl* at *Al Mohdia*, after he had sat upon the *Magrebian* throne seven  
years and sixteen days, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was an eloquent and  
magnanimous prince, and left the *Khalîfat* of *Kairwân* to his son *Abu Tamîm Mo'ad*, or  
*Ma'bad*, surnamed *Al Moezz Ledin'llah*, the first *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Egypt*, of whom we  
shall have occasion hereafter more fully to speak. About the same time, *Abu Ali Ismael Ebn*  
*Mohammed Ebn Ismael Al Saffar*, a celebrated grammarian and traditionist, who had been one  
of the scholars of the famous *Al Mobarred*, likewise departed this life. The *Greeks* made an  
irruption into *Mesopotamia*, pillaged the city of *Sarug*, or *Saruj*, antiently called *Batnan*,

<sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 316. EBN KHALECAN, ABU'LFED. descript. Chowar. p. 64. SHARIF ADDIN's life of *Timûr Bek*, p. 382, 390, 395, 397. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 337, & alib. EBN SHOHNAH, AL BERJENDI, An account of the present state of the Northern Asia, &c. p. 464. Lond. 1729.

<sup>3</sup> Chronic. Sic. Arab, Cantabrigiens. p. 14. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, ubi sup. p. 101. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 340.



being the *Batnæ* of *Stephanus*, and the *Batnæ* of *Procopius*, about ten miles from *Idessa*, and as many from *Birta* and *Harrân*, according to the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, plundered the mosques there, and carried away with them a vast number of the *Moslems* into captivity, the present year <sup>b</sup>.

*The Greeks are overthrown by the Moslems in Calabria.* THE following year, being the 342d of the *Hejra*, commencing May 18th, 953, *Saklabi*, according to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, invaded *Calabria* with a powerful army, and overthrew the imperial forces commanded by *Meljân*, *Malacianus*, or *Malacanus*, as he is called by *Curopolates*, who was himself taken prisoner in the action, together with several other officers of very considerable note. The *Moslem* admiral, *Abu Mohel*, for some heinous offence, was sent by *Saklabi* in chains to *Africa*, where he was afterwards hanged. *Al Hasan* left the government of *Sicily* to his son *Abmed*, and returned to *Kairwân*. Nothing remarkable seems to have happened this year either in the remoter eastern provinces, or on the side of *Baghdâd* <sup>c</sup>.

*The principal events of the year 343:* IN the 343d year of the *Hejra*, beginning May 7th, 954, died *Nûb*, or *Noab*, *Ebn Nafr Ebn Abmed Ebn Ismael Al Sammâni*, the *Emîr* of *Khorasân* and the *Transoxana*, in the latter *Rabî*, after he had reigned there about twelve years. His subjects honoured him with the title of *Al Emîr Al Hamîd*, the laudable prince, upon account of his rare merit and most excellent administration. He was succeeded by his son *Abd'almalec*, the principal events of whose reign will hereafter be related at large. In the former *Rabî*, *Saifo'ddawla* made an irruption into the imperial territories, and overthrew the *Greeks* with exceeding great slaughter; though he himself sustained a very considerable loss. About the same time, according to *Abu'lfeda*, *Moezzo'ddawla*, sent *Sabektekin*, with a body of troops to reduce *Shaharzûl*, *Shaharzûr*, or *Sharczûr*, a city of *Al Jebûl* in the *Persian Irâk*; but without effect. The emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, dispatched *Joannes Xieratus*, called by the *Cambridge Chronicle* *Asûrbâs*, into *Sicily*, this year, to beg a truce of the *Moslems* there; which being granted, the *Magrebian* troops under *Saklabi* returned to *Africa*. We must not forget to observe, that *Mohammed Ebn Al Abbâs*, surnamed *Ebn Al Nabwi*, a celebrated *Fakih*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem Al Karkbi*, departed this life, the present year <sup>d</sup>.

*and of the year 344.* THE next year, being the 344th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 27th, 955, an accident happened, that occasioned an open rupture between *Al Moezz* and *Abd'alrahmân*, the *Khalifs* of *Kairwân* and *Andalusia*; of which *Abu'lfeda*, not to mention other authors, has handed down to us the following particulars. *Abd'alrahmân* having sent a merchantman to *Alexandria*, this ship gave chase to, and took, another, sent by the *Emîr* of *Sicily* to *Al Moezz*, with an ambassador and his dispatches on board; which so incensed the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, that he immediately fitted out a fleet, with a body of land-forces on board, to make reprisals on the *Khalif* of *Andalusia*'s subjects. This fleet, which was reinforced with a *Sicilian* squadron, soon after entered the port of *Almeria*, and burnt all the ships riding at anchor there, except the large merchantman above-mentioned, which *Al Hasan*, the late *Emîr* of *Sicily*, who commanded *Al Moezz*'s fleet, seized upon, with a number of singing-girls and a very valuable cargo on board, belonging to *Abd'alrahmân* himself, as lawful prize. Not content with this, *Al Hasan* made a descent with the troops on board the combined fleet upon the coast of *Granada*, which he ravaged in a dreadful manner, put many of the *Spanish Moslems* to the sword, and then returned safe to *Al Mohdia*, without having sustained any considerable loss. *Abd'alrahmân*, having received advice of these hostilities and depredations, immediately equipped a strong squadron to cruise on the coast of *Africa*, and, if possible, to land a body of troops there. But this squadron, having been worsted in an engagement with *Al Moezz*'s fleet, was obliged to return home, without having effected any thing of note. This year, died *Abu Ali Ebn Mobtaj*, *Nûb Al Sammâni*'s general in *Khorasân*; who having been dismissed by that prince, took on in *Rucno'ddawla Ebn Bûiya*'s service, and in his service ended his days <sup>e</sup>.

*Saifo'ddawla is defeated by the emperor's forces.* THE following year, being the 345th of the *Hejra*, beginning April 15th, 956, *Saifo'ddawla* broke into the *Christian* provinces; and made himself master of *Tel Batrik*, or *Tel Patricia*, a strong fortress not far from *Malatia*, *Malathia*, or *Melitene*, the capital of the *Lesser Armenia*. The imperial troops, under the command of *Zimisces*, being too weak to oppose him, retired at his approach. However, the imperial general posted a detachment of his troops in a defile on the mountains, through which *Saifo'ddawla* was to pass; who, upon his arrival there, was surprised by the *Greeks*, and attacked with such fury, that he

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 341. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. p. 15. AL MARIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 595. & alib. STEPHAN. BYZANT. de urb. PROCOPI. de bell. Pers. lib. i. c. 12. Itinerar. ANTONIN. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. Romæ, 1721. <sup>c</sup> Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. JOAN. CUROPALAT. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 101. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 343. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 312. NASSIR AL TUSI, in tab. geographic. ULUGH BEIGH, in tab. geographic. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. & JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 344.



a was obliged to betake himself to flight. A considerable part of his men were slain on the field of battle, and many of them taken prisoners. His military chest likewise, and all his baggage, fell into the enemies hands; and had not the darkness of the night hindered the pursuit, not one of the *Moslems* would have escaped. *Abu'l Ashbyer*, *Saifo'ddawla's* *Wazir*, was taken prisoner by *Leo*, another imperial commander, and sent to *Constantinople*, where he died in chains. As for *Saifo'ddawla* himself, after his defeat, he retired to *Adana* in *Cilicia*, and from thence made the best of his way to *Aleppo*, not a little chagrined at his ill success. This year, *Theophanius*, a native of *Alexandria*, was constituted patriarch of the *Jacobites* there; who, after he had sat about four years and an half in the patriarchal see, came to a violent death. About the same time, *Anmâr*, or *Ebn Anmâr*, arrived with another *Magreb-  
b*ian fleet on the coast of *Sicily* from *Africa*, wintered at *Palermo*, and advanced to the borders of *Calabria*, the following spring. *Basilus Protospatharius*, the imperial admiral, landed a body of troops at *Reggio*, demolished a mosque there, made a descent on *Sicily*, reduced the city of *Thermab*, the *Thermæ Himerenses* of the antients, and the modern *Termini*, and overthrew the *Emîr* with very great slaughter near *Mazara*, in the year we are now upon<sup>1</sup>.

THE same year, the king of *Nubia* laid siege to *Afwân*, or, as *Ebn Khalecân* thinks it ought to be pronounced, *Ufwân*, the *Syene* of the antients, a city of *Al Sa'id*, or the *Upper Egypt*, seated on the eastern bank of the *Nile*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*. The *Nubian* forces, meeting with no enemy to oppose them, soon made themselves masters of the place, levelled it with the ground, carried off many of its inhabitants into captivity, and put the rest to the sword. The *Egyptians*, receiving advice of what had happened, sent an army in quest of the king of *Nubia*; which at last came up with him, intirely defeated him, took a great number of his men prisoners, and dispersed the rest. After this, they penetrated into the *Nubian* territories, and carried a fortress there called *Al Rîm* by assault; with which they concluded the operations of the campaign. For a farther account of *Afwân*, at present a poor small town, with a sort of fortress, or rather barrack for *Janizaries*, under their governor, on the height over which are the ruins of the antient *Syene*, exactly under the tropic of *Cancer*, according to *Dr. Pococke*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors cited here<sup>2</sup>.

BEFORE we conclude our relation of the principal events of the present year, it may not be improper to remark, that *Abu Omar Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Wahed*, a person of uncommon sanctity, who had formerly been servant to *Al Thalabi*, the grammarian, and therefore was sometimes denominated *Golam Al Thalabi*, but more frequently *Al Motharrez*, departed this life, before the close of it. He was one of the most excellent philologists of the age wherein he lived; but so eagerly bent upon pursuing his studies, that he scarce found time to supply himself with food, and was always in very necessitous circumstances. He has been represented by *Abu'lfeda* as a person of such extensive reading, and so prodigious a memory, as will not easily be admitted for truth by the readers of that celebrated historian. Nor, indeed, does that writer himself seem to give a full and absolute assent to what he has extracted from other authors on this head<sup>3</sup>.

IN the 346th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 5th, 957, died *Al Sallâr Al Marzabân*, the lord, or *Emîr*, of *Adherbijân*, and left for his heir his son *Al Hasan*; who, however, never ascended his father's throne. For, *Wahsbûdân*, *Al Marzabân's* brother, having found means to sow the seeds of discord amongst his nephews, easily possessed himself of *Adherbijân*, and wrested from them all the government of that province. This year, likewise, died *Abu Ishak Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, a *Fakih* of *Bokhâra*, surnamed *Al Amin*, that is, *the faithful*, or *trusty*; as did also *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Yakûb*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, born in the city of *Nisâbûr*, or *Naisâbûr*, and known by the surname of *Al Asammî*, or *the deaf*, the series of whose traditions is of the most noble kind, as having been derived from *Al Rabî*, a disciple of the famous *Al Shâfe'i* himself. Amongst the memorable events of the present year, *Ebn Al Atshîr* mentions a wonderful reflux, or rather, as he terms it, a decrease, of the sea, by which it ebbed eighty ells, and thereby discovered several whole islands and high mountains, that had never before appeared; but in what part of the world this surprising phænomenon happened, or what were the consequences of it, we neither learn from him nor any other good writer<sup>4</sup>.

THE next year, being the 347th of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 25th, 958, *Al Mawfel dawla Ebn Bûiya* seized upon *Al Mawfel*; upon which, *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Hamûlîn* fled first

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 229. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. & Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. secund. p. 353. Romæ, 1721. EUSEB. RENAUD. hist. patriarchar. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 349. AL MAKRIZI, Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienf. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. I. M. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 345.

<sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in descript. *Diyar Misi*, five *Agypt*. EBN KHALICAN, GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 104, 105. SHARIF AL EDRISI, POCOCKE's observation on Egypt, c. v. p. 116. Lond. 1743.

<sup>3</sup> I. M. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 324. <sup>4</sup> I. M. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 346. EBN AL ATSHIR apud I. M. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



and returns to  
its former  
master.

to *Nasibin*, and afterwards to *Aleppo*. After the reduction of *Al Mawfel*, *Moezzo'ddawla* possessed himself of the whole province of *Diyâr Rabia*, *Al Jazira*, or rather *Diyâr Al Jazira*, *Nasibin*, *Sinjâr*, or *Senjâr*, *Al Rababa*, *Râfalaîn*, or *Râs Al Ain*, and *Al Khâbûr*. But, by the conclusion of a peace with *Nasero'ddawla*, the following year, those places all returned to their former master. This treaty was no sooner signed, than *Moezzo'ddawla* left *Al Mawfel*, and returned to *Baghdâd*<sup>k</sup>.

Abu'l Hasan  
Jawhar ex-  
tends the Kha-  
lif of Kair-  
wân's conquests  
in Africa.

THE same year, in the month of *Safar*, *Al Moezz* sent a formidable army, under the command of *Abu'l Hasan Jawhar*, one of his slaves, whom he had advanced to the dignity of *Wazîr*, to the western extremity of *Africa*. *Abu'l Hasan Jawhar* first advanced to *Tabârt*, which he for some time besieged; but without effect. From thence he marched, in the latter *Jomâda*, to *Fez*, and made the proper dispositions for attacking that city. But, finding that *Ahmed Ebn Becr*, the *Emîr* of the place, was resolved to defend it to the last drop of blood, he thought fit to draw off. However, having traversed all the interjacent tract between that capital and the *Atlantic* ocean, he sat down again before *Fez*, and took it by storm, in the month of *Ramadân*, the following year. This conquest was chiefly owing to the reinforcement *Abu'l Hasan Jawhar* had received from *Zeir Ebn Menedz Al Sanhâji*, an officer of great merit, who had been joined with *Abu'l Hasan Jawhar* himself in the command of the troops employed in this expedition<sup>l</sup>.

Abu'l Hasan  
Ali Al Fû-  
shanji, and  
other learned  
men, die this  
year.

THE same year, likewise, died at *Naisâbûr*, or *Nisâbûr*, *Abu'l Hasan Ali Al Fûshanji*, a famous doctor of the *Sûfis*; *Abu'l Hasan Mohammed*, a descendant of *Abu'l Shawâreb*, the *Kâdi* of *Baghdâd*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 292; *Abu Ali Al Hosein Ebn Ali Al Naisâbûri*; and *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah Al Fârîsî*, an excellent grammarian, and one of the scholars of the celebrated *Al Mobarred*. About this time the *Greeks*, under the command of *Zimisces*, according to some of the *Christian* writers mentioned by *Al Makin*, took *Someisât*, or *Samosata*, and *Raabân*, or *Ra'bân*, and overthrew *Saifo'ddawla*, with very great slaughter. They also took a vast number of his men, amongst whom were many of his principal officers, and 1700 horse, prisoners. These they conducted to *Constantinople*, and entered that city with them, in great triumph. *Al Hâsan*, the former *Emîr* of *Sicily*, and his brother *Ammâr*, appeared with another fleet on the coast of *Italy*, and gave chase to an imperial squadron, that was not strong enough to oppose the *Moslems*; who, however, lost one of their ships, before the close of the present year<sup>m</sup>.

The principal  
transactions of  
the year 348.

THE following year, being the 348th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 14th 959, *Theodorus*, a *Greek*, made an irruption into the *Moslem* territories, with a detachment of 1000 horse, penetrated to *Manbij*, and took *Abu Farâs Al Harat*, a near relation of *Saifo'ddawla*, prisoner. That prince, then hunting in the neighbourhood of *Manbij*, at the head of a party of seventy horse, fell in with the *Greek* detachment, and for some time defended himself with very great bravery; but, having received several wounds, and being weakened by the loss of blood occasioned thereby, he was at last taken prisoner, and sent to *Constantinople*, under an escorte. Here he was detained for a certain period, and then sent back to *Saifo'ddawla's* court. This year, died *Abu Becr Ebn Solimân*, commonly called *Al Najjad*, a *Fakih* and follower of *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, in the 95th year of his age; and *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Al Jalâdi*, a *Sûfi*, and scholar of *Jonaid*. At this time, the weather was extremely dry for several months all over the east, which produced a general scarcity of all kinds of grain. The *Magrebian* fleet suffered shipwreck on the coast of *Sicily*, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, the 24th of *September*, the present year; having been so roughly handled by a dreadful tempest, which then arose, that not a single ship of it escaped<sup>n</sup>.

Saifo'ddawla  
is defeated by  
the Greeks.

IN the 349th year of the *Hejra*, which began *March* 3d, 960, *Saifo'ddawla* invaded the dominions of the *Greek* emperor with a powerful army, took several castles and towns, laid all the country through which he passed waste with fire and sword, and penetrated as far as *Kharfena*, or *Karshena*. The cattle, and other spoil he acquired in this expedition, he brought with him to that place, intending to conduct them afterwards into the *Moslem* territories. As he was loaded with pillage, and consequently not so fit for action, some of the people of *Tarsus* in his army, who knew the country perfectly well, advised him not to return by the same way that he came, lest the *Greeks* should cut off his retreat. But he was deaf to this salutary advice, and paid dear for his temerity on this occasion. For the *Greeks* waited for him in a defile, surprized him upon his arrival there, and, after a sharp conflict, intirely defeated him; putting his whole army to the sword, except 300 men, who, with their general, found means to make their escape. This terrible blow did not only put the enemy in possession of all the plunder that had been carried off, but likewise of all *Saifo'ddawla's* baggage, and his military chest. The *Arab* writers blame that general for

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 222, 223.

ubi sup. p. 230. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>n</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 223. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 348. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 347.

<sup>m</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 230. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

<sup>n</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 223. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 348. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.



a his conduct at this juncture, which they attribute to the high opinion he entertained of his own superior wisdom and abilities, and the little regard he had for those of other men. But whatever was the cause of such a strange infatuated behaviour, this seems to have been one of the greatest victories that the *Greeks* had for a considerable time obtained °.

THE same year, *Wabshūdān* found means to get into his hands all his brother *Al Marzabān*'s sons, as well as their mother; the latter of which, together with *Al Hasan* and *Nasr*, the two eldest sons, he first threw into prison, and afterwards put to death. By which barbarous and most iniquitous actions, committed in violation of the most solemn engagements, he fixed himself upon the throne of *Adberbijān*. Several other remarkable accidents likewise happened, in the year we are now upon. A considerable number of *Egyptians* and *Magrebians* were swept away in the night-time by a torrent, that broke in suddenly upon them, when they were upon their return home from *Mecca*, in a certain valley, with all their baggage and camels, into the *Red Sea*. Two hundred thousand villages, inhabited by *Turks*, embraced *Islamism*. *Abu'l Hasan Al Tinati*, a person of 120 years of age, and famous for the miracles he had wrought, departed this life; as did likewise *Anājūr*, *Abu Hawr*, or *Abu Jawr*, the son of *Al Akhsid*, who was succeeded by his brother *Ali*, though *Cāfūr* was in reality the sovereign of *Egypt*. *Al Hasan* having equipped another fleet, and in a great measure repaired the loss sustained by the late dreadful tempest, the *Magrebian Moslems* began again to make a figure by sea. And, lastly, the same *Emir* took prisoner *Afrina*, or *Afrina*, one of the principal commanders of the *Greeks*; who, nevertheless, made *Ebn Baslās*, a *Magrebian* general, prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, the present year °.

THE next year, being the 350th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *February* 20th, 961, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, *Abd'almālec Ebn Nūb Ebn Nasr Al Sammāni*, the lord, or *Emir*, of *Khorasān*, was killed by a fall from his horse; having been dashed against the ground with such force, that he expired upon the spot. His brother *Mansūr* succeeded him, and was the sixth prince of the *Sammānian* dynasty. In the month of *Ramadān*, the same year, died *Abd'alrahmān Al Nasr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, the lord, or *Emir*, of *Andalusia*, after he had swayed the sceptre there about fifty years. He was seventy-eight years old at the time of his death; and, according to *Abu'lfeda* and *Roderic of Toledo*, who differ however in this point from some authors, was the first *Emir* of *Andalusia* that assumed the title of *Emir Al Mūmenīn*, that is, prince, or emperor, of the faithful, in imitation of the *Khalifs*; his predecessors having contented themselves with the simple one of *Emir*, or that of descendant of the *Khalifs*. Nor did *Abd'alrahmān* himself depart from the custom of his ancestors in this particular, during the first twenty-seven years of his reign; but having then received advice, that the *Khalif* of *Irāk* was reduced to the lowest ebb, and that the *Fatemite* princes in *Africa* were styled *Emir Al Mūmenīn* by their subjects, he thought fit to arrogate to himself the same title. However, in letters and all public instruments, as well as on the current coin, he was only styled *Al Nasr*, or *Al Nasser*, *Ledini'llah*, that is, the defender of the divine law. He had, at least in his younger years, a handsome face, grey eyes, and was of a fair complexion. This prince, whose mother's name was *Madana*, was disturbed, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, with divisions in his own family; but, by his great prudence, sagacity, and resolution, he prevented them from producing any fatal effects. He was engaged at least twenty years of his long reign in wars, partly with his rebellious subjects, and partly with some of the neighbouring powers; which enabled him to extend his conquest, and give law to all his enemies. He built a fortress near *Corduba*, and made himself master of *Septa*, or *Ceuta*, in *Africa*; leaving there one of the grandees of his realm with the authority of an *Emir*. He also beautified and enlarged the great mosque at *Corduba*, and several others, as well as finished some stately structures, executed in a very grand taste, after he had put an end to all his wars. His son *Al Hakem*, who had ten brothers, assumed the title of *Al Montaser*, or *Al Montaser Bi'llah*, and ascended the throne of *Andalusia*, after his father's decease °.

THIS year, the office of *Kādi* of *Baghdād* was first exposed to sale, and bought by *Abu'l* *Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawāreb* for the annual sum of 200,000 *dirhams*, to be paid out of the profits of it to *Moezzo'ddawla*, the *Emir Al Omrā*. Such a flagrant instance of venality as this was never before heard of in the *Moslem* empire; but, from this period, all the principal posts in the state, according to *Abu'lfeda*, were disposed of at *Baghdād* in the same manner. Nor can our readers be ignorant, that in a country much nearer home, after a spirit of venality and corruption had been once introduced, it soon began to sap the foundations of the antient constitution there, and gradually diffused itself over the minds of all orders and degrees of men °.

° ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 349. Vide etiam GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 312, 313. P ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. p. 16. JOAN. CROCATI. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 102. ° ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 350. RODERIC. TOLETAN. in hist. Arab. c. xxx. p. 25, 26. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 9. ° ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



Abu Shajir  
dies.

THE same year, died *Abu Shaja' Futek*, by nation a *Greek*, and purchased at *Al Ramla* as a slave by *Al Akhsbid*; who did not only manumit him, but likewise loaded him with honours to such a degree, that he became a formidable rival to *Casir*, the person that, during the minority of this prince's son, took upon him the administration. However, after *Al Akhsbid*'s death, *Abu Shaja'* retired to *Al Fayyum*, a very antient city of *Egypt*, of which he had been in a manner made the sovereign, or *Emir*, by *Al Akhsbid*. As he could by no means prevail upon himself to obey an equal, and one too of whom he had never entertained the highest opinion, he was determined to leave *Mesir*, and take up his residence at the above-mentioned place, as soon as the government of *Egypt* was seized upon by *Casir*. But the air of *Al Fayyum*, or *Al Fayyüm*, not agreeing with *Futek*, he found himself obliged, some time before his death, to return to *Mesir*. *Casir* being informed of his arrival, and dreading his superior abilities, studied by all means he could think of to make him his friend; and, amongst other instances of his inclination to please him, permitted, or rather commanded, his poet *Al Motanabbi*, to celebrate his praises in a copy of verses that should do justice to his rare merit. As a specimen of these verses has been preserved by *Abu'l-feda*, in the piece so often referred to here, the poem itself was undoubtedly extant at the time in which he wrote, and consequently was, for many years after it was composed, held by all *Arabs* of taste in great esteem<sup>s</sup>.

Two or three  
remarkable  
events, that  
happened this  
year.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions of the present year, we must beg leave to mention two or three events, that have been taken notice of by the *Cambridge Chronicle* as happening within the course of it. One *Socrates* was sent as a sort of ambassador, or commissioner, from the imperial court to *Sicily*, in order to ransom all the *Christian* prisoners there. The principal person ransomed on this occasion was *Africa*, or *Afrina*, who had been taken prisoner by *Al Hasan* the preceding year; for whose release a pretty considerable sum of money seems to have been paid. *Al Hasan* returned to *Africa*, and took with him thither the chief of the *Sicilian* noblesse, in order to get them perfectly instructed in the principles of the *Mohammedan* faith. The same thing has been related of *Abmed Abu'l Hasan*, this *Emir*'s son, by *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin Ebn Abildam Al Hamawi*, who tells us that it happened in the year of the *Hejra* 347. But as a particular account of this affair will be inserted in our history of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Kairwân*, to which it more properly belongs, we shall not expatiate any farther upon it here (C)<sup>t</sup>.

The Greeks,  
under the com-  
mand of Nice-  
phorus Pho-  
cas, take Ain-  
Zarba.

THE following year, being the 351<sup>st</sup> of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 9<sup>th</sup>, 962, *Nicephorus Phocas*, the imperial general, penetrated into the *Moslem* territories with an army of 60,000 men; and, in the month of *Al Moharram*, laid siege to *Ain-Zarba*, the *Anazarbus* of the antients, which in a short time surrendered to him. Soon after he had entered the town, he commanded all the inhabitants, by the public crier, to retire into the great mosque; threatening to put all those who should be found in their own houses after sun-set to the sword. This order was obeyed by all whom the shortness of time allowed them to reach the mosque in would permit to comply with it. The next morning the *Greeks* found a great number of men, women, and children, without the mosque, whom they cruelly massacred. Which was no sooner done, than an order was issued by the *Greek* general, requiring every one of the *Moslems* confined in the mosque to depart the city before night, upon pain of being treated in the same manner as those who slighted the former command. Upon this, those poor people quitted the mosque in such a confusion and hurry, that many of them were pressed to death; and others, not knowing which way to take, perished on the roads, being quite void of all necessaries and assistance. Nor did the *Greeks* fail to butcher those the next day whom they met with in any part of the town. However, they abandoned the place at the approach of *Lent*; threatening to return, after the expiration of that solemn season. This account we have chiefly extracted from *Abu'l Faraj*; tho' according to *Abu'l-feda*, *Ain-Zarba* surrendered upon terms to the *Greeks*, as soon as they appeared before the town. To which he adds, that, by virtue of the capitulation, the citizens were

<sup>s</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 156, 157, 159. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrig. ubi sup. p. 16. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 102. AL KADI SHAHABODDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup.

<sup>t</sup> Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrig. ubi sup. p. 16.

(C) It may not be amiss to observe, that *Carusius* (7) absurdly takes the word *Africa*, or *Afrina*, to be the name of a city, and not of a man; which notion is so far from being supported by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, wherein that word twice occurs, that it is directly repugnant to the authority of this curious piece. It ought to be likewise remarked, that the words in the *Arabic* ori-

ginal should have been rendered, *captus AFRINA*, and not *captus est AFRINA*, as they at present stand in the *Latin* version of this *Chronicle*; which will point out to us another instance of Signor *Affmani*'s oscitancy and inattention, when he revised and corrected the translation now in view (8).

(7) Joan. Baptist. Carus. *Saracenicar. rer. epit.* p. 102. *brigiens. præfat.* p. 3.

(8) Joan. Baptist. Carus. *ad Chronic. Cantabrig.*



a for the most part permitted to retire, without having the least injury offered them; though he likewise admits, that some few of them lost their lives on this occasion <sup>u</sup>.

THE same year, *Nicephorus*, after the reduction of *Ain-Zarba*, marched with an army of 200,000 men, of which 30,000 were cuirassiers, to *Aleppo*, in order to make himself master of that place. He was attended by 4000 mules, carrying caltrops, or instruments with four iron points so joined that, being cast on the ground, one of them always stood upright, according to *Al Makin*. These, after he had pitched his tents before the town, he threw round his camp, in order to keep off the enemies horse. *Saifo'ddawla*, having received advice of his approach, sent *Najâ* at the head of his forces against him, and remained himself with a small body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Aleppo*, expecting soon to hear of a decisive action between the army commanded by *Najâ* and that of the *Greeks*. In the mean time, *Nicephorus* having been informed, probably by some of his spies of the enemies motions, gave *Najâ* the slip, by taking a route different from that which he had first intended to pursue, surprized *Saifo'ddawla*, expecting nothing less than such a visit, and then presented himself before the town. Having applied his military engines to the walls, he attacked the place with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the bravery of the besieged, in every assault that he made. But, after three days siege, a dissension arising between the citizens and the garison, the soldiers that composed the latter retired from the walls into the market-place, to chastise the insolence of the former; which gave the *Greeks* an opportunity of forcing open the gates, and entering the town. They put great multitudes of men and women to the sword, and carried off with them above 10,000 children of both sexes, together with an immense quantity of spoil. After the reduction of the city, *Nicephorus* laid siege to the citadel, and pushed it on with such vigour, that it must inevitably have fallen into his hands, had not *Dbâlem*, or *Tbâlem*, *Al Akali*, the governor of *Damascus*, for *Ali Ebn Al Akhsîd*, advanced with a body of 10,000 men, intended as auxiliaries to *Saifo'ddawla*, to its relief. Of which the *Greeks* being apprized, they drew off, on *Wednesday*, in the beginning of *Dbu'lhajja*, and immediately abandoned the siege. This happened about ten days after they had taken the city by storm. In their retreat, they offered not the least injury or violence to any of the people in the district of *Aleppo*, but ordered them to sow and till their ground as usual; telling them they would return the following year, and carry off all the fruits of the earth with them. As for *Saifo'ddawla*, he had taken post on mount *Bankûsa*, or *Bankowsa*, before he was surprized by *Nicephorus*; but found himself obliged to desert that post, after his defeat. His palace, called *Al Daran*, situated a little without the city, together with 300 leathern bags full of silver, 1400 mules, and a vast number of arms, fell into the victor's hands. It may not be improper to intimate to our readers, that *Bankûsa*, *Bankousa*, or *Bankowsa*, is a hill near *Aleppo*, on which part of the present town stands. This quarter is inhabited chiefly by the *Janizaries*, that form the garison, or city-guard. It is seldom visited by the *Franks*, on account of the insolence of that body of men. The people (D) of *Aleppo* at this day call the hill *Bankousa*, and thereby ascertain the true reading of its name in *Erpenius's* MS. copy of *Al Makin*. For, as the fourth letter of this name wants there both the diacritical points of *Kâf*, and that of *Fa*, the lection of the word in the aforesaid MS. copy would be equivocal, and consequently by no means determinable, without the assistance of the modern name <sup>v</sup>.

ABOUT the same time, according to *Al Makin*, *Abu'l Werd*, the prince of *Kbalât* in *Armenia*, departed this life, and was succeeded in the sovereignty of that city and district by *Najâ*, *Saifo'ddawla's* general; who, being grown formidable, by the accession of power he acquired hereby, rebelled against his master, and set up for himself. Soon after which event, the *Greeks* took the castle of *Daluc*, and three other small fortresses in the neighbourhood of that place. They also made an excursion as far as *Manbij*, and carried off with them *Abu Farâs Al Harat Ebn Sa'id Ebn Hamdân*, the governor of that place, in the month of *Shawâl*, the present year <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 351. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 313, 314. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 280.

<sup>v</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 223, 224. ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

<sup>x</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 224. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

(D) The author of this history is obliged, for the remark here laid down, to his worthy and learned friend, the reverend *Thomas Crofts*, M. A. formerly of *Wadham* college, *Oxford*, and at present a member of *Magdalen* college, in that university, who was chaplain to the *British* factory at *Aleppo* several years. This gentle-

man, who is highly esteemed by all his acquaintance, for his great urbanity and erudition, made many useful and curious observations in the East, during his residence there, with which we cannot help expressing our ardent desire he would in a short time favour the learned world.



The house of  
Ommiyah is  
curfed by Mo-  
ezzo'ddawla's  
order.

THE following solemn form of malediction was drawn up by the *Shiites* (E), and inscribed, a  
by *Moezzo'ddawla's* order, upon the doors of the mosques at *Baghdád*, in some part of the  
year we are now upon: "May God for ever abominate, and remove from himself, *Mosâ-*  
" *wiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân!* and him who took from *Fâtema's* family the territory of *Fadac!*  
" and him who refused to permit *Al Hasan* to be buried in his grandfather *Mohammed's*  
" tomb! and him who banished *Abu Dhor!* and him who excluded *Ebn Al Abbâs* from the  
" number of those who were candidates for the *Khalifat!*" But this being defaced by some  
of the *Sunnites* of *Baghdád*, *Moezzo'ddawla* thought fit, by the advice of *Al Mohallibi*, his  
*Wazîr*, to substitute in the room of it only the following words. "May God's curse fall  
" upon *Moûwiyah*, and all those who have treated ill the family of his apostle!" Before  
the close of the year, died *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Al Hasan*, commonly called *Al Nak-* b  
*kash*, that is, *the painter*, or *engraver*, the author of the book, intituled, *Shafa Al Soduri*, or  
*the healing of breasts*, a person of considerable note. We must beg leave to remark here,  
that *Joannes Curopalates* gives *Saifoddawla Ebn Hamdân*, the name of *Chabdan*, or *Chabda-*  
*nus*, which is only a corruption of *Hamdân*, and confers on him the title of *Khalif* of *Syria*.  
From the same author it appears, that the city named *Haleb* by the *Arab* historians, which  
*Nicephorus* possessed himself of this year, was denominated *Berea*, or *Berrhwa*, by the later  
*Greek* writers; and consequently, that those learned men must be allowed to deviate from  
truth, who make *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, to be the *Hierapolis* of the antients, which can in reality  
be considered as no other place than the present *Manbij*. But this may be likewise evinced  
by other incontestable proofs, which the limits of the work wherein we are now engaged will c  
not permit us at present so much as to touch upon <sup>1</sup>.

The Emîr of  
Sicily takes  
Taormina,  
or Tavormi-  
na, from the  
Greeks.

THE *Emîr* of *Sicily*, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, moved at the head of his  
forces towards *Tabermîn*, the antient *Tauromenium*, and the *Taormina*, or *Tavormina*, of the  
moderns, one of the strongest places in the island, towards the close of the preceding year.  
The same prince, with the *African* and *Sicilian* troops under his command, in the following  
*May*, or, as the *Arabs* call that month, the former *Jomâda*, besieged the city in form; and  
being joined, the first of *August*, or *Shaabân*, by his uncle *Ebn Annâr*, who then arrived  
off that town with a powerful fleet, and a body of land-forces on board, he took it in the  
month of *Dbu'lhajja*, or *December*, the present year. As *Tabermîn*, or *Tauromenium*, was  
thus reduced by *Al Moezz's* troops, it was denominated by the *Magrebian Moslems* *Al Moez-* d  
*zia*; which name, for a considerable time, it retained. The *Cambridge Chronicon* and *Abu'l-*  
*feda* differ a few months, as to the time of the reduction of this place; but the writer of  
that chronicle having been in all probability either a native of *Sicily*, or extremely well  
acquainted with the *Sicilian* affairs, a greater degree of credit is due to his testimony than  
to that of *Abu'lfeda*, in this particular. It ought to be remarked, that either *Abmed Ebn Al*  
*Hasan*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, or *Al Moezz* himself, in the passage of the *Cambridge Chronicon*  
here referred to, is styled *Al Soltân*; though in every other paragraph of this piece, except  
one, the word *Emîr* is used as a title of the same import. From whence we may infer,  
that the *Cambridge Chronicon* was penned not many years after the title of *Soltân*, or *Al Sol-*  
*tân*, began to be in vogue amongst the *Moslem* princes. If, therefore, this title was first e  
given *Mahmûd Gazni*, the son of *Sabektekin*, by *Khalaf Ebn Abmed*, the governor of *Sejîstân*,  
or *Sijîstân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 393, or of *CHRIST* 1003, as we find clearly enough  
intimated by some of the eastern writers; it will seem to follow, that it could not well have  
reached *Sicily*, which was at a vast distance from the territories of *Mahmûd Gazni*, before  
the year of the *Hejra* 415, or of *CHRIST* 1024, or something later, and consequently that the  
*Cambridge Chronicon* cannot be supposed to have been written much sooner or much later than  
the year of our *LORD* 1030. If this be admitted, it will seem farther to follow, that the

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moe'z Aidaulat*. p. 595. JOAN. CU-  
ROPALAT. JOAN. ZONAR. in Roman. Lacapen. NICETH. CALLIST. lib. xiv. cap. 39. GOLII not. ad Alfragan.  
p. 270—276. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. Romæ, 1721.

(E) This affair is something differently related by M.  
*D'Herbelot* (9). The malediction here mentioned, ac-  
cording to some of the authors made use of by him,  
was drawn up in the following terms: "God's curse  
" fall upon *Moûwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, and him who has  
" taken away the territory of *Fadac* from the heirs of  
" *Fâtima*; and him who hindered *Al Hasan Ebn Ali Ebn*  
" *Abu Tâleb* from being buried near his grandfather  
" *Mohammed*, and him who would not permit *Al Abbâs*  
" to be in the number of those that *Omar* nominated  
" lawful candidates for the *Khalifat!* and may God  
" shower down his blessings upon, and grant perpetuity  
" to, the city of peace," i. e. *Baghdád*. Which ex-

communication, as it was never before fulminated in  
any other manner than by word of mouth, some of the  
inhabitants of *Baghdád*, if we will believe the aforesaid  
writers, were hardy enough to efface, and to substitute  
in its room the following words:—"God curse those  
" who offer violence to them that are descended from  
" the prophet's family." This was intended as a severe  
reflection upon *Moezzo'ddawla* himself, who had usurped  
the authority of the *Khalif*, and made himself master of  
that prince's person. But what historian, or historians,  
this article was extracted from, M. *D'Herbelot* has not  
been pleased to inform us.

(9) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. art. Moe'z Aidaulat*. p. 595.



- a annals it originally contained were continued at least almost to that year; and, therefore, that above a quarter of this curious chronicle has been lost, as the fragment of it still extant concludes with the year of CHRIST 965. Who the true author of it was, we cannot pretend to say; though we are by no means inclined to think, that it was composed by *Abu Moham-med Abd'alaziz Ebn Shedad Tamim Al Sanbâji*, the writer of the history of *Kairwân*, corruptly called by *Carusius Aſcanſius*, as the last-mentioned author seems to suppose. For, that the composer, or rather compiler, of the *Cambridge Chronicle* must have either been born, or lived from his infancy, in the island of *Sicily*, *Carusius* himself has clearly evinced; whereas, from a variety (F) of circumstances, of which we have not time at present to give our readers a detail, that *Al Sanbâji* was either a native of, or lived most of his days in, one of
- b the *African* provinces dependent on *Kairwân*, we have all the reason in the world to believe <sup>z</sup>.

- In the 352d year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Jan.* 29th, 963, on the 10th of *Al Moharram*, *Moezzo'ddawla* ordered all the shops, taverns, and market-place, of *Baghdâd* to be shut up; appointing that day to be observed as a solemn fast, and commanding the women there to walk in the streets with dishevelled hair, a sorrowful countenance, and tattered garments, as also to beat their faces as they went, in honour of *Al Hosein*, the son of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*. This greatly chagrined the *Sonmites* of that city. But as the *Shiites* at this time were extremely numerous in *Baghdâd*, and *Moezzo'ddawla* himself at the head of that sect, the fast was kept in the strictest manner. Soon after this, *Ebn Abu'l Shawâreb*, the *Kâdi* of *Baghdâd*, was dismissed from his employment; and *Al Mohallebi*, *Moezzo'ddawla's* *Wazîr*, departed this life. The latter of these was a person distinguished by his prudence, magnanimity, and other excellent virtues, as well as learning, with which his mind was cultivated and adorned. He remained in the sublime post of *Wazîr* to *Moezzo'ddawla*, who was *Emîr Al Omrà* to the *Khalîf Al Motî*, thirteen years and three months. This year, *Moezzo'ddawla* expelled *Nasero'ddawla* from *Al Mawſel* and *Nasîbin*, and seized upon those cities. But, having soon after received a stipulated sum of money from *Nasero'ddawla*, and concluded a treaty with that prince, he abandoned them both, and returned to *Baghdâd*. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Moezzo'ddawla* ordered the 8th of *Dhu'lhajja* to be observed as a day of public festivity and rejoicing in that capital. It appears from some of the *Christian* writers, that *Manuel*, or *Emmanuel*, the imperial general, took *Syracuse*, *Palermo*, *Taormina*, or *Tavormina*, and other places in *Sicily*, from the *Magrebian Moslems*, the present year <sup>a</sup>.
- c
- d

THE next year, being the 353d of the *Hejra*, commencing *Jan.* 18th, 964, the *Greeks* besieged *Masîsa*, or *Masîſhya*, in *Cilicia*; but without effect. For, the imperial general having received advice, that a numerous body of *Moslems* was marching from *Tarsus*, in order to attack him; he immediately raised the siege, advanced against them with all his forces, and at last came up with them. The two armies had not long been in sight of each other, before a sharp engagement between them happened; in which the *Moslems* lost 5000 men, and the *Christians* a greater number. But the action seems to have been by no means decisive; since *Al Makîn*, from whom we have extracted this account, does not so much as inform us to which side the victory inclined <sup>b</sup>.

- e THE same year, *Najâ*, *Saifo'ddawla's* general, laid siege to *Mayâfârkin*, or *Mayyâfâarakîn*, *Najâ* defeats in *Mesopotamia*, with an intention to put that fortress into the hands of *Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Ab'ul Werd*. *Bûiya*, if he could make himself master of it. But having been apprized, according to *Abu'lfeda*, that one *Abu'l Werd* had penetrated into *Card*, or *Curd*, he found himself obliged to abandon the siege, and to march with all possible celerity to *Khalât*. Soon after his arrival there, he came up with *Abu'l Werd*, intirely defeated him, and drove him out of the province, or district, of *Curd*. Nor does it appear, that he sustained any considerable loss in this successful expedition <sup>c</sup>.

- f AL MOEZZ, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, sent a strong squadron of ships, with a *Al Hasan* numerous body of land-forces on board, under the command of *Al Hasan Ebn Ali Ebn Abu'l Hosein Al Calbi*, to *Sicily*, and obtained a complete victory over the imperialists in that island, <sup>d</sup> overthrowing the *Greeks* in *Sicily*.

<sup>z</sup> Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. p. 9 16. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 102. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mahmoud fils de Sebeſteghin*, p. 533. & art. *Soltban*, p. 825. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, præfat. p. 2, 3.

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 352. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. p. 16. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 103.

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 224. <sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissert. de Monophysit. ABU'LFED. in geog. NASIR AL TUSI, in tab. long. civ. ab inf. fort. & latitud. ab æquat. p. 97. Edit. Oxon. 1712.

(F) To omit other incontestable proofs, that might with equal facility be produced, this evidently appears from the gentile term, or surname, *Al Sanbâji* itself. For this gives us sufficiently to understand, that the *Kairwân* annalist, or historian, was one of the *Sanbadgah*,

or *Sanbâjîan*, *Arabs*, mentioned by Dr. Shaw (10) as inhabiting some of the maritime parts of *Numidia*. These *Sanbâjîan Arabs* seem to be the tribe called *Zanbagi* and *Sanbagi* by John Leo (11), in the first book of his geographical description of *Africa*.

(10) Shaw's geographical observations upon the sea-coast of the eastern province, p. 99. Oxford, 1738. (11) Leo's description of *Africa*, p. 7. Lond. 1600.



the present year. If we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, ten thousand of the *Christians* were killed in the action; but, according to *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, twenty thousand of them fell upon the field of battle. Amongst the spoils taken on this occasion, which were immense, there was found an *Indian* sword, weighing 170 *methkâls*, or *Arabic* drachms, that, according to an *Arabic* inscription preserved upon it, had sent the souls of many unbelievers to hell, in the time of the prophet *Mohammed*. This sword, together with a vast number of prisoners, arms of all kinds, &c. *Al Hasan* sent to *Al Moezz* at *Kairwân*. As for *Al Hasan* himself, after this victory, he retired to a stately palace he had in *Sicily*, where he died the following *Dbu'lkaada*, in the fifty-third year of his age. *Abu'lfeda* writes, that this *Al Hasan* sent likewise to *Al Moezz* a prodigious quantity of plunder, which he had amassed at the taking of *Taormina*, the preceding year <sup>a</sup>.

The Greeks  
take Mafisiya  
and Tarsus.

THE following year, being the 354th of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 7th, 965, the *Greeks* took the city of *Mafisiya* by storm, on *Saturday*, the 13th of *Rajeb*, put a great part of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried the rest away with them into captivity. Before the commencement of the siege, the citizens were said to amount to two hundred thousand souls. From *Mafisiya* the imperial general marched to *Tarsus*, which immediately surrendered to him. The people of the place the *Greeks* permitted to retire to *Antioch*, and transplanted a colony of *Christians* thither. They likewise adorned the town with many new buildings, strengthened the fortifications with several additional works, and converted the mosque into a stable. After which, the imperial general returned to *Constantinople*, extremely well pleased with the success that had attended him this campaign <sup>c</sup>.

Saifo'ddawla's  
troops defeat  
Rashik, and  
reduce Najâ.

AMONGST the *Moslems* that had retired to *Antioch*, there was an officer named *Rashik*; who found it no difficult matter to prevail upon the people of that place to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and shake off the yoke of *Saifo'ddawla*. After which, he marched with a body of them to *Aleppo*, in order to make an attempt upon that city. But *Saifo'ddawla*, who was then at *Maiyâfârakîn*, having received advice of *Rashik's* march, sent a reinforcement to *Curuba*, the governor of *Aleppo*, under the command of *Basbara*; who took his measures so well, that he joined *Curuba*, and consequently executed *Saifo'ddawla's* orders, without the loss of a man. After this junction, *Curuba* and *Basbara* fell upon *Rashik* with such fury, that they put his forces to the rout, and drove the *Antiochians* from their camp. *Saifo'ddawla* likewise reduced the city of *Khalât*, got the rebel *Naja* into his hands, and immediately cut off his head. As the *Sicilians* began their year on the first of *September*, it is no wonder the *Cambridge Chronicle* should place the intire defeat of *Manuel*, or *Emmanuel*, the imperial general, by the *Magrebian Moslems*, in the month of *October*, and the year we are now upon; though *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin Ebn Abildâm*, as has been already observed, affirm the battle that terminated in this defeat to have been fought, the preceding year <sup>f</sup>.

The famous  
Al Motanabbi  
and Al Bosli  
die, in the year  
of the Hejra  
354.

THE 354th year of the *Hejra* was likewise remarkable for the death of the famous *Abu'l Teyyeb Ahmed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abd'alsamad Al Kendi*, of the tribe of *Jôfa*. He was born at *Cûfa*, in a street called *Kenda*, from whence he derived the surname of *Al Kendi*. His father is said to have been only a carrier of water, in the city of *Cûfa*; which occasioned an envious *Arabian* poet to write a pretty severe epigram upon him. He was born in the 303d year of the *Hejra*, and laid the foundations of his future fame at *Damascus*; where he first applied himself to the study of the *Arabic* tongue, of grammar, of philology, and of every branch of the *belles lettres*, with surprizing success. He was one of the most excellent poets among the *Arabians*, there being none besides *Abu Temâm* who can dispute the prize with him. His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted, that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be *prophetical*, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed; and thence acquired the surname of *Al Motanabbi*, by whom he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success; for several tribes of the *Arabs* of the deserts, particularly that of *Kelûb*, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But *Lûlû*, governor of *Hems*, and the adjacent district, for *Al Akhsîd*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry; by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes. He was first received with uncommon marks of distinction by *Saifo'ddawla*, who was a great encourager of learned men, in the year of the *Hejra* 337, afterwards by *Câfur*, in 346, and lastly by *Adado'ddawla*, king of *Persia*, in 350, from

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336. AL KADI SHABABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 103. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 354. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. apud JOANNEM SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxoniens. <sup>f</sup> ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. in præfat. p. 2. AL KADI SHABABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup.

whom



<sup>a</sup> whom he drew several pretty large sums. *Al Motanabbi* lost his life, together with his son, at *Al Nomania* upon the *Tigris*, at a small distance from *Baghdâd*, in defending the money he had acquired, against some *Arabian* robbers, of the tribe of *Asad*, or *Affad*, who demanded it of him; he being then returning with it to *Cûfa*, his native city. About the same time, *Abu Hatem Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Heban Al Bostî*, the celebrated author of some curious pieces, held in no small repute, also departed this life <sup>5</sup>.

In the 355th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Dec. 28th, 965, a cartel, for the exchange and redemption of prisoners, was settled between the *Greeks* and *Saifo'ddawla*; on which occasion, *Abu Farâs*, that prince's cousin-german, recovered his liberty. He had been carried a prisoner from *Manbij* by a *Greek* detachment, in the year of the *Hejra* 348, according to *Al Makîn*; though *Abu'lfeda* makes that event to have happened in the 351st year of the *Moslem* æra. He was a prince of an excellent disposition, and a poet of considerable note. One of his verses, importing that every person ought to acquiesce in the situation assigned him by the sovereign of the universe, has been preserved by *Al Makîn*. He died soon after his return to *Saifo'ddawla*'s court, according to the last-mentioned author; though this runs counter to what has been related of him by a noted *Arab* historian. This year, the *Greeks* made an irruption into the *Moslem* territories, sat down successively before *Amid*, or *Amed*, *Nasîbîn*, and *Antioch*; but without effect. They ravaged, however, the country through which they moved, and at last returned, with the pillage they had acquired, to *Tarsus*. A vast number of *Moslem* captives regained their liberty, by the cartel above-mentioned. *Ali Ebn Al Akhsîd*, the prince, or lord, of *Egypt*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 355, if we will believe *Al Makîn*; though, according to *Abu'lfeda*, that prince's death, and, in consequence of it, *Câfûr*'s accession to the *Egyptian* throne, happened, the following year <sup>b</sup>.

The next year, being the 356th of the *Hejra*, commencing Dec. 17th, 966, proved fatal to several great men. *Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Bûiya* died of a looseness, or rather a dysentery, the 17th of the latter *Rabî*, at *Baghdâd*. He was upon his march against *Omrân Ebn Shâhin*, the lord of *Al Bathikab*, *Al Batîha*, or the marshy district, bordering upon the *Tigris*, at the time of his death. He had acted as *Emîr Al Omrâ* almost twenty-two years, and was succeeded by his son *Bakhiyâr*, surnamed *Azzo'ddawla*, i. e. the strength of the palace, or the court, in the sublime post to which he had been advanced, with the approbation only, according to *Abu'lfeda*, or, as *Al Makîn* will have it, by the appointment, of the *Khalîf Al Motî*. With regard to *Moezzo'ddawla*'s disposition, he is said to have been intrepid and brave; though, if we will believe *Al Makîn*, on certain occasions, he discovered something of malice and imprudence in his actions. However, as the same writer observes, he grew wise by experience, and, by his subsequent knowledge of men and things, corrected the errors of his younger years; so that, upon the whole, he may be considered as a prosperous and happy prince. At the approach of death, he appeared extremely penitent, left the greatest part of his immense wealth to be disposed of in charitable uses, and manumitted all his slaves. He was buried in the place called *Bab Al Tabni*, the straw-gate, where the bodies of many deceased members of the tribe of *Koreish* lay interred. *Abu'lfeda* writes, that *Moezzo'ddawla* lost one of his hands in an action in the province of *Kermân*; but this very thing has been related of his son *Azzo'ddawla* (G) by *Abu'l Faraj*. He is likewise said by the same author to have been the first who used running footmen, or foot-posts, *Al Soat*, at *Baghdâd*; which he did, in order to send his brother *Rucno'ddawla* the quickest intelligence of every thing he intended to communicate to him. Of these *Fadl* and *Marûsh* in swiftness excelled all the rest, as each of them could run between forty and fifty parasangs in a day. One of them was considered as the *Sonnite* express, or courier, and the other as that of the *Shiites*; from which single circumstance, the violence of party, that now agitated the minds of the

<sup>5</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motanabbi*, p. 638, 639.

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 224, 225. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. *Hej.* 351, & ad ann. *Hej.* 355.

(G) The word *Azzo'ddawla* is exhibited in the passage here referred to by Dr. Pocock's MSS. of *Abu'l Faraj*. But that the true reading there is *Moezzo'ddawla*, appears very clearly, not only from the (12) parallel passage of *Abu'lfeda*, but likewise from this author himself; who (13), in the next page but one, calls *Moezzo'ddawla Al Akta'*, and consequently informs us, that one of his hands had been cut off. It is true, Dr. Pocock supposes, that the word *Ebn*, or *son*, has been erased in the last passage of *Abu'l Faraj*; which, if it be allowed, will evince the appellation *Al Akta'* to have been applied to *Azzo'ddawla*, *Moezzo'ddawla*'s son. But then, it is

as true, that this is only a bare conjecture, or rather an arbitrary supposition, void of all foundation and authority; nay, that it runs counter to the testimony of *Abu'lfeda*, a writer of the best repute: whereas the emendation here proposed is much more easy and natural, as being effected only by adding *Mim*, which may have been effaced by time, to *Ain*, and making it the initial letter; and has moreover the express assertion of *Abu'lfeda* to support it. We doubt not, therefore, but it will be readily admitted by all our learned and intelligent readers.

(12) *Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej.* 356.

(13) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p.* 316.



citizens of *Baghdād*, does in some measure appear. As for *Eakblīyār*, or *Al-zo'ldawla*, he was so attached to his pleasures, and treated so ill the *Deylamite* grandees, that he lost much of the influence he first set out with at the *Khalīf's* court <sup>1</sup>.

Washmakīn  
is killed, by a  
fall from his  
horse.

THE same year, *Washmakīn*, or *Washmakīr*, *Ebn Zayyār*, the brother of *Mardawīj*, lost his life. As he was one day hunting, his horse, being frightened by a wild boar, threw him with such violence, that he almost immediately expired. This we learn from *Abu'lfeda*; who likewise tells us, that, according to some writers, this event happened in the month of *Al Mobarram*, the following year. Be that as it will, *Washmakīn*, *Washmakīn*, or *Washmakīr*, for he goes by all those names, was succeeded by his son *Bijīn*, or *Tanbūn*, as he is called by some of the eastern authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot* <sup>2</sup>.

Cāfūr, accord-  
ing to Abu'l-  
feda, dies  
this year.

ON Monday, the 20th of the former *Jomāda*, *Cāfūr*, the *Ethiopian* slave purchased by *Al Akhsbīd*, and thence called *Al Akhsbīdī*, for eighteen *dinārs*, who governed that prince's dominions, after his death, according to *Abu'lfeda*, departed this life. But *Al Makīn* and *D'Herbelot* place his demise in the year of the *Hejra* 358. This *Cāfūr* was prime minister to *Anūjūr* and *Ali*, *Al Akhsbīd's* sons; and, after the latter of those princes death, in 355, his authority was recognized by the people of *Al Hejāz*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. Nor, indeed, did either *Anūjūr* or *Ali* enjoy any thing but the bare title of prince, or lord, of the territories left them by their father *Al Akhsbīd*; *Cāfūr* being in reality, during their lives, the actual and absolute sovereign of all those countries. After his death, he was interred in the common burying-place, denominated *Al Carafah*, at *Mesr*. The *Egyptian* grandees, after many and long debates, pitched upon *Abu'l Farwāres Ahmed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Akhsbīd*, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, to succeed him; though *Al Makīn* has not scrupled to assert, that *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Akhsbīd*, then only eleven years of age, ascended the *Egyptian* throne after *Cāfūr*. *Abu'lfeda* seems to intimate, that there was a sort of interregnum in *Egypt* at this time for about the space of a year; as he gives us to understand, that *Abu'l Farwāres* was not publickly prayed for before the former *Jomāda*, 357, in the mosques at *Mesr*. But whatever was the name of the prince that succeeded *Cāfūr*, or in whatever year he was first prayed for at *Mesr*, he did not long enjoy the sovereignty of *Egypt*; that country having been soon after conquered by the forces of *Al Moezz*, the *Fātemite Khalīf* of *Kairwān*, as will in a short time more fully appear <sup>3</sup>.

Saifo'ddaw-  
la dies at  
Aleppo.

ON Thursday, the 24th of *Safar*, this year, died *Saifo'ddawla Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Abd'al-lah Ebn Hamdān*, of the tribe of *Taglab*, at *Aleppo*, of a retention of urine. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 303; so that, at the time of his death, he was about fifty-three lunar years old. His remains were carried to *Mayyāfīrākīn*, and there interred. *Saifo'ddawla* is said to have been the first prince of the house of *Hamdān*, that made himself master of *Aleppo*, and expelled from thence *Ahmed Ebn Sa'id Al Kelābi*, who was governor of the place for *Al Akhsbīd*. Others, however, affirm, that *Abul Hosein Ebn Sa'id Ebn Hamdān*, brother to *Abu Farās*, of that family, reduced *Aleppo*, before it fell into the hands of *Saifo'ddawla*. This prince, notwithstanding what is asserted to the contrary by *Abu'lfeda*, was fifty-five years old, at the time of his demise, according to *Al Makīn*. He was remarkable for his greatness of soul, bravery, learning, liberality, or rather munificence, love of justice, beneficence, and strict performance of all religious duties. His palace was the receptacle of poets and learned men. Nor did any of these ever leave his court, without sufficient reason to praise his bounty and benignity to him. As he was the greatest encourager of learning of the age in which he lived, it is no wonder that such numbers of learned men should flock to him from all parts; and that *Aleppo*, where, if we will believe *Al Makīn*, he reigned twenty-three years, should in his time have been the general seat of literature of the East. The poets that resorted to his court were *Al Motanabbi*, who wrote some verses upon him, *Abu'l Farab Al Wāwā*, *Al Khāldī*, *Abu'l Farab Al Bagā*, and many others. He was also himself a good poet, and we have three specimens of his poetical compositions preserved by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makīn*. One of these is a short copy of verses sent to his brother *Nasero'ddawla*, on what occasion we have not been told; and another a few verses on a favourite girl of royal extraction, with whom he was desperately smitten, and whom he kept in a castle by herself, to prevent her from being poisoned by his other wives, who were all grown jealous of her. After his death, his son *Sharīf*, surnamed *Saado'ddawla*, succeeded him in the sovereignty of all the extensive territories he had conquered; of whom our readers may expect a fuller account in a future part of this work, to which it will more properly belong <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 356. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 225. ERN SHONNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moe'z Aldaulat*. p. 584. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 314. <sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Washmakīn*, p. 910. <sup>3</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 226. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Cafur Al Akhsbīdī*, p. 232. AL MARRISI, ERN SHONNAH, EUSEB. RENAUD. hist. patriarchar. Alexandrinor. Jacobitar. p. 352, 353, &c. Parisiis, 1713. <sup>4</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ERN SHONNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Saifaldaulat*, p. 737.



**a** THE same year, *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Eyllâ*, or *Elias*, the lord of *Kermân*, departed this life; as did likewise *Abu'l Faraj Ali Ebn Al Hosein*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, commonly known by the surname or title, *Al Kâteb Al Esfahâni*, i. e. *the scribe*, or *notary*, born at *Esfahân*. The latter of these was extremely well versed in history, and received his education at *Baghdâd*. Though he was a member of the house of *Ommiyah*, he was a great admirer of *Ali* and his family, and of the *Shiite* sect, at this time in great repute at *Baghdâd*. He is said by *Abu'lfeda* to have been fifty years in compiling, and drawing up, his book, intituled, *Al Kitâb Al Agan*, *the book of songs*, the most excellent part of his works; a copy of which he presented to *Saifo'ddawla*; who, perfectly well understanding the value of this piece, gave him 1000 *dinârs*, and at the same time made an apology for offering him a sum so much inferior to the merit of so singular a performance. He wrote several pieces in favour of that branch of the house of *Ommiyah* seated in *Spain*, the princes of which were styled lords of *Andalusia*, and even emperors of the faithful. These he sent privately to those princes, and was privately, though amply, rewarded by them for such valuable presents. Of this kind were the following books: one written upon the genealogy of the family of *Abd Shems*, or *Abd Shams*; another upon the battles of the *Arabs*, in which 1070 actions of éclat are described; another, intituled, *Jombarat Al Nasbi*, or *the principal and most select part of the genealogical science*; and another, exhibiting the genealogy of the *Banu Shaiban*. His great friend and patron was *Al Moballebi*, *Moezzo'ddawla's* *Wazîr*. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that he was born in the year of the *Hejra* 284<sup>n</sup>.

**b** ABOUT the same time, or rather towards the close of the former *Jomâda*, *Abu Taglab* seized upon his father *Nasero'ddawla*, who by his morose temper had rendered himself extremely disagreeable both to his own family and the great men of his court, and confined him in the castle of *Ardman*. *Al Makin* relates, that *Nasero'ddawla* was so affected with the death of his brother *Saifo'ddawla*, that he became distracted thereupon; which induced his family, who were greatly concerned for him, to desire his son *Abu Taglab* to secure his person, and take upon him the government of *Al Marwef*. But the last article does not so well correspond with what has been handed down to us, in relation to *Abu Taglab's* motive to the measure here mentioned, both by *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj* °.

**c** BEFORE the close of the present year, according to *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin Ebn Abildâm* *Al Hamawi*, *Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, received an order from *Al Moezz* *Ledini'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Mobdia*, to leave that island, and return to *Africa*. In obedience to which order, continues the same historian, *Ahmed*, with his wife, children, domestics, and all his substance, set sail for *Mobdia*, as soon as he had made the proper dispositions for his departure. He had, says *Shababo'ddin*, been governor, or *Emîr*, of *Sicily* thirteen years and eleven months, when he took his leave of the island, and appointed one of his father's slaves, that had been manumitted by him, named by *Abu'lfeda* *Taish*, to preside over the *Moslems* there, till a new *Emîr* should arrive from *Africa*. Notwithstanding which, we are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that *Ahmed* was not recalled from *Sicily* before the year of the *Hejra* 358; and that when he left the island, he had remained there sixteen years and nine months, in quality of *Emîr* <sup>p</sup>.

**d** THE following year, being the 357th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Dec.* 7th, 967, some disputes arose between *Abu Farâs*, who then resided at *Hems*, and *Saado'ddawla*, *Saifo'ddawla's* son; which ended in the destruction of the former. For, *Abu Farâs*, not thinking it safe to stay at *Hems*, retired with great precipitation to *Sadâd*. Of which *Saado'ddawla* being informed, he sent *Curubab*, or *Curuba*, his father's general, with a body of troops to that place; who soon got *Abu Farâs* into his hands, and put him to death. This event has, however, been something differently related by *Ebn Kbalîyah*; who tells us, that *Abu Farâs* having formed a design to make himself master of *Hems*, *Saado'ddawla* sent *Curuba*, who had been one of his father's slaves, with an army against him. *Curuba*, continues this writer, in pursuance of the orders he had received, advanced to *Sadâd*, where *Abu Farâs* waited for him, vanquished that prince in battle, and put him, with a very considerable number of his men, to the sword. This, however, runs counter to what has been handed down to us concerning *Abu Farâs*, after his return from *Constantinople*, by *Al Makin*, as has been already observed. That poor prince was born in the year of the *Hejra* 320; so that he was scarce 37 years old, at the time of his death. Soon after this, *Ali Ebn Kidar Al Naifâbûri*, a *Sûfi*, departed this life; as did likewise the *Khalîf* *Al Mottaki*, in the month of *Shaabân*, at *Baghdâd*, and was buried in that city. *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin* intimates, that *Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan*, notwithstanding what we have already remarked, did not take his final leave of *Sicily* before the commencement of the present year. It appears

<sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 314.

sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. Saracenicarum rer. epit. p. 104.

° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 226. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GRIG.

P AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi



from *Abu'l Faraj*, that the *Greeks* invaded the *Moslem* territories, penetrated to *Antioch*, and a possessed themselves of that city, before the conclusion of this campaign <sup>9</sup>.

Al Moezz's  
forces conquer  
Egypt and  
part of Syria.

In the year of the *Hejra* 358, *Al Moezz Lediñ'llah*'s forces, under the command of *Jawbar Al Kayed*, a *Greek* renegado and slave, seized upon *Egypt*. That prince, taking advantage of the civil dissensions that reigned amongst the *Egyptian* nobility, who could not agree in their sentiments of a proper person to succeed *Cüsir*, sent *Jawbar* with a numerous army, to annex to the territories of *Kairwân* that opulent region. *Jawbar*, meeting with no enemy to oppose him, entered *Egypt*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the 17th of *Shaabân*, and marched directly to *Mesr*; where *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Al Hossein Al Someisiti*, a celebrated preacher, prayed publickly in the old mosque for *Al Moezz Lediñ'llah*, the *Fâtémite Khalif*, on *Friday*, the 20th of the same month. As for *Jawbar*, the *Magrebian* general, he laid the foundations of *Cairo*, *Kairo*, or *Al Kábirab*, in *Egypt*, in the month of *Ramadân*; and ordered both the officers and soldiers of his army to build themselves houses in the new city. After this, he detached *Jaafar Ebn Fallaj*, with a strong body of troops, against *Al Hasan Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Tagaj*, then posted at *Al Ramla* in *Palestine*, to oblige him to submit to the *Magrebian Khalif*. *Jaafar* executed his orders with such bravery, that he overthrew *Al Hasan* with great slaughter, and sent both him and several of his principal officers prisoners to *Al Moezz*; upon which, the citizens of *Al Ramla* opened the gates of their city immediately to him, and took an oath of fidelity to the *Fâtémite Khalif* of *Kairwân* and *Egypt*. Their example was followed by the inhabitants of *Tabariyah*, or *Tiberias*; but the people of *Damascus* not being disposed to recognize the authority of the *African Khalif*, *Jaafar* reduced their city by forces, pillaged part of it, and put a considerable number of the *Damascenes* to the sword. However, they soon afterwards rebelled; but were a second time subdued, and forced to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Moezz*. After which, that prince was publickly prayed for in all the mosques of that part of *Syria*; and every other place of strength, that had been possessed by *Al Akhsbid*'s family, readily submitted to him <sup>r</sup>.

Nasero'd-  
dawla dies.

THE same year, died *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân Al Taglabi*, the prince, or lord, of *Al Mawfel*, in the castle of *Cawatsh*, where for some time he had been confined. This prince, according to *Abu'lfeda*, had three children by his wife *Fâtéma*, the daughter of one *Abmed*, a *Curd*; *Abu Taglab*, *Abu'l Baracat*, and *Fâtéma*. Besides these, he had a son named *Hamdân* by another wife, to whom he had given the cities of *Rababa* and *Mürédîn*, and who was a prince of great personal bravery. To him *Nasero'ddawla* found means to write, and to let him know the ill-treatment he had met with from his wife *Fâtéma*, and his son *Abu Taglab* who had confined him in the castle of *Ardman*, as has been already observed. But the letter, in which he had desired his son *Hamdân* to advance with a body of troops to his relief, was intercepted by *Abu Taglab* and *Abu'l Baracat*; who, from that time, used him much worse than before, and at length transferred him to the castle of *Cawatsh*, where he ended his days, in the former *Rabî*, the present year. This highly exasperated *Hamdân*, and occasioned a long and bloody war between *Nasero'ddawla*'s three sons; in which *Abu'l Baracat* was cut off by *Hamdân*, who was himself finally stripped of all his territories by *Abu Taglab*. That prince, after the victories he had obtained, assumed the title of *Odda-to'ddawla Al Gadhanfer*, or *the lion the defence of the government*. We must not forget to remark, that *Adado'ddawla*, the son of *Rucno'ddawla Ebn Bâiya*, seized upon the province of *Kermân*, after the death of *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Eyliâ*, the preceding year <sup>s</sup>.

The Greeks  
ravage Syria.

In the mean time, whilst the *Moslems* were thus at variance amongst themselves, the *Greeks* made an inroad into *Syria*, and penetrated as far as *Tripoli*. The castle of *Arca* they took by storm, and from thence advanced to *Hems*; which the inhabitants abandoned at their approach. They were no sooner in possession of the place, than they laid it in ashes, and then moved towards the maritime parts of the province; which they laid waste with fire and sword. After they had ravaged the country for the space of two months, and thrown the pulpits in eighteen mosques, which *Abu'lfeda* has not failed to observe, they retired into the imperial territories, loaded with the spoil they acquired in this successful expedition <sup>t</sup>.

Saado'ddawla  
is driven from  
Aleppo by  
Curuba.

THE same year, *Curuba* expelled his master *Saado'ddawla* from *Aleppo*, and set up for himself in that city. Upon this expulsion from his capital, *Saado'ddawla* retired first to *May-yâfûrakîn*, and afterwards to *Hamab*, where he for some time remained. About the same time, *Sabûr Ebn Abu Thâber*, the *Karmatian*, was incarcerated by his cousin-germans, and died in prison, towards the middle of *Ramadân*. We are told by *Al Kâdi Shahabo'ddin Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, that *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Al Hasan* was sent by *Al Moezz* to *Sicily*, in the month of *Shaabân*, to preside over the *Moslems* of that island, in the room of his

<sup>9</sup> EBN KHALUYAH, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 357. ut & ipse ABU'LFED. ibid. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 223, 224. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 314.

<sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 358. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 227. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 314, 315. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKRIZI, AL KAZWINI. Vide etiam RE-NAUD. ubi sup.

<sup>s</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in chron. ad ann. Hej. 357. <sup>t</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



a brother *Abmed*. To which this author adds, that the latter of those *Emirs* was made by his master admiral of the *Magrebian* fleet, sent this year to the coast of *Egypt*, to forward the operations of the land-forces; and that he died at *Tripoli*, soon after his arrival there. But these events have been ranked by *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece so often referred to amongst the transactions of the following year <sup>a</sup>.

THE next year, being the 359th of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* made another irruption into *Syria*, carried *Antioch* by assault, plundered the city, and put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword. From thence they marched to *Aleppo*, then in no posture of defence; which *Curuba* abandoned at their approach, and retired into the castle. Here he defended himself for some time, and at last agreed to pay the *Greeks* a certain annual tribute; upon which, having received hostages, for the due performance of what had been stipulated on his part, they returned into the imperial provinces, and carried off with them the pillage that had fallen into their hands. The district, or territory, of *Aleppo* at this time contained the cities of *Hamah*, *Hems*, *Casar Al Thâ*, *Al Maarab*, *Apamea*, or *Apamia*, *Shaizar*, and several other interjacent towns <sup>b</sup>.

BEFORE the close of the present year, the *Greeks* likewise made an incursion into *Armenia*, and attacked the city of *Malâzcard*, *Malâzkhard*, or *Malazcarda*; but with what success we have not been told. *Malazcarda* was a small town of *Armenia*, the houses of which, in the days of *Abu'lfeda*, were built of black stone. It abounded then with fountains, but was almost intirely destitute of trees. It was about two or three days journey from *Arzen*, or *Arzen Al Rûm*, the *Arzerum*, or *Erzerum*, of the moderns; and not above one or two from *Bedlis*, the *Betlis*, or *Bitlis*, of the *European* geographers. In fine, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, all the maritime parts of *Syria*, as well as those bordering upon the *Euphrates*, at this time lay open to the *Greeks*; who ravaged them all, even according to the *Moslem* historians themselves, without controul. No wonder then, that this writer should consider the untimely end of the *Greek* emperor *Nicephorus*, which, if we will pay any regard to his authority, happened this year as a public blessing to the *Moslems*; who, for several years past, were not able to make head against his victorious troops. We must, however, beg leave to observe, that this celebrated author, by the imperfect and inaccurate account he has given us of *Nicephorus's* death, to omit other instances of either the same or a similar kind, which in his annals not seldom occur, discovers himself to be as ill qualified to compose the history of the *Christian* emperors, as the later *Greek* writers undoubtedly were to hand down to posterity that of the *Khalifs*. Nor will such a reflection appear strange, after what has been more than once hinted upon the same head in the preceding part of this work <sup>c</sup>.

THE same year, *Abu Taglab Ebn Nasero'ddawla* laid siege to *Harrân*, and took it by capitulation; after which, he left a garison there, under the command of *Al Barcaidic*, one of his principal officers, and then returned to *Al Mawfel*. About this time, *Curuba* likewise ordered *Saado'ddawla* to be publickly prayed for in the mosques of *Aleppo* and *Hems*; in the last of which places that prince held his residence. *Al Moezz Ledini'llab*, the *Fâtemite Khalif*, was also publickly prayed for in the same cities, as well as at *Medina*; though *Al Moî*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*, was mentioned in the public prayers by *Mohammed Al Musurwi*, who officiated as *Imâm* in the district of the last of those cities. The name of the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd* was, however, never omitted, during all the above-mentioned troubles, in the mosques at *Mecca*. This year, according to *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, the *Fâtemite Khalif Al Moezz Ledini'llab*, sent a letter to *Abu'l Kasem*, then presiding over the *Sicilian Moslems*, containing his compliments of condolence, on account of his brother *Abmed Ebn Al Hasan's* death, wherein he gave him the title of *Emir*, and exhorted him, by all means possible, to extend the *Moslem* conquests in his part of the world, by annexing to them some of the neighbouring provinces. He at the same time desired him not to take too much to heart his brother's death, and assured him, that he considered the government of the *Moslem* part of *Sicily* as much inferior to his merit. The last event, however, notwithstanding the authority of *Shababo'ddîn*, with how much reason we will not pretend to determine, is placed by *Abu'lfeda* in the following year. But this we may be allowed to say, that the former of those authors is egregiously mistaken, when he makes the dispute and hostilities between *Al Moezz* and *Abd'alrahmân*, the lord, or *Khalif*, of *Andalusia*, an account of which we have inserted amongst the transactions of the year 344, to have happened in the year we are now upon. For, that *Abd'alrahmân* died in the 350th year of the *Moslem æra*, we learn from *Roderic of Toledo*, *Abu'lfeda*, and the *Târîkh Al Magreb*. We must not forget to observe, that *Mohammed Ebn Dawd Al Dainawari*, commonly

<sup>a</sup> ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 359. Vide etiam ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. &c. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in geogr.

ALBERT. SCHULTEN. ubi sup.



called *Al Rakki*, a celebrated doctor of the *Sûfis*, and *Al Kâdi Abu'l Ola Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mohareb*, a famous *Fakib* of the sect of *Al Shâfe'i*, and a much esteemed *Moslem* divine, departed this life, the present year<sup>y</sup>.

The most memorable events of the year 360.

THE following year, being the 360th of the *Hejra*, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, the *Karmatians* assassinated *Jaasar Ebn Fallaj*, the *Fâtemite Khalif's* governor of *Damascus*, in the open field, and afterwards seized upon that city. From thence they advanced to *Al Ramla*, where they were joined by all who had adhered to the family of *Al Akhsîd*. Being thus reinforced, they marched under the command of *Al Hasan Ebn Ahmed Babaram*, their prince, or chief, into *Egypt*, and came up with *Jawbar*, at the head of *Al Moezz's* forces, near *Ain Al Shems*, or *Ain Al Shams*, the ancient *Heliopolis*; upon which a fierce and bloody conflict ensued. The *Karmatians*, in the beginning of the action, forced the *Magrebian* and *Egyptian* troops to give way; but not being properly supported, they were at last overthrown by *Jawbar*, who rallied his men with great bravery, and driven back into *Syria*, with prodigious loss. About this time, *Mowayyado'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla* made *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Abbâd*, commonly called *Al Sabe'h*, or the companion, his *Wazîr*; and *Abu'l Kasem Solimân Ebn Ayub Al Tabarîni*, the author of the three lexicons, called by the *Arabs* *Maajem*, died, in the 101st year of his age, at *Esfahân*. *Al Serrayo Al Raffa*, a celebrated poet of *Al Mawfel*, likewise departed this life, the present year, at *Baghdâd*<sup>z</sup>.

The chief transactions of the year 361.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 361, beginning *October* 24th, 971, the *Greeks* penetrated into *Mesopotamia*, and ravaged the country about *Edessa* and *Nasîbin*, together with all the interjacent tract; the *Moslems* abandoning their habitations, and flying in great numbers to *Baghdâd*. The cries and lamentations of these poor wretches reaching the ears of *Bakhtiyâr*, the *Emîr Al Omrà*, he immediately went to the *Khalif*, and demanded of him a sum of money, to enable him to put the troops in motion, in order to drive the enemy from the frontiers. But the *Khalif* told him, that, being stript of his power, authority, and wealth, he was himself almost destitute of common necessities, and therefore had no money to spare on the present occasion. To which he added, that he would rather be in the situation of a private person, than that of *Khalif*, when attended with such disagreeable circumstances. But *Bakhtiyâr*, who was intirely attached to his pleasures and diversions, and was even then but just returned from hunting, told him in a menacing tone, that this was all chicanery and pretext; and that it would much better become him to satisfy the demands of the soldiery with a good grace, than by compulsion. This so terrified the *Khalif*, that he immediately sold the furniture of his palace, though he could not raise by this expedient above 40,000 *dirhems* (a very inconsiderable sum), which he put into the hands of *Bakhtiyâr*; who squandered away the money in a shameful manner, without applying a single *dirhem* of it to the publick service. Hence the sarcasm, at that time so current in *Baghdâd*; the *Khalif* has been fined, or mulcted, by *Bakhtiyâr*. In the beginning of *Dbu'lkaada*, the *Fâtemite Khalif*, *Al Moezz (H) Ledinî'llah*, set out from *Al Mohdia*, with his family, effects, and all his treasures,

<sup>y</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 359, & ad ann. Hej. 336. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup.. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 104. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxx p. 25, 26. AL TARIKH AL MAGREB. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 9. <sup>z</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 360. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 157.

(H) According to (14) *Ebn Shohnah*, the *Fâtemite Khalif*, *Al Moezz Ledinî'llah*, entered *Egypt* in the 360th year of the *Hejra*; notwithstanding that event is said to have happened in the 362d year of the *Moslem* æra by *Abu'lfeda* (15), *Abu'l Faraj* (16), and *Al Makin* (17). *Ebn Shohnah* likewise writes, that *Al Moezz* caused all his gold and silver to be melted down into ingots of the size, as well as the form, of mill-stones, and put each of these on the back of a single camel, that carried its load directly into *Egypt*. The same author adds, that *Al Moezz* having caused the name of *Al Moti* to be suppressed in the mosques, ordered his own to be mentioned publicly there, not only in *Egypt*, but likewise in *Syria* and *Arabia*, as far as the city of *Medina*; the city of *Mecca* being the only place of note, in the peninsula of the *Arabs*, that refused to recognize the authority of the *Fâtemite Khalif*.

However, about two years after, the *Egyptians*, who were at this time obliged by *Jawbar* to withdraw their allegiance from *Al Moti*, began to pronounce in their mosques the names of both the *Khalifs*; viz. that of *Al*

*Moti*, the lawful successor of the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, his predecessors, and that of *Al Moezz*, the pretended successor of the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Taleb*, who had usurped the name of *Fâtemite*. The latter of which princes, in order to establish amongst the people he governed a persuasion of his being descended from the aforesaid *Imâm*, and consequently of his right to the *Khalifat*, willed and ordained, that to the solemn form of publication of prayer should be added the following words: "For ever live *Ali*, all whose actions have been laudable;" and that it should begin with these words, "In the name of the most merciful God;"—which, excepting the ninth, are prefixed at the head of every chapter of the *Korân*. This solemn form the *Mohammedans* call the *Bismillah*, and begin with it all their prayers, and the greatest part of their actions themselves. The schism here mentioned, or the recognition of two *Khalifs* in the *Moslem* world, continued from the time we are now upon to the year of the *Hejra* 567, in which *Salah's'ddin Ebn Ayub*, general to *Nûro'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Soltân* of *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*,

(14) *Ebn Shohnah*. *Hisj. dynast.* p. 314, 315

(15) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 361.*

(16) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj*

(17) *Al Makin, Saracen. hist. lib. tert. c. iv. p. 227.*



- a treasures, which he took care to have melted down into a sort of masses, or ingots, of the form of mill-stones, and carried on the backs of camels, for *Egypt*. He left behind him, as his governor of *Kairwân*, and its dependencies, *Yusef Ebn Zeir Ebn Menedz Al Sanhâji*, surnamed *Belkîn*, who had distinguished himself in his service, and *Abd'allah Ebn Yokblef Al Catâmi*, in the same capacity, at *Tripoli* in *Africa*; *Abu'l Kasem Ali Ebn Al Hasan* still continuing, by his appointment, *Emîr* of *Sicily*. *Al Moezz* was attended in his journey by *Mohammed Ebn Hani*, an *Arab* poet of *Andalusia*; who was assassinated suddenly, and by an unknown hand, at *Barka*. He had an excellent political genius, but was too fulsome in his flattery; making as it were a kind of divinity of *Al Moezz*, and bestowing upon him titles that were applied to God alone. This occasioned his being considered as
- b a deserter of the faith, gave great offence to many of the *Moslems*, and was probably the cause of his violent death. About this time, a treaty of peace was concluded between *Al Mansûr Ebn Nûb Al Sammâni*, the prince, or lord, of *Khorasân*, and *Rucno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Bûiya*; the principal articles of which were, that *Rucno'ddawla* should pay *Al Mansûr* annually the sum of 150,000 *dinârs*; and that *Al Mansûr*, in consideration of this money, which was to be esteemed as a dower, should marry the daughter of *Adado'ddawla*, *Rucno'ddawla's* son. *Abu Taglab Ebn Nasero'ddawla* likewise made himself master of the city of *Mâredîn*, as well as of a large magazine of arms, and all his brother *Hamdân's* treasures, that were found therein, and betrayed into his hands by that prince's governor of the place, before the close of the present year<sup>a</sup>.
- c THE next year, being the 362d of the *Hejra*, which commenced October 12th, 972, *What hap-*  
in the beginning of *Shaabân*, *Al Moezz* arrived at *Alexandria*, and was met by all the princi-  
pal *Egyptian* nobility; who received him with marks of the most perfect submission, and *pened in the*  
the most profound respect. He also entered *Kairo*, or *Al Kâbirah*, the 15th of *Ramadân*. *Moslem terri-*  
About the same time, the *Greeks* took *Nasîbîn*, ravaged the district of *Mayyâfirakîn*, and *tories, the fol-*  
over-ran the whole province of *Diyâr Rabîa*. Of which *Abu Taglab Ebn Nasero'ddawla* *lowing year.*  
being informed, he sent his brother *Hebat'allah Ebn Nasero'ddawla* with a powerful army  
against them; who marched directly to *Amed*, where he was joined by *Hazârmârd*, one  
of *Abu'l Hijâ Ebn Hamdân's* officers, and *Abu Taglab's* commandant of that place. After  
this junction, *Hebat'allah* fell upon the *Greeks* posted in the neighbourhood of *Amed* with  
d such fury, that he overthrew them with very great slaughter, released all the *Moslem* captives  
that had fallen into their hands, and took the imperial general himself, with a vast number  
of his men, prisoners. The *Greeks* were much superior in number to the *Moslems*; but  
*Hebat'allah* surprizing them in a strait narrow place, where their cavalry could not act,  
they were easily put to the rout, and soon obliged to betake themselves to a precipitate flight.  
The imperial general *Hebat'allah* sent to his brother *Abu Taglab* in chains, who immediate-  
ly ordered him to be thrown into prison, where he remained till the time of his death;  
which happened, in the latter *Jomâda*, the following year. He died of a distemper, brought  
upon him probably from his confinement, which eluded all the art of the physicians sent  
him by *Abu Taglab*, in order to re-establish his health. This battle was fought towards  
e the close of *Ramadân*; and it intirely cleared all the *Moslem* territories of the *Greeks*, during  
the remainder of the campaign. *Azzo'ddawla*, or *Bakhtiyâr*, as *Abu'lfeda* likewise calls  
him, the *Emîr Al Omrà*, made *Mohammed Ebn Bakîb*, a person of mean extraction, who was  
born at *Carwatsb*, his *Wazîr*, before the end of the year we are now upon; which, as the  
last-mentioned author seems to intimate, produced some ill blood between that minister and  
the officers who commanded both the *Turkish* and *Deylamite* troops at *Baghdâd*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 361. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 315. EBN SHOHNAH, AL KAZWINI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mo'ez Ledini'llah*, p. 595. EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 353, 354.

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 362. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 227, 228. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, AL KAZWINI, AL NOWAIRI, RENAUD. ubi sup. Vide etiam not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l Far. p. 315. apud JOANNEM SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxoniens. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

*Egypt*, abolished the *Khalifat* of the *Fâtemites*, and re-established that of the house of *Al Abbâs*, by acknowledging *Al Mostadi Ebn Al Mostanjed*, who then resided at *Baghdad*, the true and lawful *Khalif* and sovereign *Imâm*, or pontiff, of the *Moslems* (18).

*Al Nowairi*, *Al Noweiri*, or *Al Nûiri*, the historian, relates, that *Al Moezz Ledini'llah*, after he had reigned twenty years in *Africa*, passed from *Al Mansûria*, a city built by his father, into the island of *Sardinia*, in the year of the *Hejra* 361; having left the government of the *African* provinces to *Yusef Ebn Zeir Ebn Mened*, or *Menedz*, *Al Sanhâji*, as is here observed. The following year, continues the same writer, he set sail for

*Tripoli* in *Africa*, where he soon arrived, and marched directly to *Alexandria*, which *Jawhar*, his general, had made himself master of a little time before. From thence he advanced to *Mesr*, or *Al Fostât*, where he ordered the name of *Al Motî* in the public prayers to be suppressed, and continued the construction of his new city, which *Jawhar* had founded under the *horoscope* of *Mars*, and given it the name of *Al Kâbirah*, or the *Victorious*, an epithet applied by the *Arab* astronomers to the planet *Mars*. But of this our readers will meet with a more full and ample account in our history of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt*, to which it more properly belongs (19).

(18) *Im. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. § alib Al Makin, ubi sup. Ebn Shohnah, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Moezz. Ledini'llah, p. 595.*

(19) *Al Noweiri, Vide etiam D'Herbel. ubi sup.*



Al Moti  
abdicates the  
Khalifat.

THE following year, being the 363d of the *Hejra*, which began *October* 2d, 973, *Azzod'-* a  
*darwlâ Ebn Moezzo'ddawla* treated the *Turkish* troops that had attended him into the pro-  
vince of *Abwâz*, where he then was, with great rigour and severity, in order to repress  
the insolence they had discovered on several occasions, and revive the military discipline amongst  
them; after which, he returned to *Wâset*, in his way to *Baghdâd*. This so exasperated  
*Sabektekin* a *Turk*, formerly chamberlain to *Moezzo'ddawla*, who refused to go with *Az-*  
*zo'ddawla* into *Abwâz*, that he rebelled against him, assembled all the *Turkish* and *Scenite* b  
troops in *Baghdâd*, and made the necessary dispositions for preventing him from entering  
that capital. To these measures *Sabektekin* had likewise been farther excited by *Azzo'd-*  
*dawla's* conduct to him in particular; the *Emîr Al Omrà* having ordered all the cities and  
lands belonging to him, and which he considered as his own private property, to be con-  
fiscated. This defection produced several actions between *Sabektekin's* forces and the *Dey-*  
*lamite* troops, who, with the populace of *Baghdâd*, still obeyed the orders of *Azzo'ddawla*,  
which ended in the defeat of the latter; insomuch that *Sabektekin* at last made himself master  
of *Baghdâd*, and plundered *Azzo'ddawla's* palace in that city. The metropolis being thus in  
his hands, he prevailed upon *Al Moti*, who could not interpose his authority in the present  
dispute, and who had been rendered in a manner incapable of government by a paralytic  
disorder he had long laboured under, which had almost totally deprived him of his speech  
and the use of his limbs, and which he had in vain endeavoured to conceal from *Sabektekin*,  
to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in favour of his son *Al Tai*, or *Al Tay'*, *Li'llah*; who there-  
upon, about the middle of *Dbu'lkaada*, was saluted *Khalif*. *Al Moti* died at *Dair Al Akul*, c  
a little above two months after he had been deposed, in the year of the *Hejra* 364. He  
was nominal *Khalif*, having been stript of all his power and authority by the family of *Bûiya*,  
then in possession of *Persia* and *Irâk*, twenty-nine years and five months; being about  
sixty-three years of age, at the time of his death. He was of a sweet and affable temper,  
modest in disputation, mild, gentle, sincere, charitable, and extremely devout in the per-  
formance of all religious duties. *Dair Al Akul*, or *Akula*, is placed by *Sharif Al Edrisi*,  
called by some the *Nubian* geographer, upon one of the banks of the *Euphrates*, five sta-  
tions, or mansions, from *Baghdâd*. We find it denominated *Dair Al Akul* by *Abu'l-feda*  
and *Al Makin*. *Bar Hebræus* makes it to be the same with *Cûfa*; but, according to *Abu'l-*  
*feda*, it was a different place, situated in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and about ten d  
parasangs off *Al Madâyen* upon the *Tigris*; which seems to be confirmed by *Al Makin*. It is  
called *Akula* by *Bar Hebræus*, and the other *Syriac* writers; from whom we learn, that the  
prelate, who, by way of eminence, was styled the *bishop of the Arabs*, resided for the most  
part here. For the better understanding of which remark, it will be proper to observe,  
that the *Jacobites*, of which sect the *Christian Arabs* generally were, had two bishops of the  
*Arabs* subject to their *Masriân*, or *metropolitan of the East*: one of whom going under the  
appellation of *bishop of the Arabs*, held his residence at *Akula*; and the other, who had  
the title of *bishop of the Scenite Arabs*, of the tribe of *Tbaalab* in *Hira*, or *Hirta*, as the  
*Syrians* name it, resided in that city. The word *Dair* denotes a monastery, convent,  
or religious house, amongst the *Arabic* writers; though, amongst the modern *Arabs*, it is e  
frequently taken for a village, or small town. *Abuna Minâ* was constituted patriarch of the  
*Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, in the 350th year of the *Hejra*, being the 17th of the *Khalifat* of  
*Al Moti*, as we learn from some of the *Christian* historians followed by *Al Makin*.

c AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 228, 230. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 363. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.  
EEN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, SHARIF AL EDRISI, GREGOR. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in  
Bibliothec. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. secund. p. 319, ut & ipse JOSEPH. SIM. ASSEMAN ibid. & in differ-  
tat. de Monophysit. ABU'L FAR. in chron. Syriac. MS. ABU'LFED. in descr. Irac. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.  
art. *Motbi*, p. 645. & art. *Thai Billah*, p. 1018, 1019. Vide etiam RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 351.

## S E C T. XLVI.

Al Tay' Li'll-  
lah ascends  
the Moslem  
throne after  
the abdication  
of Al Moti.

AL TAY' LI'LLAH EBN AL MOTI, whose name was either *Abu'l Fadl Abd'alcarim*, f  
or *Abu Becr Abd'alcarim*, was saluted *Khalif*, the very day on which his father *Al*  
*Moti* had been prevailed upon, or rather constrained, by *Sabektekin*, to relinquish his nomi-  
nal dignity. He was inaugurated, the 13th of *Dbu'lkaada*, the present year; being then,  
according to *Al Makin*, either forty-seven or fifty years of age; which if we admit, his  
father must have been extremely young, when he was born. His mother's name, if we  
will believe the same author, was *Aini*; but whether she was *Al Moti's* wife or concu-  
bine, we have not been informed. Immediately after his inauguration, he assigned the  
sublime post of *Emîr Al Omrà* to *Sabektekin*, who had been so instrumental in his elevation  
to the *Khalifat*. He enjoyed, however, nothing more than the empty title of emperor, or  
commander,



a commander, of the faithful; having been stript by the *Emír Al Omrá* of his power and authority, in the same manner as was his immediate predecessor<sup>d</sup>,

THIS year, the *Karmatians*, notwithstanding their former defeat, made a second irruption <sup>The Karmatians are overthrown by Al Moezz's troops.</sup> into *Egypt*, and penetrated to *Mesr*. But they were overthrown again with very great slaughter, and obliged to fly to the country from whence they came; that is, the territory of *Al Katif* and *Al Absí*. As they were pursued by a body of 10,000 horse, that kept close at their heels till they reached their own frontiers, both *Egypt* and *Syria* were soon effectually cleared of them. After which, *Al Moezz* sent *Thalem Ebn Mawláb Al Okáili*, one of his generals, with a large body of troops to *Damascus*, to keep the seditious inhabitants of that city in awe. But, notwithstanding the force with which he was supported, the *Damascenes* had such an aversion to his government, that, for near a year, he found himself not a little embroiled and embarrassed with them. A considerable part of the city was reduced to ashes, during the commotions which at this time happened. The people of *Mecca* and *Medina*, however, prayed publicly in their mosques for *Al Moezz Ledini'llah*, and persisted in their fidelity to the *Fátémite Khalíf*, the present year<sup>e</sup>.

IN the mean time, the *Turks*, under the command of *Sabektekín*, marched to *Wáset*, <sup>The Turks where Baktiyár, or Azzo'ddawla, then resided, in order to take vengeance of him for the injuries he had offered them, during the course of his administration. Sabektekín carried with him both Al Motí and Al Tay', to draw the Moslems to his standard, in this expedition.</sup> <sup>form the siege of Wáset.</sup>

c But the former of those princes died at *Dair Al Akúl*, as has been already observed, and his death was immediately followed by that of *Sabektekín* himself; after which, the remains of both of them were conducted to *Baghdád*, and there interred. In the room of *Sabektekín*, the *Turks* chose *Al Aftekín*, one of their principal commanders, for their general, and continued their route to *Wáset*. *Sabektekín* died of a diarrhoea at *Dair Al Akúl*, where he had incamped, the 24th of *Al Moharram*, and the year of the *Hejra* 364, after he had been *Emír Al Omrá* to the *Khalíf Al Tay'* only two months and thirteen days. As for *Al Aftekín Al Sbarábi*, who succeeded him in the command of the *Turkish* troops, he had likewise, as well as *Sabektekín*, been an officer under *Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Búya*, and distinguished himself on several occasions; which gained him great credit with his countrymen, who, after *Sabektekín's* decease, elected him their chief. After his election, he immediately advanced to *Wáset*, sat down before the place, and carried on the siege of it with uncommon ardour, for the space of fifty days. As *Azzo'ddawla's* men had been repulsed in every fall, and worsted in every attack, and as provisions began now to fail him, this general found that he could not alone make head against *Al Aftekín*; and therefore he dispatched express after express to his cousin-german *Adado'ddawla* in *Persia*, to let him know the distress he was in, and to implore his assistance; telling him, that he would much rather submit to a relation and a friend, than to a foreigner, and one that was an enemy to their family. This made such an impression upon *Adado'ddawla*, that he hastened to his relief with all the forces he was master of; as will more clearly appear from our account of the principal events of the following year, amongst which these very transactions themselves have been placed by *Al Makín*<sup>f</sup>.

WE must not forget to remark, that the *Tárikh*, or history of *Thábet Ebn Senán Ebn* <sup>Some account of Thábet Ebn Senán and Afrihi Ebn Adi, who flourished about the time we are now upon.</sup> *Thábet Ebn Korra*, so celebrated over all the *Moslem* world, which began with the year of the *Hejra* 275, or, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, 290, concludes with the present year. This *Thábet Ebn Senán* was a very famous physician, and had the care of the hospital at *Baghdád* committed to him. His history has been represented as a most excellent performance by *Abu'l Faraj*; who informs us, that he mentions therein a great number of remarkable facts, not elsewhere to be found. A supplement to this noble work has been written by *Helál*, his nephew, not his son, as *M. D'Herbelot* asserts, who was likewise a very eminent physician, historian, and philosopher. *Thábet Ebn Senán* died, in the year of the *Hejra* 365, if *Abu'l feda* may be depended upon, or in the 363d year of the *Moslem* æra, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*. *Afrihi Ebn Adi Ebn Hamíd Ebn Zacharíá Al Tecríti*, a very noted logician, who lived a considerable part of his time at *Baghdád*, was one of his contemporaries. This learned man was often employed in transcribing books of literature. He wrote a very fine legible hand, and that with so much expedition, that he could finish an hundred leaves in a day and a night's time. He left behind him several versions and explications of antient authors, besides other works, that were held in great esteem. He was instructed in logic by the famous *Abu Nasr Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Tarkbún Al Fárábi*, of whom we have already given our readers a particular account. To which we shall now beg

<sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 231. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 317. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D'HEREZL. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 318. <sup>f</sup> ISM.

ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 232. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HEREZL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 1018, 1019.



leave to add, that *Al Fârâbi*, who was looked upon by the *Moslems* as the prince of philosophers, and the phoenix of his age, first learned philosophy at *Baghdâd* of *Yahya*, or *Yohannâ Ebn Jaballad*, in which he made a much greater progress than any of the others who were instructed with him; that he much excelled his second master, *Abu Basbar Matta Ebu Yûnes*, in all those branches of literature he had applied himself to; that, by his logical, physical, metaphysical, and political compositions, his fame has already been, and will hereafter be, transmitted down to all succeeding ages; and that, finally, he understood the *Aristotelian* philosophy better than, and supplied many defects in the writings of, the famous *Al Kendi*, and others. *Afrîbi Ebn Adi*, who was a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* sect, died in the month of *Ab*, or *August*, and the year of *Seleucus* 1285, towards the close of the 363d year of the *Hejra*, and was buried at *Baghdâd*; being, at the time of his death, about eighty-one solar years old <sup>e</sup>.

Adado'd-dawla possesses himself of Baghdâd.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 364, commencing September 21, 974, *Adado'd-dawla*, excited thereto by the repeated solicitations of *Azzo'd-dawla*, marched with the *Persian* forces into *Irâk*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Wâset*. *Al Aftekin*, having received advice of his approach, immediately abandoned the siege, and retired with the *Turkish* troops to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival there, he found that city in the hands of *Abu Tâglab Ebn Nasero'd-dawla*; who having been sent for by *Azzo'd-dawla*, to assist him against the *Turks*, had taken post in that metropolis, seized upon the *Emîr Al Omrâ's* palace, and obliged all ranks and degrees of men to recognize his authority. But *Al Aftekin*, having brought with him the *Khalîf Al Tay'*, summoned him in that prince's name to surrender the place; which not being immediately done, the *Turks* attacked it sabre in hand, and carried it with inconsiderable loss. In the mean time, *Adado'd-dawla* having forced *Al Aftekin* to raise the siege of *Wâset*, joined *Azzo'd-dawla*; and, after that junction, pursued the *Turks* to *Baghdâd*. Being arrived before the town, *Adado'd-dawla* invested that part of it situated on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, and *Azzo'd-dawla* the other. The *Turks* finding themselves upon the point of being straitly shut up, in order to avoid the calamities attending a siege, marched out of the place, and were followed by the combined army, under the command of *Adado'd-dawla* and *Azzo'd-dawla*, who came up with them at *Dair Al Akûl*; upon which, a sharp and bloody engagement ensued, wherein both sides sustained an incredible loss. But at last the *Turks* were constrained to leave the field of battle to the victors; who thereupon became masters of the *Khalîf's* person, and afterwards triumphantly entered the city of *Baghdâd*. The battle was fought the fourteenth of the former *Jomâda*, and the princes of the house of *Bûiya* soon after possessed themselves of the capital; but the *Khalîf Al Tay'* did not return to his palace before the eighth of *Râjeb*, when *Adado'd-dawla* prostrated himself before him, and had the honour to kiss his hand. The *Persian* forces, after the end of the action, made themselves masters of the *Turkish* camp, and observed an exact discipline in the city of *Baghdâd*; but *Azzo'd-dawla's* troops mutinied for their pay, treated their general with great marks of disrespect, and committed many disorders. As, therefore, *Azzo'd-dawla* had no money to pacify them with, *Adado'd-dawla* advised him to resign his command, and shut himself up in his house; that he might thereby be the better enabled, with the assistance of his own troops, to bring them back to a sense of their duty. But *Azzo'd-dawla* had no sooner dismissed the officers of his court, declared himself incapable of government, and formally renounced before proper witnesses all pretensions to the post of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, than *Adado'd-dawla* caused him and his brothers to be seized at a splendid entertainment, to which he had invited them, on the 26th of the latter *Jomâda*, and immediately sent to prison, in the most perfidious manner. After which, in order to secure to himself the possession of the supreme power at *Baghdâd*, he thought fit to caress the *Khalîf Al Tay'*, by pretending to an intire submission to him, by augmenting his proper revenue, and by supplying him not only with large sums of ready money for present use, but likewise with a sufficient quantity of such costly furniture for his palace, as was worthy the high and sublime character he sustained <sup>b</sup>.

But afterwards abandons that capital.

BUT, notwithstanding his pretended submission, and engaging behaviour, to the *Khalîf*, he did not long enjoy the power which he had so unjustly acquired. For, *Marzapân*, or *Marzabân*, *Azzo'd-dawla's* son, receiving advice at *Basra*, of which city he then was governor, of what had happened to his father at *Baghdâd*, immediately wrote to *Rucno'd-dawla*, *Adado'd-dawla's* father, an account of that event: which produced in him such emotions of anger and grief, that, upon the first news of it, he threw himself upon the ground in a most frantic manner; and afterwards contracted such a distemper, by an irregular abstinence and perturbation of mind, occasioned by the disagreeable news that had been imparted to him, as might have been of fatal consequence, had it not been speedily <sup>g</sup>

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in chron. ad ann. Hej. 365. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 316, 317. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Helal Ben Thabit Ben Senan*, p. 446. & art. *Thabit Ben Senan Ben Thabit*, p. 1015.

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 232, 233. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 364. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 318. KHONDEMER, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Azzo'd-dawla*, p. 154, 155.



a removed by *Adado'ddawla's* subsequent conduct. He also upbraided his son, in the sharpest terms, with his iniquitous behaviour, and threatened him with the effects of his resentment, if he did not restore to *Azzo'ddawla* the post of which he had so unjustly deprived him. *Adado'ddawla*, in order to pacify his father, proposed to cede to the person injured some part of his *Persian* territories, as an equivalent for what he had usurped in *Irâk*. But this proposal was so far from being relished or approved of by *Rucno'ddawla*, that he was upon the point of cutting to pieces the minister who delivered it to him; by whom he sent back a message to his son, importing, that if he did not instantly comply with his commands, he would come himself with an army to *Baghdâd*, and reinstate *Azzo'ddawla* in his former post. Nor did *Abu'l Fatbi Ebn Al Amid*, *Adado'ddawla's* second ambassador, meet with a  
b more favourable reception from him; the answer given that minister, on this occasion, being extremely rough, and such as indicated his wrath to be by no means yet appeased. *Adado'ddawla*, therefore, finding that his father would be obeyed, released *Azzo'ddawla* without delay, put him again at the head of the *Khalif's* councils, and then retired with his forces into *Persia*. However, he obliged both the *Khalif Al Tay'* and *Azzo'ddawla* to swear, that they would never oppose either his commands, or those of his father *Rucno'ddawla*, before his departure from *Baghdâd*; which, according to *Abu'lfeda*, happened in the month of *Shawâl*, the present year<sup>1</sup>.

In the mean time, *Al Asteîn*, after he had been driven by *Adado'ddawla* from *Baghdâd*. What hap-  
moved at the head of his *Turks* into *Syria*, and possessed himself of *Hems*. From thence he  
c advanced to *Damascus*, and was received with open arms by the inhabitants of that city. He was no sooner admitted into the town, than he enabled the *Damascenes* to expel from  
thence *Zaban*, or *Zabban*, an eunuch, and *Al Mocz's* governor of the place; after which, they discontinued their recognition of *Al Mocz's* authority in the mosques, on days of divine service. That prince dying the following year, his son and successor, *Al Azîz Bi'llah*, sent *Jawhâr*, his general, with a powerful army, into *Syria*; who laid siege to *Damascus*, and carried on his attacks with so much vigour, that the city must have fallen into his hands, if a body of the *Karmatian* troops had not hastened to its relief. At the approach  
d of these troops, *Jawhâr* thought fit to raise the siege, as he was not in a condition to make head against them, and at the same time to repulse the *Damascenes*, in the numerous sallies which they made. The *Karmatians*, having been joined by the *Turks* and *Damascenes*, pursued *Jawhâr*, and came up with him first at *Al Ramla*, and afterwards at *Ascalon*, or *Ashkelon*; at the last of which places, they offered him battle. But *Jawhâr*, having lost the greatest part of his men by famine, declined an engagement. However, he was reduced in a short time to the last extremity, and with great difficulty prevailed upon  
e *Al Asteîn*, who commanded the combined army, to permit him, for a large sum of money, to return into *Egypt*. Upon his arrival at *Mesr*, he persuaded *Al Azîz* himself to undertake an expedition against *Al Asteîn*, then in possession of the best part of *Syria*. That prince, therefore, without delay, marched with a formidable army against the rebels, and came up with them at *Al Ramla*; where, after an obstinate dispute, he intirely defeated them, put  
a vast number of them to the sword, and took most of the rest prisoners. However, *Al Asteîn* himself found means to make his escape. But *Al Azîz* having offered a reward of 100,000 *dinârs* to any one who would deliver that general alive into his hands, *Masraj Ebn Dagfal*, an *Arab* of the tribe of *Tay*, his particular friend, with whom he had taken refuge, being tempted by the largeness of the reward, brought him alive to the *Fâtemite Khalif*; who was so far from offering him any violence, that he made him a present of a very fine tent, as well as of several sumptuous mantles, or cloaks, and much household-furniture of almost inestimable value, released all the *Turkish* prisoners who had fought under him as their chief, and carried him with him to *Mesr*, where in great affluence he at last ended his days<sup>2</sup>.

f THIS year, according to *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, *Abu'l Kasem* Other transac-  
*Ebn Al Hasan*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, undertook an expedition against the *Christians* of that tions of the  
island, reduced *Messina*, *Catana*, and several other fortresses of considerable strength, and present year.  
ravaged the country through which he moved in a dreadful manner. Not content with this, he committed terrible depredations on the coast of *Calabria*, and even made incursions into the interior part of that province; after which his troops returned home, with a great number of prisoners, and laden with spoil. These operations, however, are placed by *Abu'lfeda* amongst the transactions of the following year. About the same time, *Rucno'ddawla Ebn Bâtiya*, who was now far advanced in years, assigned to his son *Adado'ddawla Fârs*, *Arjûn*, and *Kermân*; to his son *Mowayyado'ddawla Al Rûy* and *Esfahân*; and to his son *Fakro'ddawla Dainawâr* and *Hamadân*. He also obliged them at the same time to take

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.  
MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. At



an oath to support one another, and to act in concert, on all emergent occasions. The *Khalif Al Tay'*, according to *Al Makin*, took to wife *Sabrahân*, *Alads'adawla Ebn Moazz's* daughter, and promised her for a dower 100,000 *dinars*, before the close of the present year<sup>1</sup>.

The Greeks  
make an ir-  
ruption into  
Syria.

THE same year, if we will believe *Al Makin*, the *Greeks*, under the conduct of the emperor *Zimisces*, made an irruption into *Syria*, took *Hems* and *Baalbec*, and from the latter of those cities marched to *Damascus*. But *Al Aftikin*, continues the same author, advancing against them with a considerable force, *Zimisces* turned off to *Sidon*, and obliged the inhabitants of that place to pay him a large sum of money; after which, he moved to *Tripoli*, and besieged that city above forty days. Here, if we will believe the historian now before us, through the influence of *Basilus* and *Constantine*, he had poison administered to him; which forced him to retire, in a sick and languishing condition, to *Antioch*. But the people of that place refusing to admit him into the town, he cut down all their trees, and returned home; though, before he reached *Constantinople*, he expired, as we learn from one of the later *Greek* writers. After the departure of *Zimisces*, *Antioch* surrendered to a body of troops he left behind him, to continue the siege of that city; though in a short time it returned to its former masters, as clearly appears from some of the eastern historians. We must not forget to observe, that the *Turks*, who fled with *Al Aftikin* to *Damascus* from *Baghdad*, did not amount to above 300 men; and that the *Magrebian* troops, left by *Al Moezz* in the former of those places, are called *Asirians* by *Al Makin*<sup>m</sup>.

Al Moezz  
dies, and is  
succeeded by  
his son Al  
Aziz.

THE next year, being the 365th of the *Hejra*, beginning September 10th, 975, *Al Moezz Leâim'llah*, the conqueror of *Syria* and *Egypt*, departed this life, either on the 11th or the 17th of the former *Rabi*, after he had sat upon the throne of *Kairwân* twenty-three years, four months, and several days, and about three years upon that of *Egypt*. He was born at *Al Mokdia*, the capital of the *Khalifat* of *Kairwân*, the 11th of *Ramadân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 319, and consequently died in the 46th year of his age. He entertained a vast opinion of the truth of astrology, and never undertook any enterprize of moment, without consulting those who pretended to have skill in that art. He has, however, been considered in the main by the *Moslem* writers as a learned and virtuous prince. He was in particular famed for his liberality, his love of justice, and his exemplary life, as well as for the love he bore his subjects, whom he governed with great lenity and moderation. His son *Al Aziz Billah*, who succeeded him, was born at *Al Mokdia*, either the 24th of *Al Mcharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 342, or in the 344th year of the *Moslem* æra; for in this point the *Arab* writers do not perfectly agree, according to *Al Makin*. Before the conclusion of the year we are now upon, the people of *Mecca* offered up their prayers publicly to heaven for the health, welfare, and prosperity, of this prince<sup>n</sup>.

Abu'l Kasem  
the Emir of  
Sicily, conti-  
nues his de-  
predations in  
Calabria.

THE same year, *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Al Hasan*, the *Emir* of *Sicily*, continued his depredations in *Calabria*; destroying many towns and villages there, and laying waste a considerable part of that province with fire and sword. His troops took so many head of cattle from the *Calabrians*, that they could not carry off all of them into *Sicily*; and therefore, by the *Emir's* order, they slaughtered most of them upon the spot, called from thence, in the days of *Al Kâdi Shakabo'ddin*, the *shambles of oxen*, or *cows*, before they set sail for that island. This *Abu'l Kasem*, as we are told by the last-mentioned author, continued annually his devastations in the aforesaid province, till the year of the *Hejra* 371, coincident with the latter part of the year of *CHRIST* 981, and the former part of 982, doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved<sup>o</sup>.

Al Aziz  
proves superior  
to all his ene-  
mies in Egypt.

IT appears from *Al Makin*, that *Al Aziz's* affairs in *Egypt* were greatly imbroiled this year, notwithstanding he had made *Jawbar*, a person of uncommon abilities, his prime minister. Several battles, as this author clearly intimates, were fought in the neighbourhood of *Mesr*, or *Al Fostât*, and the *Fâtemite Khalif* himself was straitly besieged in that capital. But at last the siege was raised, and *Al Aziz* proved superior to all his enemies, probably by the conduct and address of *Jawbar*, as well as the bravery of his troops. As *black* was the colour most in vogue amongst the eastern *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, so *white* was most esteemed by the *Fâtemite Khalifs*. This had been substituted in the room of the other amongst his subjects by *Al Moezz*, and was the fashionable colour through the whole court of *Al Aziz's* reign, as it has ever since been amongst the greatest part of the *Africans* and *Arabs*, even to this very day. We must not forget to remark, that the division of the

<sup>1</sup> AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in hist. cui tit. *Asmâf*. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 365. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

<sup>m</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. JOAN. CUROPALAT. in Zimisces.

<sup>n</sup> GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 318. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 365. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 233, 234. AL MAKRIZI, EBN SHOHNAH, EUSEB. RENAUD. in histor. patriarchar. Alexandrinor. Jacobitar. p. 572. Parisiis, 1713.

<sup>o</sup> AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 376.



- a large and extensive dominions of the house of *Būiya*, made by *Rucno'ddawla* amongst his three sons, in the manner above related, ought to be placed rather in this than the preceding year <sup>p</sup>.

ABU BECR MOHAMMED EBN ALI EBN ISMAEL AL CAFFAL AL SHASHI, according to *Abu'lfeḍa*, died the present year; though some writers suppose his death to have happened in the 366th year of the *Hejra*, and others in the 336th year of that æra. He was a native of *Al Shāsh*, a very considerable city of the *Transoxana*, or *Mawarā'nahr*, in the territory of *Samarkand*, near the *Sībūn*, or *Sīr*, the *Jaxartes* of the antients, and seated upon a river of the same name. From the place of his nativity he was denominated *Al Shāshi*, and was the most celebrated *Fakih* of the sect of *Al Shāfe'i*, at least in the *Transoxana*, of the age in which he lived. He travelled, for the sake of acquiring knowledge, into *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Irāk*. His masters were *Ebn Soraib*, from whom he learned jurisprudence, *Mokammed Ebn Jorair Al Tabari*, and others no way inferior to him, by whom he was instructed in the principles of traditionary theology; in which science, or discipline, he had for his scholars *Al Hakem Ebn Mandab*, and several other youths, who made a very surprizing progress therein. This *Abu Becr Mohammed Al Shāshi* had a son named *Al Kasem*, who was the author of a book, intituled, *Al Tacrib*, i. e. *the admonition*, or *appropinquation*, viz. to God; which was become extremely scarce and difficult to be found, even in the days of *Abu'lfeḍa*, above 400 years ago. This book, which, according to the last-mentioned author, is not to be confounded with another bearing the same title, much more common, and written by *Solaim Al Rāzi*, has been cited by the authors of the books *Al Nehayab*, *Al Wafith*, and *Al Basith*, as well as by *Al Ghazālī*, who calls the writer of it *Abu'l Kasem*; wherein he is undoubtedly mistaken, as his name was simply *Al Kasem*. There was another *Abu Becr Mohammed Al Shāshi*, taken notice of by *Abu'lfeḍa*, in his account of the transactions of the year of the *Hejra* 507; who wrote the books *Al Omdah* and *Al Mostāthbari*, and probably several other pieces. Our *Abu Becr Mohammed Al Shāshi* composed a book, intituled, *Adab Al Kādi*, concerning the qualities requisite to form a judge, according to the principles of the *Imām Al Shāfe'i*; but what other pieces have been penned by him, we have not been told. The city of *Al Shāsh*, whose territory extends from *Nūbakht* to *Fargāna*, has been placed in *Turkeṣtān* by *Al Berjendi*, who makes it to be watered by two rivers; one of which goes under the name of the river *Al Shāsh*. We are informed by *Ahmed Al Kāteb*, and another eastern author, that it was about four stages from *Khojanda*, and five from *Fargāna*, or *Andukand*. It is at present called *Tashkent*, and was formerly a magnificent city; though it now makes no great figure, as having been several times destroyed and rebuilt. We are told, however, that it is the winter-residence of the *Khān* of the *Kassāts*, who possesses the eastern part of *Turkeṣtān*. The famous *Timūr Bek*, or *Timūr Beg*, according to *Arabshūh*, in his history of that prince, was born at *Kboja Ilgar*, a village in the territory of *Al Shāsh*; though other writers, if we will believe *M. D'Herbelot*, are of a different opinion <sup>q</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 366th of the *Hejra*, commencing August 30th, 976, in the month of *Al Moharram*, *Rucno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Būiya* departed this life, after he had reigned forty-four years, one month, and nine days; being above seventy years of age, at the time of his death. He was a prince of the finest endowments, beloved by all those who had been so happy as to live under his government, and revered by the whole *Moslem* world; insomuch that his death was considered, by those of the same religion with himself, who survived him, as a public loss. After his decease, the hatred *Adado'ddawla*, his eldest son, bore *Azzo'ddawla*, his nephew, which in his father's life-time was not permitted to discover itself, soon began to appear. Having made the necessary preparations for an invasion of *Irāk*, he broke into *Abwāz*, or *Al Abwāz*, with a powerful army. Here *Azzodd'awla* met him at the head of the *Khalif's* forces, attended by *Al Tay'* himself, and *Ali Ebn Abu Thāber*, his *Wazir*; but being overthrown with very great slaughter, he fled to *Wāset*. Upon which, *Adado'ddawla* plundered his camp, which he had abandoned, in a shameful manner, and sent a large detachment to seize upon *Basra*, and the circumjacent tract. This the *Persians* found it no difficult matter to effect, as *Azzo'ddawla* had left no troops in those parts to oppose them. The season being now far advanced, and *Azzo'ddawla* having shut himself up, with all the forces he could assemble, in *Baghdād*, the reduction of *Basra*, and its dependencies, concluded the operations of the campaign <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 234, 235. RENAUD. ubi sup. Vide etiam ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 366.

<sup>q</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 365. & alib. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schajchi*, p. 779, & alib. ABU'LFED. descript. Chowar. p. 65, 66, 72. AL BERJENDI, AHMED AL KATEB, & Auct. AL LEDAU, apud ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AHMED EBN ARABSHAH, in hist. Timūr Bek. Vide etiam AB'UL GHAZI BAHAD. p. 569. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. art. *Schajchi*, p. 779.

<sup>r</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 235. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 366. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Adhad Eddoular*, p. 58.



Sabektekîn is  
made governor  
of Gaznah.

THIS year, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the famous *Sabektekîn*, a *Turk* by nation, who had a been one of *Abu Ishak Ebn Alptekîn*'s slaves, and was afterwards general of all *Nûb Ebn Mansûr*'s forces in *Khorasân*, by his master's death, became governor of *Gaznah*, the capital of *Zâblestân*; in which he was confirmed, with great marks of distinction, by *Nûb*. It appears, however, from *Khondemir*, that he succeeded *Alptekîn* himself, and not his son *Abu Ishak*, in the government of *Gaznah*; that he had been originally one of *Alptekîn*'s slaves, and never served in that capacity *Abu Ishak*; and that his master discovering an assemblage of fine qualities in him, made him his heir. We are likewise informed by the *Persian* historian, that *Sabektekîn* was saluted general by the forces of the province, which were intirely at his devotion, after *Alptekîn*'s death, in the year of the *Hejra* 365, and not in that we are now upon, as *Abu'lfeda* asserts. But however this may be, he afterwards made b a surprising figure in the eastern world, carried his arms into *India*, constrained many of the *Rajabs* (I), or princes of that vast region, to embrace *Mohammedism*, and convert their pagan temples into mosques, and annexed *Casdar* and *Bost* in *Sejistan* to his dominions, as will hereafter more fully appear in the sequel of this history \*.

Mansûr Ebn  
Nûb Ebn  
Nafr Ebn  
Ahmed Al  
Sammâni dies.

ABOUT the middle of *Shawâl*, the present year, *Mansûr Ebn Nûb Ebn Nafr Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni*, the prince, or sovereign, of *Khorasân* and the *Transoxana*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, died at *Bokhâra*, and was succeeded by his son *Nûb*, an infant only thirteen years old; but if we will believe *Ebn Shohnab*, and the *Emîr Tabya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwîni*, the author of the *Lebtârikh*, both *Mansûr*'s death and *Nûb*'s accession happened, the preceding year. *Al Kâdi Al Mondar Ebn Sa'id Al Ballutbi*, the supreme judge of *Andalusia*, an *Imâm*, c *Fakib*, preacher, and poet, a person of great probity and merit, likewise departed this life, the present year \*.

Other transac-  
tions of the  
present year.

ABOUT the same time, *Adado'ddawla* deposed *Abu'l Fathi Ebn Al Amid*, his father's *Wazîr*, ordered his nose to be cut off, and deprived him of the use of one of his eyes by a red-hot iron, when he imagined himself secure, and in no danger of a disgrace. The night before this accident happened he spent in jollity with his friends, for whom he had prepared a sumptuous entertainment, was served in gold plate and glass vessels of exquisite workmanship, had provided a variety of the most costly perfumes, and saw every thing conducted with the utmost elegance and magnificence. In fine, he indulged himself that night, in which an unusual scene of luxury appeared, in the gratification of his appetite to an immoderate d degree; not being then in the least apprehensive of meeting with such a reverse of fortune, as that which the next day happened to him. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Al Hasan*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, made, this year, a descent upon *Italy*, and penetrated into *Al Langobarda*, the *Lower Lombardy*, or *Campania*, the dutchy of *Benevento*, and the neighbouring provinces; from whence his troops carried off a vast number of head of cattle, and slaughtered them by his command upon the spot of ground on which he had incamped. From this accident, continues the same author, the name of *Manakh Al Bacri*, the slaughter, or shambles, of oxen, was derived to the spot on which it happened. And this name is retained to the time when he wrote his annals, or general history, so often referred to here. This expedition, from the last-mentioned event, appears to be the very same with that taken e notice of by *Al Kâdi Shahabo'ddin*, as happening the foregoing year; but whether *Abu'lfeda*, or that writer, has fixed the time of it with greater precision, we shall not pretend to determine. *Haken*, or rather *Al Hakem*, *Abn Ahmed Ebn Abu Sa'id*, the *Karmatian* general, who was once possessed of a very considerable part of *Syria*, and penetrated into *Egypt*, from whence he was driven with prodigious loss, as has been already observed, is said to have died at *Al Ramla*, in some part of the year we are now upon \*.

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. NASSIR AL TUSI, in tab. longit. & latit. civitat. &c. p. 117. Edit. Hudson, Oxon. 1711. ULUGH BEIK, in tab. longit. & latit. civitat. &c. p. 149. Edit. Hudson, Oxon. 1711. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sebekteghin*, p. 792, 793, & alib. pass. \* ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 318. EBN SHOHNAH, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 553, 678. " ISM. ABU'LFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. in præfat. p. 4. Vide etiam ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 336. & EUSEB. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 372, 373.

(I) The word *Rajah*, in the *Indian* language, according to Mr. *Frazer*, properly denotes a prince. M. *D'Herbelot* informs us, that it ought to be written *Rai*; and that it signifies, amongst the *Indians*, an idolatrous king, or prince, of that nation. He likewise relates, that the *Persians* make this term in the plural *Raïan*, and the *European* travellers *Raïas* and *Ragias*; the last of which words, according to the *French* pronunciation, approaches extremely near to Mr. *Frazer*'s *Rajah*, if it

may not be considered as exactly coinciding with it. The *Indians* generally prefix to this title the proper name of the person to whom it is applied, as *Sewa Rajah*, *Sahou Rajah*, to omit an infinity of instances of the same kind, that might with equal facility be produced. Hence the word *Raïpour*, or *Rajahpour*, which imports royal city, capital, or the place where one of those *Rajabs* resides (14).

(14) *Frazer's hist. of Nadir Shâh*, p. 22, 23, 33. Lond. 1742. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. *Ray*. p. 708.



- a THE same year, died also *Al Hakem Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Nasr*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, the lord of *Andalusia*, after he had reigned, under the title of *Al Montaser*, or *Al Montasar*, fifteen years, and five months; being, at the time of his death, sixty three years and seven months old. This we learn from *Abu'lfeda*, with whom *Roderic of Toledo* in the main agrees; though the latter of these writers is inconsistent with himself, in what he relates of this prince's reign. For he first tells us, that he reigned sixteen years and two months; and immediately afterwards, almost in the same breath, is pleased to add, that he died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. *Al Hakem* is said to have been extremely well versed in jurisprudence, history, and several other sciences; which enabled him to make a figure amongst the learned. His son *Heshâm* succeeded him, under the title of *Al*
- b *Morwayyad Bi'llah*, being then only ten years of age; so that *Abu Amer Mohammed Ebn Abd'al-lah Al Moasferi*, his *Hajeb*, or chamberlain, governed the kingdom of *Corduba*, or *Andalusia*, for him. This *Abu Amer* was descended from the tribe of *Moasfer*, settled originally in *Taman*; for which reason, he was denominated *Al Moasferi*, and assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mansûr*. He ruled with an absolute sway, and suffered no one to have access to the young prince; who was only the nominal *Khalîf*, or sovereign, of the *Moslem* conquests in *Spain*. As *Abu Amer* raised himself intirely by his merit, the people were extremely well pleased with his elevation; though several persons of distinction aspired at the high post he so worthily filled. He was born at *Thorash*, or *Torres*, and received his education at *Corduba*, where he made a very considerable progress in several branches of literature, and was a great encourager of learn-
- c ed men; who flocked to his palace from all parts, as to a most celebrated and flourishing academy. He likewise extended his favour and encouragement to all that excelled in the mechanical arts, and had rendered themselves remarkable by surpassing others in any part of useful knowledge. Whence it came to pass, that the *Moslems* considered his administration as a public blessing. Nor was he less famous for his bravery and military skill; having made above fifty irruptions into the territories of the neighbouring *Franks*, many of which were attended with good success. But the most memorable of his expeditions was that in which he gained a complete victory over *Garcias*, the son of *Sanja*, or *Sancho*, king of the *Franks*, and took that prince himself prisoner, in the latter *Rabi*, and the year of the *Hejra* 385, nearly coincident with the 995th of CHRIST. 'Tis remarkable, that the very day on which
- d the signal victory was obtained, and *Garcias* fell into the *Moslems* hands, *Sa'id Ebn Al Hasan*, an *Andalusian* poet and philologer, sent a hart, to which he had given the name of *Garcias*, with a rope, or cord, about its neck, as a present to *Al Mansûr*, together with an encomiastic, or copy of verses, in praise of that hero; three, or a tristich, of which have been preserved by *Abu'lfeda*; who considers this event as an effect of the immediate decree of Divine Providence itself. Having once laid waste the frontiers of *Castile*, he shut up a body of *Franks* in a strait passage, or defile, formed by the neighbouring mountains, and could easily have starved them to a surrender; but his clemency prompted him to release them, when they were upon the point of perishing with hunger. For the particulars of *Al Mansûr*'s expeditions against the *Christians*, or *Franks*, *Roderic of Toledo* refers his
- e readers to the history of the *Goths*; wherein, he says, he has treated more largely and copiously of them. According to this writer, *Al Mansûr* did not take upon himself the office of *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, to *Al Montasar*, before the year of the *Hejra* 367; though *Abu'lfeda* seems to intimate, that he was possessed of that post immediately after the young prince's accession. His glorious exploits against the *Franks* so endeared him to the *Spanish Moslems*, that they frequently offered him the crown of *Corduba*; which he, with great uprightness and integrity, constantly refused. He died, in the year of the *Hejra* 393, according to *Roderic*, and was succeeded in his sublime station by his son *Abd'almâlec*; who received an overthrow from the *Franks*, after he had penetrated into the kingdom of *Leon*, the following year, and never afterwards attempted any thing against them. However, *Heshâm*'s
- f subjects were well enough pleased with his administration. He departed this life, in the 400th year of the *Moslem* æra; upon which, his brother *Abd'alrahmân* was constituted *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, and prime minister to *Heshâm*. This minister intirely abandoned himself to wine and women, and forced his master *Heshâm* to declare him his successor; which so exasperated that prince's subjects, that they assassinated him, about four months and an half after he had taken upon himself the government of *Andalusia*. Notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Roderic of Toledo*, *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Al Mansûr* continued to preside over the *Spanish Moslems*, under the auspices of *Heshâm*, till the year of the *Hejra* 396 (K); but in what manner the sublime post he had so long occupied then became

(K) This article we have deduced from the *Abilfedæ Annales Moslemici* of M. *Reiske*. But either *Abu'lfeda*, his translator, or the printer, is guilty of an incon-

sistency here. For, in another page of this *Latin* version of part of that author's general history, M. *Reiske* makes *Al Mansûr*, in conformity to what has been advanced



became vacant, though in express terms he promised this, that author has not been pleased to inform us \*.

Other remarkable events of the present year.

WE must not forget to observe, that *Saado'ddawla Sharif Abu'l Maali*, the son of the famous *Saifo'ddawla*, returned to *Aleppo*, from whence he had been driven by *Curuba*, one of his father's slaves, the present year. After his expulsion from *Aleppo*, he retired first to *Mayyâfâraîn*, afterwards to *Hamab*, and from thence to *Hems*; the last of which places he found himself obliged to abandon at the approach of the *Greeks*, who sacked, and in a great measure destroyed, that city. It was soon, however, restored to its pristine state by *Marakthash*, who had been likewise one of *Saifo'ddawla*'s slaves, and had afterwards possessed himself of the castle of *Borzayyab*. This general came over with a body of troops to *Saado'ddawla Sharif Abu'l Maali Ebn Saifo'ddawla*; which proved no small accession of strength to that prince. In the mean time, *Bacjûr*, one of *Curuba*'s slaves, whom he had made governor of the castle of *Aleppo*, seized upon his master and put him under arrest in that castle. This so incensed the people of *Aleppo*, that they sent to *Saado'ddawla*, to implore his protection, and to desire him to rescue them from the tyranny of *Bacjûr*, who had usurped the sovereignty of their city. The first thing *Saado'ddawla* did, after his arrival at *Aleppo*, was, to promise *Bacjûr* not only an unlimited pardon and amnesty, to extend to all his adherents, but likewise the prefecture of *Hems*, if he would acknowledge him for his prince. With this proposal he immediately closed, and introduced *Saado'ddawla*, with his troops, into the castle; which put the place effectually into his hands. About the same time, *Babastûn*, the son of *Washmakîn*, or *Washmakir*, *Ebn Zayyâr* departed this life; as did also *Yusef Ebn Al Hasan Al Jannâbi*, the *Karmatian*, lord, or prince, of *Hajr*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 280. After his death, the *Karmatians* changed the form of their government, and committed the direction of their state to six great officers, whom they dignified with the title of lords, or regents. For a farther account of this nation, or rather sect, we must refer our learned and curious readers to *Al Nowairi*, in the third volume of his history; who will, we doubt not, give them a full and ample satisfaction on this head, as well as several others, which the limits of this work will not permit us at present to touch upon \*.

Adado'ddawla puts Azzo'ddawla and his Wazir to death.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 367, beginning Aug. 19th, 977, *Adado'ddawla* appeared at the head of a powerful army before the walls of *Baghdâd*. But before he laid siege to the town, he offered to permit *Azzo'ddawla* to retire to any place where should think proper to chuse, except *Al Mawfel*, and even to cede some part of his territories to him, provided he would immediately abandon *Irâk*. He also sent him a cloke, or mantle, not so much as a mark of respect, as an intimation of his being in a state of subjection to him. However, *Azzo'ddawla* put on this cloke, and departed out of *Irâk*; intending to make the best of his way towards *Syria*. He had no sooner left the capital, than *Adado'ddawla* entered it, mentioned his own name in the public prayers, which had never before been done, and ordered a drum to be beat before his palace; which was likewise an innovation. He also commanded *Ebn Bakîb*, or *Ali Ebn Abu Thâher*, as he is called by *Al Makîn*, *Azzo'ddawla*'s *Wâzir*, to be put to death, and his body to be affixed to a gibbet, or cross, erected for that purpose; which drew a fine copy of verses, in praise of that unhappy person, from *Abu'l Hasan Al Anbâri*, the poet; several of which have been handed down to us both by *Abu'l-feda* and *Al Makîn*. This obliged the *Khalîf Al Tay'* to confer the post of *Emîr Al Omra* upon *Adado'ddawla*, to give him two imperial standards, and to put both himself and his family into his hands. In the mean time, *Azzo'ddawla*, after his departure from *Baghdâd*, went to *Al Hadîtha*, where he met with *Hamdân Ebn Nasero'ddawla*, who was in the same forlorn condition with himself; having been stript of the district his father had assigned him, and ejected from thence, by his brother *Abu Taglab*. These two exiled princes, having conferred together, resolved to move at the head of a body of troops they had assembled towards *Al Mawfel*, and force *Abu Taglab* to restore the places he had so unjustly taken from his brother *Hamdân*. But *Abu Taglab*, having been apprized of their hostile intentions, offered to join *Azzo'ddawla* with all his forces, and march with him directly to *Baghdâd*, in order to drive from thence *Adado'ddawla*, and restore him to his former post, if he would deliver up to him his brother *Hamdân*. With this proposal *Azzo'ddawla* immediately closed, and sent *Hamdân* to *Abu Taglab* in chains; upon which, that prince joined him with an army of 20,000 men. After this junction, *Azzo'ddawla* and *Abu Taglab* began their march for *Baghdâd*; but were met by *Adado'ddawla*, who brought with him the *Khalîf Al Tay'*, in

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 366. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxx, xxxi, p. 25, 26.

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL NOWAIRI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Carmath & Carmathi*, p. 256, 257, 258.

vanced by Roderic of Toledo on the same head, to have is obvious and clear; but to whom it is in reality to be died in the year of the *Hejra* 393. The inconsistency imputed, we shall not take upon us to say (1).

(1) *Abulfed. Annal. Moslemic. &c.* p. 297, 318. *Lipsia*, 1754.



- a the neighbourhood of *Tecrit*. After several movements, wherein the generals on both sides endeavoured to shew their military skill, a general action ensued, the 18th of *Shawâl*, at a place called *Casr Al Jassi*, or *the castle of chalk*, which ended in the defeat of *Azzo'ddawla* and *Abu Taglab*. The former of those commanders was taken prisoner in the action, and afterwards put to death by *Adado'ddawla*'s order; but the latter made his escape to *May-yâfârakîn*, from whence he was driven by *Abu'l Wasi*, who had been sent in pursuit of him by *Adado'ddawla*, with a detachment of his troops, to *Bedlis*. Not thinking himself safe here, he fled into the *Christian* territories; where he was soon after attacked by a party of the *Khalîf*'s forces, then in quest of him. But here he proved superior to his enemies, routed them, and then advanced to *Hisn Ziyâd*, or *the castle of Ziyâd*, called in the days of
- b *Abu'lfeda*, *Khort Bart*, i. e. *Quarta Parthica*, the fourth Parthian, i. e. legion; the fourth Parthian legion having probably, towards the decline of the *Roman* empire, been stationed, or quartered, there. This, if admitted, will give us sufficiently to understand, that the *Romans*, in certain intervals, denominated four of their legions *Parthian*; which perhaps has not hitherto been so clearly evinced, either from any good author, or from any genuine remains of antiquity. From *Hisn Ziyâd* *Abu Taglab* retired to *Amed*, where he for some time remained. After *Azzo'ddawla*'s death, his head was cut off, and carried to *Adado'ddawla*; who is said to have wiped his eyes with an handkerchief, and to have shed tears at the sight of it. *Azzo'ddawla* was thirty-six years old, when he came to his untimely end; and had then exercised the function of *Emîr Al Omrâ* eleven years, and
- c some months, according to *Al Makîn*. He was a prince of a very robust body, sound understanding, and extremely brave; insomuch that, if we will believe the last-mentioned writer, he could take a bull by his legs, and throw him on his back upon the ground by main force, without ropes, or any kind of assistance. Nor was he afraid to encounter lions, and to hunt them. Upon *Babastîn*'s death, *Fânûs*, another of *Wajsmakîn*'s sons, ascended the throne of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*. The former of those princes is called *Hasbûl* by *Al Makîn*<sup>r</sup>.

- THE same year, *Bardas Phocas*, whom *Basilus* had recalled from exile, and put at the head of his forces, was overthrown, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, by *Bardas Sclerus*, the usurper, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Mesopotamia*. Vast numbers
- d of men fell on both sides in this battle; which was fought at *Amorium*, as has been already observed. After the end of the action, *Sclerus* sent *Abd'allah Al Montaser*, one of his officers, to *Antioch*, to preside over the people of that city. But *Abd'allah* was, soon after his arrival there, prevailed upon, by the address of *Agabius*, a certain bishop, who had for some time resided at *Aleppo*, to desert *Sclerus*, and declare for the emperor. After which, *Antioch* submitted to that prince, and *Agabius* was promoted to the patriarchate of that city, as the people of it had been unanimously desired. *Sclerus* having received advice of what had happened at *Antioch*, dispatched thither one *Babrâm*, with a body of troops, to bring back the citizens to a sense of their duty to him. But they refusing to admit him into the town, he laid siege to it for some time, plundered the neighbouring district, and carried off with him
- e a vast many head of cattle. In the mean time, *Sclerus* sent an ambassador, with very valuable presents, to *Adado'ddawla* at *Baghdâd*, to request his assistance against the emperor; who thereupon promised him a body of his best troops, to enable him to make head against the imperial forces. This year, the famous *Ephrêm Syrus*, called by the *Arabs* *Efrabâm Al Sorayai Ebn Zara'a*, was constituted patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, and remained in that see three years and six months. He was supposed to have been carried off by poison, through the wickedness of one *Abu'l Sarûr*, a *Christian* of note, who had a post in the *Diwân*, because he had several times reprov'd, and at last excommunicated him, for having many concubines, and not confining himself to one wife. For the perpetration of which horrid fact, he had one of his hands cut off, and soon after died, or rather, as we
- f would willingly understand *Al Makîn*, was put to death: for sure such punishment only could have been deemed adequate to so heinous a crime. This patriarch was of a most excellent disposition. He gave his substance to the poor, and to his own church, abolished all simoniacal exactions, and was extremely pious, regular, and devout, in the performance of all religious duties. *Sewîrus*, or *Severus*, *Ebn Al Makfa'*, bishop of *Al Asbmûnîn*; was one of his contemporaries. The see of the *Jacobite* patriarchs at *Alexandria* continued vacant six months, after his death; and he was at last succeeded by *Philotheus*, who remained in that see twenty-four years and seven months. The new patriarch was very avaricious, an epicure, permitted simony, and had in general an exceeding bad character. He was at last, as we have been told, frightened to death by an apparition, which he saw

<sup>r</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 235, 236. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 367. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 318, 319. HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Adhad Eddoulat*, p. 58. & art. *Azzeddoulat*, p. 154, 155.



in St. Mark's church. It ought to be remembered here, that the emperor *John Zimisces* <sup>a</sup> died, in the year of the *Hejra* 365, according to *Al Makin* <sup>2</sup>.

Mohammed Ebn Abd'al-rahmân, the Kâdi of Al Sendiyah, dies.

THE famous *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, commonly called *Ebn Cariab*, the Kâdi of *Al Sendiyah*, and other places in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, departed this life, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the present year. *Al Sendiyah* was a town, in that writer's days, upon a canal, or branch, of the *Tigris*, denominated by the *Arabs* *Nabr Isa*, the river of *Isa*, between *Al Anbâr* and *Baghdâd*. *Al Kâdi Ebn Cariab* was a man of exceeding quick parts, and even the wonder of the age. He could instantly resolve all questions, and decide all juridical cases, without the least hesitation. He spoke with the utmost fluency and propriety; his style being always copious, elegant, and pure. The principal men of the age were his admirers, and took great pleasure in joking with him. They frequently proposed, <sup>b</sup> in writing, ridiculous questions to him, that drew from him immediate answers, penned without study or meditation, which excited the mirth and laughter of all that saw them. *Al Mohallebi*, the *Wazîr*, who was extremely intimate with him, procured several persons to draw up ludicrous questions, and propose imaginary cases to him. One of these, framed by *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Moalla*, has been preserved by *Abu'lfeda*, as a specimen of his wit; for a sight of which, we must beg leave to refer our learned and curious readers to that celebrated author, as it is rather too long to be inserted here <sup>3</sup>.

Adado'ddawla seizes upon the territories of the house of Hamdân.

THE next year, being the 368th of the *Hejra*, and commencing *August* 8th, 978, *Abu'l Wafî*, *Adado'ddawla's* general, took *Mayyâfârah*, by capitulation. Of which advice having been brought to *Abu Taglab*, he fled from *Amed*, where he then resided, to *Al Rahaba*, <sup>c</sup> upon the *Euphrates*, and from thence to *Damascus*, over which one *Cassam* presided, for *Al Azîz Bi'llah*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Egypt*. The country then lying open to him, and no enemy appearing to oppose him, *Adado'ddawla* easily made himself master of *Diyâr Becr*, *Diyâr Modar*, and all the territories of the house of *Hamdân*; after which, he returned in triumph to *Baghdâd*. In the mean time, *Cassam* drove *Abu Taglab* from *Damascus* by force of arms; who thereupon retired to *Tabariyah*, or *Tiberias*, with the troop that attended him. About the same time, died *Al Kâdi Abu Sa'id Al Hasan Ebn Abd'allah Al Sîrâfi*, a celebrated grammarian, and the author of a commentary upon the grammar of *Sibuiyah*. He was a polite scholar, a geometrician, a logician, and a *Fakih*. *Abu Mohammed Marûf* succeeded him as *Kâdi* in the eastern part of the city of *Baghdâd* <sup>d</sup>.

Jawhar is forced to raise the siege of Damaicus, and retire into Egypt.

THE same year, and not before, if we will believe *Al Makin*, *Al Azîz Bi'llah* sent *Jawhar* with an army to drive *Al Asteîn Al Sbarâbi* from *Damascus*. *Jawhar*, in pursuance of his orders, formed the siege of that city; but, at the end of two months, he was obliged to draw off from before the place, by the approach of a body of *Karmatian* troops, under the command of *Al Hasan*, or *Al Hakem*, *Ebn Ahmed*, that marched with the utmost expedition, in order to force him to raise the siege. *Al Hasan* and *Al Asteîn*, after the junction of their forces, pursued *Jawhar*, first to *Tabariyah*, or *Tiberias*, and afterwards to *Al Ramla*; at the last of which towns *Al Asteîn* permitted *Jawhar* to resume his march, or rather his flight, for *Egypt*, on condition that he passed under *Al Asteîn's* sword and *Al Hasan's* lance, that were hung over one of the gates. To this *Jawhar*, who was reduced to the last extremity, found himself obliged to submit; though it was intended by *Al Asteîn* as a mark of the highest infamy and disgrace. *Jawhar* no sooner arrived at *Mesr*, than he advised *Al Azîz* himself to undertake an expedition against the combined army of *Turks*, *Karmatians*, and *Damascenes*, under the conduct of *Al Asteîn* and *Al Hasan Ebn Ahmed*; who thereupon advanced to *Al Ramla*, engaged the enemy not far from that place, and overthrew them with very great slaughter. *Al Asteîn* himself escaped out of the battle; but he was soon after taken, and brought to *Al Azîz*; who carried him into *Egypt*, made him his *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, and treated him with uncommon marks of distinction there. However, continues *Al Makin*, he was soon after poisoned, out of pure envy, by *Al Azîz's Wazîr*; who was, for his barbarity on this occasion, thrown into prison, by his master's order, and for some time there detained. But *Al Azîz*, not being able to keep the wheel of government in motion, to his own satisfaction, without the assistance of this minister, he was afterwards released, and restored to his former dignity. This relation, extracted from *Al Makin*, differs considerably, both with regard to time and several other circumstances, from the account of the same events handed down to us by *Abu'lfeda*; which has been inserted, from that celebrated author, above. It likewise differs, in one remarkable particular, from what has been advanced by another good writer; who asserts, that *Al Hakem*, or *Al Hasan*, *Ebn Ahmed*, the *Karmatian* general, died at *Al Ramla*, in the year of the *Hejra* 366, as has been <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>

<sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 244—247. EUSEB. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 366—386. JOAN. CUROPALAT. in Basil. Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 588, 589. Lond. 1742. <sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 367.

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 236. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 368. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 319.



a already observed. However, as an insertion of these different narratives will, as we apprehend, not a little contribute to the illustration of the *Moslem* history, in the point before us, we hope our readers will at least excuse what has been recommended to their perusal, from *Al Makin*. in this place <sup>c</sup>.

ADADO'DDAWLA having engaged to support *Bardas Sclerus*, who had been saluted emperor by the army in *Mesopotamia*, as has been remarked above, a body of troops was ordered to his assistance from *Baghdád*. But before these troops could reach him, he was overthrown by *Bardas Phocas*, the imperial general, in a great battle, fought on Sunday, the 21st of *Shaabân*, this year, in the plains of *Pancalea*, and obliged to fly, with a small body of horse, to *Mayyâfârakîn*. Soon after his arrival there, he was secured, by a private order b the governor of the place had received from *Adado'ddawla*, who afterwards disowned this, and sent him, with his son *Romanus*, and 300 horse, that made their escape out of the battle with him, to *Baghdád*. Upon his arrival at the metropolis, he was put into a house that had been fitted up for him, and was allowed moreover to divert himself in the isle of *Madîda* as often as he pleased; though he could be considered in no other light than that of a state-prisoner, as he was so straitly confined, that no person, without permission, could have any conversation with him. However, *Adado'ddawla*, in order to make his confinement fit a little more easy upon him, promised to send him to the frontiers with such an army as should soon enable him to re-establish his broken affairs. In the mean time, that prince dispatched a minister to the imperial court, with an offer to deliver up *Sclerus* into their c hands, if they would restore all the fortresses their troops had of late years taken from the *Moslems*; threatening, at the same time, that if this overture was rejected, he would assist *Sclerus*, both with his forces and his treasures, and even enable him to penetrate into the very heart of the empire. That court, being terrified with this menace, sent one *Nicephorus* to *Baghdád*, to conclude a treaty with *Adado'ddawla*, in a manner upon his own terms; of which *Sclerus* being informed, he insinuated to the *Emîr Al Omrà*, that the *Greek* minister intended to poison him. This made such an impression upon *Adado'ddawla*, that he ordered *Nicephorus* to be seized, and thrown into prison. All his attendants were treated in the same manner. The presents brought by the *Greek* ambassador, either for the *Khalîf*, or the *Emîr Al Omrà*, or both, were also secured. *Al Makin* assures us, that *Nicephorus* and his retinue were incarcerated, and remained in chains, eight full years. We must beg d leave to take notice here, that the place to which *Sclerus* made his escape, after the battle of *Pancalea*, is called by *Curopolates Martyropolis*, and *Mayyâfârakîn* by *Al Makin*. From whence we may infer, that Sig. *Assemani* merits not the approbation of the learned, when he censures M. *Renaudot* for intimating, that *Martyropolis* and *Mayyâfârakîn* were the same city; though it must be owned, that the latter of those two celebrated orientalists has offered a conjecture of no great weight in support of his opinion <sup>d</sup>.

AL AZIZ BI'LLAH having married a *Christian* lady, of the *Melchite* sect, made one of her brothers, named *Jeremiah*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and the other, who was called *Arse-* nius, patriarch of the *Melchites* at *Kairo*, or *Al Kâbirab*, and *Mesr*. As the *Fâtemite Khalîf* had a daughter by this lady, both she and her brothers had a considerable ascendent over e him; and therefore *Arsenius* easily obtained of him a grant of the great church of the *Jacobites* at *Mesr*, called afterwards by the *Melchites* the church of the patriarch. The *Khalîf Al Tay'* commanded *Adado'ddawla's* name to be mentioned, for the first time, in the public prayers, on *Friday*, the 26th of *Shaabân*, the present year; and to be repeated every third *Friday* afterwards, in the mosques of *Baghdád*. He also commanded drums to be beat before his palace, during the time of the five prayers. Neither of which compliments had ever been paid to any of his predecessors. As *Adado'ddawla* was the sovereign of *Persia*, and his army was chiefly composed of the troops of that country, the *Khalîf* likewise dignified him with the *Persian* title *Shâhenshâh* (K), or *Shâkinshâh*, the great king, or the king of kings;

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 237. AL MAKRIZI, EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 372, 373. <sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 245. JOAN. CUROPALAT. in Basil. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissert. de Monophysit. RENAUD. lit. orient. tom. second. p. 271.

(K) The word *Shâh*, according to the sentiments of *Khoja Afîbaloddîn*, is of the same import with *Padishâh*, a term in the *Bastanian* tongue, which is a dialect of the ancient *Persic*, and has, if we will believe that author, the four following significations. 1. It denotes any thing that is the most eminent and excellent in its kind. 2. The origin, first cause, or root, of every thing. 3. A king, prince, or lord. 4. A bridegroom, or son-in-law. With respect to the word *Pad*, the first part of *Padishâh*, it properly denotes a keeper, guardian, or protector, as we learn from some of the writers

followed by M. *D'Herbelot*. As for the term *Padishâh*, it is a title at this day assumed by the greatest princes of the east, viz. the Grand Signor, the king of *Persia*, and the Great *Mogul*. The first of these has always been so jealous of this title, that he never gave it to any of the *Christian* potentates, but the king of *France*, till of late, when, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, he has been prevailed upon to bestow it likewise upon the king of *England*, by dint of presents. The emperor and the king of *Spain* can obtain no other title of him than that of *Cral*; which, in *Sclavonian*, signifies a king; at least



kings; which was assumed by the antient *Persian* monarchs, even before the days of *Alexander the Great*. Nor was any *Moslem* prince ever honoured with this lofty and sublime title before *Adado'ddawla*, to whom it was henceforth constantly applied in the pulpits, and probably other public places, of all the cities and towns within the jurisdiction of the *Khalif*, or rather of his prime minister, the *Emir Al Omra*. It is worthy observation, that *Adado'ddawla* is called *Chosrboes*, and said to have granted 3000 *Roman*, or *Greek*, captives their liberty, for the eminent services they had done him against the rebellious *Persians*, i. e. the forces commanded by *Azzo'ddawla* and *Abu Taglab*, or the subjects of the house of *Hamdan*, who were neighbours to the *Persians*. For this clearly shews us what an imperfect, jejune, and indistinct account of the *Moslem* affairs, during the period we are now upon, has been handed down to posterity by the *Greek* writers, so imperfect, jejune, and indistinct, that we could scarce form any manner of idea of those affairs, without having recourse to the eastern historians! But this, we flatter ourselves, is abundantly manifest from the whole tenor of that part of our extensive work, in which we are at present engaged.

Dagfal Ebn  
Mafraj puts  
Abu Taglab  
to the sword.

THE following year, being the 369th of the *Hejra*, beginning July 29th, 979, in the month of *Al Mobarram*, *Abu Taglab* departed from *Tabariyah*, or *Tiberias*, where we left him the preceding year, to *Al Ramla*. In the district of this city, *Dagfal Ebn Mofraj*, or, as he is named by *Al Makin*, *Mofraj Ebn Da'kal*, an *Arab* of the tribe of *Tay*, and one *Fadl*, who commanded a body of troops sent by *Al Aziz* against the forces of *Abu Taglab* out of *Egypt*, had seated themselves. The former of these captains, according to *Al Makin*, had possessed himself of *Al Ramla*, and the neighbouring tract, by force of arms; and the other, being afraid of *Abu Taglab*, had joined *Dagfal Ebn Mofraj*, with all the troops under his command. After this junction, the generals of the combined forces fell upon *Abu Taglab*, whose little army did not consist of above seven hundred men, routed him, and took him prisoner. As *Dagfal Ebn Mofraj*, into whose hands *Abu Taglab* fell, imagined that *Fadl* would demand his prisoner of him, and send him to *Al Aziz* at *Mesr*, where he might meet with as favourable a reception as *Al Aftekin* had, in similar circumstances, met with there before, he put him to the sword, and afterwards cut off his head. The body, or trunk, *Fadl* caused to be burnt; but the head he took care to have conveyed to *Al Aziz*, the *Fatemit* *Khalif*, in *Egypt*. We find it intimated by *Al Makin*, that *Abu Taglab* joined the *Okailite Arabs*, a tribe settled in that part of *Syria* which was the scene of this expedition, before the beginning of the action; whereas we are told by *Abu'l feda*, that his wife, who was the daughter of *Saifo'ddawla*, and his sister *Jamila*, were carried off by those *Arabs*, as part of the spoil, to *Aleppo*, where *Sharif Abu'l Ma'ali Saado'ddawla Ebn Saifo'ddawla* at that time reigned. His sister, *Abu Taglab's* wife, that prince kept with him; but *Jamila* he sent to *Baghdad*, to *Adado'ddawla*, her relation; who assigned her an apartment in his seraglio, amongst the rest of his ladies there.

Adado'ddawla  
drives his  
brother Fak-  
ro'ddawla  
from Al Ray  
and Hama-  
dan.

THE same year, *Adado'ddawla* wrote to his brothers *Fakbro'ddawla* and *Mowayyado'ddawla*, to make their submission to him. *Mowayyado'ddawla* readily complied with what was required of him in this letter, which carried with it the air of a command; but *Fakbro'ddawla* answered his brother in the style of an equal, and a sovereign, who considered himself as intirely independent on any other prince. This so incensed *Adado'ddawla*, that he immediately assembled a numerous army, and marched towards *Hamadan*, where *Fakbro'ddawla* had fixed his residence; who being terrified with what had happened to *Azzodo'ddawla*, or *Bakhtiyar*, abandoned the place at his approach, and fled to *Shams Al Ma'ali Kabus*, the son of *Washmakin*, or *Washmakir*, the prince, or lord, of *Jorjan*, who treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and received him with greater cordiality than even his most sanguine hopes could have prompted him to expect. In the mean time, *Adado'ddawla*, finding no enemy to oppose him, seized upon *Hamadan* and *Al Ray*, with their dependencies, and all the interjacent tract. He also reduced the district of *Hafniyah*, the *Curd*, in this expedition. But, in the midst of the uninterrupted success that now

\* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 236, 237, 247. AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 769, 770. KHON-DEMIR, JOAN. CUROPALAT. in Basil. See likewise the Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 590. Lond. 1742. f ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 369. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 237, 238. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 319.

least this was the case, if M. D'Herbelot may be credited, towards the close of the last century, when he published his famous *Bibliothèque*. The *Persians* say, that a great king is justly styled *Padishah*, because he is the guardian and protector of the people who acknowledge him for their sovereign. There is, however, another signi-

fication of the word *Padishah*, which is explained by the terms *throne*, *royal pavilion*, &c. though the former sense has been esteemed the most eligible by *Sheikh Sadi*, in a distich of his, which has been inserted in his valuable work by M. D'Herbelot (15).

(15) *Khoja Afdhalo'ddin* & *Sheikh Sadi*, apud D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. art. *Pad*. p. 699. & art. *Schah*, p. 767. ut et ipse D'Herbel. ibid.



- a attended his arms, he was seized with a fit of an epilepsy, which in such manner deprived him of his memory, that he could scarce remember any thing that had ever happened to him. However, he took care to conceal both these disastrous events as much as possible. Before the end of the campaign, he likewise harrassed the *Hakkarite Curds*, settled in the prefecture of *Al Mawfel*, made the chief of them to descend from the hilly tract they inhabited, in order to pay him homage in that city, and obliged them to put into his hands all their castles and places of strength. After his return home, he repaired the city of *Baghdád*, a great part of which had been demolished in the continual wars and disputes that had happened between the different princes, or *Emírs*, who had dismembered the *Khalifat*, rebuilt the mosques and other public edifices that had been destroyed, and supported with pensions many *Imáms*, learned men, and such infirm persons as generally live in the mosques; in all which things he expended vast sums of money. He also cleansed and sunk, or deepened, several rivers, that had in a manner disappeared; reducing them to their former channels, or beds. About this time, *Adado'ddawla* gave his daughter in marriage to *Al Tay' Lillab*, that his family might supply the *Moslems* with future *Khalífs*. A quarrel happened between the *Moslems* and *Magians*, inhabiting the city of *Skérúz*; on which occasion, the latter had their houses plundered, and were very ill used. Many of them were severely drubbed, and not a few of them cut and flathed in a terrible manner. *Adado'ddawla* sent an officer to inquire into the cause of this tumult, and to punish the guilty; but the *Magians* were so far from meeting with any redress for the injuries that had been offered them, and the losses they had sustained, that they were reprimanded for their temerity and presumption, in daring to contend with the *Moslems*. The name of *Adado'ddawla's* daughter, espoused to the *Khalíf Al Tay'*, we have not been told; but her dower is said to have amounted to 100,000 *diráms* <sup>2</sup>.

- THIS year, died *Omrán Ebn Shabín*, the lord of *Al Batíka*, or the marshy district bordering upon the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of *Wáset*. He was born in the city of *Al Famedá*, which he was obliged to quit in his earlier years, on account of some enormous crimes that he had committed. As the fear of punishment had driven him from *Al Famedá*, so it impelled him to take refuge in the fens, or marshes, formed by the overflowings, or restagnations, of the *Tigris*, where he thought justice could never come at him. Here, for some time, he lived in the ditches, or dikes, amongst the reeds; feeding upon the fish he took, and aquatic birds that were continually hovering about him. In the mean time, he gradually formed a considerable body of men out of the fishermen, robbers, and other persons in the same desperate circumstances with himself, that almost daily resorted to him. This enabled him to plunder and harrass the inhabitants of the adjacent territory; so that he soon became the terror of the whole neighbourhood. Nay, as he had erected several castles, or forts, as places of refuge, on the hills, with which the fens, or marshes, above-mentioned, were intermixed, and placed garisons in them, he at last grew formidable to the *Khalíf*, or rather the *Emír Al Omrá*, himself. This determined *Moezzo'ddawla*, if possible, to reduce him; so that he sent several bodies of troops against him, in the year of the *Hejra* 338, and some of the following years, but without effect. At last, he resolved to make the utmost efforts to extirpate the whole gang of robbers that obeyed the orders of this chief, who had possessed himself of a district of very considerable extent, and projected an expedition against them, in the year of the *Hejra* 356; but died upon his march, as has been already observed. Nor could his son and successor *Azzo'ddawla*, or *Bakhtiyár*, either expel *Omrán* from the tract he had seized, or get him into his hands. In fine, after this robber had eluded all the attempts of several *Khalífs*, and other powerful princes, to subdue him, for the space of near forty years, he died suddenly in the month of *Al Moharram*, and left the principality he had erected to *Al Hasan*, his son. Soon after his accession, *Al Hasan* submitted to *Adado'ddawla*, who had taken post on his frontiers with a strong detachment of the *Khalíf's* forces, recognized *Al Tay's* authority, and agreed to pay an annual tribute for the province he governed. *Al Hasein Ebn Zaccaríi*, a celebrated philologer, who wrote several learned books, and particularly one displaying the interior excellencies and beauties of the *Arabic* tongue, and *Thábet Ebn Ibrahim* (L), a very skilful physician of *Harrán*, of the *Sabian* religion, likewise departed this life the present year <sup>3</sup>.

IN

<sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 319, 320. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 369. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Fakhr Aldaulat*, p. 329. <sup>3</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 324, 325. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121.

(L) This *Thábet Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Harán Al Harráni*, according to *Abu'l Ferej Ebn Abul Hasan Ebn Senan*, being one day in the palace of *Abu Mohammed Al Mohallesi*, the *Wazir*, *Abu Al Fath Ebn Al Hajej*, a poet of *Harrán*, came to him for his advice. As soon as *Thábet*

had felt his pulse, he told him, that he had eaten veal dressed with sour milk to excess, and that this was the occasion of his disorder. At the same time, he felt the pulse of *Abu'l Abbas*, the astrologer; after which he intimated to him, that he had devoured eleven pomegranates



The principal  
transactions  
of the year  
370.

IN the 370th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced July 17th, 980, nothing very remarkable seems to have happened; except we should think fit to admit, that the *Khalif Al Tay'* was married in it, as our readers will find suggested at least, if not directly asserted, by *Al Makin*. However, *Al Ahmed Al Mozawwer*, i. e. the gibbous, or crook-backed, falsifier, so denominated from the art in which he excelled, died in some part of it. This man was the most ingenious forger of writings, and imitator of hands, that the age, in which he lived, produced. So dextrous was he at this sort of work, that the person whose hand he counterfeited could not entertain the least doubt but the writing was his own. *Adado'ddawla* very well knew what use to make of so surprizing a person as this. Whenever he had a mind to set any of the neighbouring princes at variance, he caused such letters to be drawn up as were the most likely to sow jealousies and dissensions amongst them, and then ordered *Al Abdab Al Mozawwer* to transcribe them in different hands, resembling those of the potentates he intended thereby either to render suspicious of one another's designs, or directly to inflame; which generally produced the desired effect. About the same time, died also *Abu Mansur Mohammed Ebn Ahmed*, surnamed *Al Azhari*, a celebrated philologer, *Imam*, and *Fakih*, of the sect of *Al Shafei*; who first applied himself to the study of jurisprudence, from whence he received the title of *Fakih*, but afterwards almost solely to that of philology and the *belles lettres*. He composed a lexicon, consisting of above ten volumes, intituled, *The book of correction*, in which were corrected all the vulgar errors in the writing and pronunciation of the *Arabic* tongue. He likewise wrote another book, wherein he explained all the law terms, used by the *Fakibs*, or lawyers, of his time. He was born in the 282d year of the *Hejra*, and must consequently have been about 88 lunar years old at the time of his death. We must not forget to relate, that the lord, or prince, of *Yaman* sent *Adado'ddawla* some very valuable presents this year; amongst which there was an exceeding large piece of amber, that weighed fifty-six pounds of *Baghdad*<sup>i</sup>.

Adado'ddawla drives Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn from Jorjân and Tabrestân.

THE next year, being the 371st of the *Hejra*, beginning July 7th, 981, *Shams Al Mahâli Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn* resolved to enter into a war with *Adado'ddawla* and *Mowayyado'ddawla*, in order to recover the territories that had been taken from *Fakbro'ddawla* by his brother *Adado'ddawla*, two years before. *Adado'ddawla* having received advice of *Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn*'s military preparations, and hostile intentions towards him, sent his brother *Mowayyado'ddawla* the *Khalif Al Tay'*'s instrument of investiture of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*, which countries *Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn* at that time governed. He also immediately set a numerous army on foot, in conjunction with his brother *Mowayyado'ddawla*, marched to the frontiers of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*, overthrew the forces commanded by *Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn* and *Fakbro'ddawla*, and seized upon *Kâbûs*'s kingdom. We find it intimated by *Al Makin*, that *Mowayyado'ddawla* was the *Khalif*'s, or rather his brother *Adado'ddawla*'s, general in this war; but *Abu'l-feda* seems to insinuate, that *Adado'ddawla* himself was the commander in chief in this expedition. The latter of these writers likewise gives us to understand, that *Adado'ddawla* came to a rupture with *Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn*, because he refused to deliver up his brother *Fakbro'ddawla* into his hands<sup>k</sup>.

Other memorable events, that happened, this year.

ABOUT the same time, *Adado'ddawla* ordered the *Kâdi Al Mohsen Ebn Ali Al Tanukbi*, one of the followers of *Abu Hanîfa*, to be taken up, and imprisoned, for venting his rage and fury against *Al Shafei*, without intermission, in the most virulent and outrageous manner. He likewise set at liberty *Abu Ishak Ibrahim*, a *Sabian*, whom he had incarcerated in the year of the *Hejra* 367, and kept in a state of confinement ever since, for discovering to his master *Bakhtiyâr*, in his letters to him, the result of *Adado'ddawla*'s councils, and the secrets of his administration, and at the same time pointing out to him what measures it would be proper for him to pursue, in consequence of the discoveries he had made. This, says *Abu'l-feda*, was a very iniquitous procedure; since a servant's fidelity to his master, instead of being punished, ought to meet with the most ample reward. This year, *Al Kâdi Abu Beir Mohammed Ebn Thayyab Al Ashâri*, commonly known by the name of *Ebn Al Bakelâni*, or

<sup>i</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 238. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 370. <sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 371. KHONDEMIR, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJA'AFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiari*. D'HEREEL. ubi sup. p. 329, 330.

nates at once, and that this was the cause of the malady he laboured under. *Abu Abd'allah Ebn Al Hejaj* and *Abu'l Abbâs* both confessing, that what he had said, in relation to the food they had eaten, was exactly true, all the persons then present could not forbear wondering at the singular sagacity he discovered on this occasion. *Abu'l Faraj Ebn Abu'l Hasan Ebn Senân*, afterwards asking him, how he came to know, that *Abu Abd'allah Ebn Al Hejaj* had eaten veal, and not beef, and *Abu'l Abbâs* precisely eleven pomegranates? *Thâbit* replied, that he

could give no account of this, his mind having only suggested it to him. Upon which, *Abu'l Faraj Ebn Abu'l Hasan Ebn Senân*, calculating his nativity, found, that the position of *Jupiter* and the *Part of Fortune* in his *Horoscope*, or *Ascendant*, indicated this extraordinary faculty to be inherent in him; or rather, which comes nearer to *Abu'l Faraj*'s manner of expression, conferred upon him the power of divining as he had done, to the wonder and astonishment of all that heard him (16).

(16) *Abu'l Faraj Ebn Abu'l Hasan Ebn Senân*, Greg. *Abu'l Faraj*, in *hist. dynast.* p. 324, 325.



- a the son of the gardener, or seller of beans, was dispatched to *Constantinople*, with *Adado'ddawla's* answer to the emperor *Basilus's* last letter. Being admitted to an audience, he was ordered to prostrate himself before the emperor; which refusing to do, the next time he was brought into *Basilus's* presence, he was conducted to a gate, or entrance, through which he could not pass without incurvation, or rather without stooping to the very ground. The *Kâdi* smelling out the design of the imperial court in this finessè, went through the passage backwards, and then turned himself in an erect posture towards the emperor. The hospital of *Al Adadi*, in the western part of *Baghdâd*, was also opened, and well stored with all kinds of medicaments, towards the beginning of the year we are now upon. We must not forget to observe, that *Abu'l Kasem Ebn A' Hasan*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, was killed in an
- b action that happened between him and the *Franks*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, according to *Al Kâdi Shahabo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, the present year; though *Abu'lfeda* places this event amongst the transactions of the following year. But, however that may be, this *Abu'l Kasem*, who governed the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily* twelve years, five months, and several days, after his death, had the title of *Al Shâhid*, the confessor, or witness of the truth, conferred upon him, and was afterwards reputed a martyr, by the *Moslems* of that island. His son *Jaber*, a prince of a very vitious and dissolute life, and totally unfit for government, succeeded him; though he was not confirmed in the office of *Emîr* by *Al Aziz*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Egypt*, but on the contrary dismissed from that post, the following year. For the particulars of the wonderful conversion of *Wasa Ebn Rejâ* from *Islamism* to
- c *Christianity*, which happened about this time, when he is said to have been miraculously transported through the air by *St. Mercury*, from one of the solitudes of *Al Hejâz*, in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*, to the church of that saint at *Mesr*, we must refer our curious readers to *M. Renaudot*, who has extracted a very large and copious account of that memorable event from some of the most authentic oriental writers <sup>1</sup>.

It may not be improper to remark, that *Abu Becr Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ismael Al Jorjâni*, Abu Becr Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ismael Al Jorjâni and Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Al Marwazi die, the present year. denominated also from his grandfather *Al Ismaeli*, a *Fakih* of the sect of *Al Shâfi'i*, and the *Imâm Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah Al Marwazi*, or *Al Merûzi*, another *Fakih* of the same sect, extremely well versed in the knowledge of traditions, and other branches of *Moslem* literature, who propagated with great ardour the body of the traditions of *Al Bok-hârî*, which he received from, or rather heard rehearsed by, his master *Al Farbari*, one of that celebrated doctor's scholars, departed this life before the expiration of the present year <sup>m</sup>.

THE following year, being the 372d of the *Hejra*, which began June 26th, 982, *Al Aziz Billah*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Egypt*, sent an army, under the command of *Bektêkîn*, Bektêkîn de-fests Mosraï in Palestine. his general, into *Syria*, against *Mosraï Ebn Al Farrab*, who had set up for himself in *Palestine*, and drawn together a very considerable body of troops there. However, *Bektêkîn*, having brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, put most of his men to the sword, and ravaged all the country he had subdued in a most dreadful manner. After the defeat of *Mosraï*, he marched to *Damascus*, and obliged *Cassam*, the governor of the place, to surrender that city to him. Having appeased the commotions, that for several years had

e disturbed the repose of the inhabitants of that town, and re-established the public tranquillity there, he returned with his army to *Mesr*; having sent *Cassam* thither before, to bring to the *Khalîf Al Aziz* the news of the success that had attended his troops in this expedition <sup>n</sup>.

THE same year, according to *Al Kâdi Shahabo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, or the following year, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, the *Khalîf Al Aziz* sent *Jaasar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hasan*, one of his greatest favourites, to *Sicily*, in the quality of *Emîr*. This gave Jaasar Ebn Mohammed is appointed by Al Aziz the Emîr of Sicily. no small disgust to *Jaber*, who had rendered himself extremely disagreeable to the *Moslems* of that island, by his infamous conduct. Nor was *Jaasar* much less chagrined at his being obliged to leave a court, where he almost made the principal figure, in order to take possession of a post that by no means suited his inclination. However, he was torn from the

f bosom of his most indulgent master, and obliged to accept of the government of *Sicily*, by the intrigues of *Abu Calas*, for so he has been called by *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Aziz's Wazîr*; who looked upon him with an envious eye. He considered him as the most formidable rival he had, in the *Khalîf's* affections; and therefore resolved to leave no stone unturned to remove him both from the person and councils of that prince <sup>o</sup>.

THIS year, on the 8th of *Shawâl*, died *Adado'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Biliya* at *Baghdâd*. He was worn out by reiterated attacks of the epilepsy, though not forty-eight years old at the time of his death, and at last carried off by one of those attacks. His remains were conducted to *Masbhad Ali*, the place where *Ali Ebn Abu Taleb* is sup- Adado'ddawla's death and character.

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 320. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN E. N ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in lib. cui tit. *Asimodf*. ubi sup. EUSEB. RENAUD. patriarchal. A. c. x. c. d. n. o. r. Jacobitar. p. 374—380. <sup>m</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 372. <sup>o</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 336. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. Saracenicar. rer. epitom. p. 105.



posed by the *Moslems* to have been inhumed, or the sepulchre of that *Imâm*, and there a interred. He presided over *Baghdâd*, *Irâk*, *Kermân*, *Fârs*, *Ammân*, *Khûzistân*, *Al Marâsel*, *Diyâr Beer*, *Harrân*, and *Manbij*, with the title of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, about five years and an half. With regard to his disposition, he was a prince of great magnanimity, unparalleled bravery, an excellent understanding, consummate prudence, uncommon gravity, vast sagacity in council, a happy dexterity in hitting upon lucky expedients on the most emergent occasions. He was extremely well versed in all the arts of government. He had also a good share of learning, at least a tolerable good taste for the literature then in vogue amongst the *Arabs*, and was moreover an encourager of learned men. He was prosperous in his undertakings, and had a mind capable of forming the vastest projects. To men of virtue and probity he was liberal and munificent, when they stood in need of his assistance; and had always his attention fixed upon the ultimate issue of things. But, with all these fine qualities, he was a prince of insatiable ambition, as sufficiently appeared from the whole tenor of his actions, which sometimes led him into very unjustifiable and iniquitous points of conduct. He had a taste for poetry, and wrote some tolerable good verses himself, as may be inferred from two or three specimens of such verses preserved by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makîn*. In one of these, however, he seemed to arrogate to himself the power of controlling the Deity, and even of reversing the divine decrees. For which he has been deservedly censured by two of the *Arab* historians; who have observed, that he never was either easy or happy, or even in his right mind, after that extraordinary production, which contained in it such an instance of blasphemous ostentation, appeared. But, in our opinion, his head must have been turned before this extravagant flight, which favoured so strongly of madness and impiety, could have escaped him. The advantageous character, therefore, given of this prince by several of the *Moslem* writers, which we have here extracted from them, must undoubtedly be understood of him before he laboured under any mental indisposition, and had his reason by some unknown accident impaired. In the most active and flourishing scenes of life, he (*M*) patronized those who had rendered them-

(*M*) When *Adado'ddawla* had a mind to boast of his learning, and the persons of whom he acquired it, he used to say, that he learned the astronomy of the fixed stars of *Al'd'alrahmân Al Sâfi*, that of the planets of *Al Sharij Ebn Al A'lam*, and grammar of *Abu Ali*, the *Persian*. *Abu'alrahmân Ebn Omar Ebn Sabel Abu'l Hâsin Al Sâfi Al Razi* was a person of an uncommon genius, an excellent astronomer, and the author of several pieces held in great repute. He died in the year of the *Hijra* 376; being, at the time of his death, about eighty-five lunar years of age. *Ebn Al A'lam*, who is said to have been descended from *Ali Ebn Abu Talib*, was extremely well versed in the celestial sciences, and particularly in the theory of the planets. He was much esteemed by *Adado'ddawla*, but not in such favour with *Semsâmû'ddawla*, his son; which induced him to retire from court, and undertake a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in the year of the *Hijra* 374. He departed this life, on his return home, at a place called *Al Ofaila*. At this time, flourished a vast number of most skillful physicians; one of the principal of which was *Al Tamimi Al Makâsi*, who resided in *Egypt* some part of the year 370. He acquired an uncommon reputation by his consummate knowledge, his unwearied diligence and application, and his great care in the composition of medicines. He was a person of singular urbanity, affable and modest in his conversation, and never contradicted any one, but in the defence of truth. *Ali Ebn Al Abbâs*, a *Mogian*, made likewise a very considerable figure, in the circle of physicians, at *Adado'ddawla*'s court, during the interval we are now upon. He was a *Persian*, and attained to a surprising skill in his profession; having been not a little assisted in his studies at first by *Abu Maher*, another *Persian* physician, who practised with good success. *Ali Ebn Al Abbâs* wrote a book, intitled, *Al Maleki, the royal*, or *the royal piece*, for *Adado'ddawla*'s use. This book was held in high esteem by all the faculty in the *Moslem* territories, till the *Kanôn*, or *Canon*, of *Ebn Sina*, or *Avicenna*, appeared; but was then eclipsed by the superior brightness of that piece. However, the *Kanôn* was calculated more for theory, and the *Maleki* for practice; so that the subjects of these compositions, however unequal in point of merit the authors might be, were by no means incompatible. *Nadbi' Al Nafs*, by nation a

*Greek*, was another physician that attended *Adado'ddawla*'s court. He translated several books into *Arabic* out of *Greek*, but was very unsuccessful in his practice; in so much that his patients looked upon him as the picture of ill luck, and considered him as an evil genius, always intent upon their destruction. It happened once, that *Nadbi'*, by *Adado'ddawla*'s order, attended one of his generals; which induced him to think, that he was upon very indifferent terms with his master, who, as he imagined, employed this unlucky doctor to send him out of the world. He therefore dispatched a friend he could confide in, to inquire of *Adado'ddawla*'s chamberlain how his master was affected towards him, and to beg he would procure him leave of that prince, in case he had incurred his displeasure, to retire into some other part of the world; being firmly persuaded, that *Adado'ddawla* could command so had a physician as *Nadbi'* to prescribe to him, with no good design. *Adado'ddawla* could not forbear laughing, when his chamberlain opened the affair to him. However, he sent the sick commander a rich and sumptuous vest, and assured him he was in his favour; which made him easy, and probably contributed more to his recovery than all the doctor could do for him. Another learned man, for whom *Adado'ddawla* had no small regard, was *Obaid'Allah Ebn Al Hasan Abu'l Kefem*, frequently called *Cholâm*, or *Golâm*, *Zohel*, the *boy of Saturn*, a famous astrologer, and a native of *Baghdâd*. *Obaid'Allah* being, on a certain time, with many other learned men, at the house of *Abu Salimân*, a celebrated logician, and hearing many things there urged for and against the art he professed, he summed up the whole of what could be offered on that subject in the following concise manner. "The verity and falsity of astrology depend upon the celestial impressions. A scheme of the heavens is sometimes so framed, that not a tittle of truth can be extracted from it; sometimes so, that nothing of falsehood therein appears; and at other times so, that a mixture of truth and falsehood is exhibited by it."—With which decision, however dogmatical and unsupported it may seem to be, the company were very well pleased; and the logician himself gave a sanction to it, by pronouncing it the best solution of the question proposed that could be offered. *Miscellaneous*



- a themselves famous for their skill in any branch of literature. Hence it came to pass, that learned men flocked to his court from all parts at least of the *Moslem* world, and dedicated their compositions to him. Amongst these performances may be ranked the *Kitâb Al Idhâi*, or *Dilucidation*, a system of grammar; the *Kitâb Al Hojjati fîl Karati*, a book demonstrating which of the various readings in the controverted passages of the *Korân* are preferable to the others; *Al Maleki*, or *the royal book*, treating of the art of physic; and *Al Taji*, containing the history of the *Deylamite* princes; to omit several other pieces, of considerable note, that might here have been taken notice of. The author of the two first of the books above-mentioned was *Abu Ali Al Hosein Al Fârî*; of the third *Al Ebn Al Abbâs*, a *Magian*, commonly called *Hali*, or *the abbot*; and of the fourth, which was looked upon as extremely curious, *Ebn Helâl Al Sâbi*, or the *Sabian*, which denomination he received from the religion he professed. When *Adado'ddawla* was at the point of death, he is reported to have said, with a faltering tongue, "What have all my riches and prosperity availed me? My power and authority are now at an end." Which words, according to the same historians, he continued repeating till he expired. After his death, the officers of the army, and grandees of the court of *Baghdâd*, pitched upon his son *Abu Câlijâr Al Farâ Al Marzabân* for his successor, took the oath of allegiance to him, and gave him the title, or surname, of *Samsâmuddawla*, that is, *the sabre*, or *scymitar*, of *the state*. The *Khalîf Al Tay'* confirmed all that had been done, by the military men and noblesse, on this occasion; and made the new *Emir Al Omrâ* a visit, in order to condole with him for his father's death.
- b curious, *Ebn Helâl Al Sâbi*, or the *Sabian*, which denomination he received from the religion he professed. When *Adado'ddawla* was at the point of death, he is reported to have said, with a faltering tongue, "What have all my riches and prosperity availed me? My power and authority are now at an end." Which words, according to the same historians, he continued repeating till he expired. After his death, the officers of the army, and grandees of the court of *Baghdâd*, pitched upon his son *Abu Câlijâr Al Farâ Al Marzabân* for his successor, took the oath of allegiance to him, and gave him the title, or surname, of *Samsâmuddawla*, that is, *the sabre*, or *scymitar*, of *the state*. The *Khalîf Al Tay'* confirmed all that had been done, by the military men and noblesse, on this occasion; and made the new *Emir Al Omrâ* a visit, in order to condole with him for his father's death.
- c *Sbarfo'ddawla Abu'l Fawâres*, another of *Adado'ddawla's* sons, had been sent some time before by his father to take possession of the province of *Kermân*. This prince, having received advice of *Adado'ddawla's* decease, without any ceremony, seized upon *Fârs*, and ordered his own name to be mentioned, instead of *Samsâmuddawla's*, who had been already proclaimed there, and given to each of his brothers, *Abu'l Hosein Ahmed* and *Abu Thâher Firûz Shâh*, on whom he intended to confer the government of *Fârs*, a sumptuous cloke, or mantle, to do them honour, in all the mosques of that country. Before the arrival of these princes, *Sbarfo'ddawla Abu'l Fawâres Shîrzîk* had occupied the city of *Shîrâz*, at that time the capital of *Fârs*. The remains of *Adado'ddawla*, according to *Al Makîn*, were deposited first in

*Al Khûzen*, a *Persian* of noble extraction, in whom were united polite literature and a knowledge of the sciences, was another of *Adado'ddawla's* favourites, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, and consulted him on all emergent occasions. He was the first lord of the treasury, and lived to an extreme old age, not dying before the year of the *Hejra* 420. Soon after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Adado'ddawla* sent for *Abu Fadl Jaafar Ebn Al Mûstafî Bi'llah*, of whose extensive erudition he had entertained a very advantageous idea, and discoursed with him upon various topics, particularly judicial astrology, and the knowledge of future events; of which *Jaafar* afforded him two or three such specimens, as filled him with wonder and astonishment. *Abu Fadl Jaafar* according to the author (17) here referred to, departed this life in the year of the *Moslem* æra 377. One of the doctors most honoured with *Sbarfo'ddawla's* friendship was *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Al Sâghîni*, who, with the utmost accuracy, made some mathematical instruments at *Baghdâd*; with which he observed the planetary motions, from an observatory erected for that purpose, in a corner of the imperial garden, together with *Wayhi Al Gharbi*, another excellent astronomer, by *Sbarfo'ddawla's* order. After he had finished these observations, he wrote two short pieces upon the use that might be made of them, and died in the year of the *Hejra* 379. As for *Wayhi Ebn Wâshan Abu Sahel Al Gharbi*, he made a surprizing progress in the sciences of geometry and astronomy, and observed the ingress of the sun into the signs of *Cancer* and *Libra*, in the year of *Alexander*, or rather of *Seleucus*, 1299. At both of which observations, amongst other learned men, was present *Ibrahim Ebn Helâl Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Harûn Al Sâbi*, or the *Sabian*, who was an exceeding good geometrician and astronomer, wrote several books upon geometrical and astronomical subjects, and formed a volume of the epistles, full of mathematical erudition, that he had penned. His family was originally settled at *Harran*; but he received his education at *Baghdâd*.

He wrote both in prose and verse in a very masterly manner, with great fidelity served the princes of the house of *Bûiya*, who sometimes caressed, and at other times discouraged him, and departed this life in 384. Lastly, *Zeid Ebn Refâ'a*, who lived about the time we are now upon, was a person of a most sublime genius and profound erudition. He resided for the most part at *Basra*, and joined himself there to a society of learned men, who formed a particular sect, and asserted that perfection was only to be attained by an union of the *Greek* philosophy and the *Korân*. This society styled themselves *The sincere brothers*, and dispersed a collection of epistles over that part of the east wherein they were seated, by the assistance of the booksellers, intituled, *Ekbwân Al Safâ*, or rather *Ressail Ekbwân Al Safâ*, that is, *The Letters of the sincere brothers*, or *the sincere friends*. These letters, or epistles, were fifty in number, and written upon fifty different branches of science; to which was added one, that contained an abridgement, or epitome, of all the others. As this was an anonymous piece, the authors of it were never discovered; though the aforesaid *Zeid Ebn Refâ'a*, who flourished in the 373d year of the *Hejra*, is generally supposed to have been one of them. *Abu Hayyân Al Tawhîdî* (18), a famous *Moslem* scholastick divine, made but little account of this work; as may be inferred from one of his fragments, handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Ebn Baja* has censured these authors as innovators; who, having concealed their names, cannot, especially at this distance of time, be certainly known. Some, however, take the above-mentioned letters to have been the production of an *Imâm*, descended from *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and others of one of the *Motazalites*. Be that as it will, these *brothers* seem to have struck out for themselves a new system both of philosophy and divinity; in which they have been resembled by a set of gloomy and crack-brained enthusiasts, who are very justly considered by all wise and learned men as the reproach of our own times.

(17) *Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 325—332.*  
*ut et ipse Greg. Abu'l Far. ibid. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Ekbwân Al Safâ, p. 308, 309.*

(18) *Abu Hayyân Al Tawhîdî, apud Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup.*



the imperial castle, or palace, at *Baghdád*. His death was, however, if we will believe that writer, for reasons of state, during a short interval, concealed <sup>p</sup>.

**Al Hasan Ebn Omrán, the prince of Al Batíha, is assassinated by his brother.** THE same year, *Abu'l Faraj Mohammed Ebn Omrán Ebn Shabín* assassinated his brother *Al Hasan Ebn Omrán Ebn Shabín*, who succeeded his father *Omran Ebn Shabín* in the sovereignty of *Al Bathibab*, *Al Batíha*, or the marshy tract upon the *Tigris* above-mentioned, and took upon himself the government of that district in his room. We must not forget to remark, that *Adado'ddawla*, at the approach of his death, repeated several verses, composed by *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Abd'allah*, his *Wazír*, in a strain quite different from that which had been affected by him for time before, and breathing more moderate sentiments; for a sight of which our learned and curious readers must have recourse to *Al Makín* <sup>a</sup>.

**Fakhro'd-dawla takes possession of Hamadán, Al Ray, and all the dominions of Kábús Ebn Washmakín.** IN the 373d year of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 15th, 983, *Mowayyado'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Búiya* died in *Jorján*, either of a squinancy, or an inflammation in his bowels; being, at the time of his death, about forty-three years of age. Soon after this event, in the month of *Ramadán*, the officers of the army *Mowayyado'ddawla* had on foot unanimously invited *Fakhro'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Búiya* to come and take possession, not only of *Hamadán* and *Al Ray*, with their districts and dependencies, of which *Adado'ddawla* had before deprived him, but likewise of all the territories from whence *Kábús Ebn Washmakín Ebn Zayyár* had been driven by that prince. So that *Fakhro'd-dawla* became possessed of very extensive dominions, without the least effusion of *Moslem* blood. Nor was it long before the *Khalíf Al Tay'* sent him the instrument of the investiture of those dominions, drawn up in form, and attended with several royal mantles, or clokes, expressive of the sovereignty in which by those presents he confirmed him, from *Baghdád*. After his accession, he continued *Abu'l Kasem Al Sáheb Ebn Ayád*, *Abbád*, or *Ebád*, in the office of *Wazír*, to which he had been advanced by *Mowayyado'ddawla*, his brother. *Fakhro'ddawla* entered *Jorján*, the third of *Ramadán*; and was met there by *Abu'l Kasem Al Sáheb*, the military men, and all the principal persons that had composed his predecessor's court, who formally created him king of that country. He cultivated a good understanding, and lived in perfect friendship, with *Samsámo'ddawla*, the *Emír Al Omrá* at *Baghdád*, as we are informed by *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>r</sup>.

**Samsámo'd-dawla succeeds his father Adado'ddawla, and defeats Bád Al Cordi.** ABOUT the same time, the body of *Adado'ddawla* was carried from the imperial palace at *Baghdád* to *Cúfa*, and from thence removed to *Mashhad Ali*, where it was interred. That *Emír* was succeeded by *Abu Cáljár Al Fará Al Marzapán*, or *Marzabán*, *Samsámo'ddawla*, his son, as has been already observed. The *Khalíf Al Tay'* himself inaugurated *Samsámo'd-dawla*, and put the imperial robes upon him, as we learn from *Al Makín*. Not long after *Samsámo'ddawla's* elevation to the post of *Emír Al Omrá*, *Bád Al Cordi Al Hamídi* made himself master of *Al Mawfel*; and, having received a farther accession of strength, he meditated the reduction of *Baghdád* itself, and the expulsion of the *Deylamites* from that metropolis. *Samsámo'ddawla*, therefore, finding his power and authority to be struck at by *Bád*, assembled a powerful army, marched at the head of it against him, and intirely defeated him, in the month of *Safar*, the following year; after which, *Al Mawfel* immediately surrendered to the victor, without attempting to make any defence. In the year of the *Hejra* 373, *Bacjúr*, who some time before seized upon his master *Curúba*, the lord of *Aleppo*, and caused himself to be proclaimed sovereign of that city, but afterwards delivered the place into the hands of *Abu'l Ma'áli Sharíf Saado'ddawla*, upon his having been appointed prefect of *Hems*, where he resided till the present year, obtained of *Al Azíz Bi'llah*, the *Fátémite Khalíf* of *Egypt*, the government of *Damascus*. *Bacjúr* no sooner entered that city, than *Bektekin*, or *Beŕtekin*, the former governor, by *Al Azíz's* command, returned to *Mesir*. But *Bacjúr*, notwithstanding he had address enough to insinuate himself into the favour of the *Khalíf* of *Egypt*, proved one of the most bloody and oppressive tyrants that ever presided over the *Damascenes* <sup>s</sup>.

**Al Modhaffer seizes upon the principality of Al Batíha.** THE same year, *Abu'l Faraj Mohammed Ebn Omrán Ebn Shabín*, who had destroyed his brother *Al Hasan*, in order to secure to himself the principality of *Al Batíha*, was assassinated in his turn by the leading men of that district; who, on account of his notorious incapacity, as well as of his lewd and dissolute life, unanimously conspired against him. After his violent death, they substituted in his room *Abu'l Ma'áli*, the son of *Al Hasan Ebn Omrán Ebn Shabín*, an infant, and appointed *Al Modhaffer Ebn Ali*, the *Hájeb*, or chamberlain, who had been at the head of *Omran Ebn Shabín's* court, to take upon him the

<sup>p</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 238, 239. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 372. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 320, 321. KHONDEMIR, YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lobb Al Taravikh*, AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nigbiarist*. D HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 58—60, & alib pass. <sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121. ABU'L KASEM EBN ABD'ALLAH, apud Al Makín, ubi sup. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. <sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 373. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 204. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 321. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Fukhr Al dawlat*, p. 329. <sup>s</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



- a. administration, But, in a short time, this *Al Modkaffer* seized upon the principality for himself, and banished the young prince and his mother to *Wâset*. This put a period to the domination of the family of *Shabîn* in those parts; which, from the first appearance of *Omrân Ebn Shabîn* in *Al Batîka*, a little before he erected that district into a principality, continued something above forty years. We must not forget to observe, that *Yusef Belkîn Ebn Zcir Ebn Menedz*, or *Mened*, *Al Sanbâji* (N), who had been constituted by *Al Moezz Ledi-ni'llah* the *Emîr*, or governor, of *Africa*, departed this life, in the month of *Dbu'lhajja*, the present year. His son *Al Mansûr*, who succeeded him, sent to the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, *Al Aziz*, as a token of his subjection and attachment to him, some exceeding rich presents; the value of which, according to *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece so often referred to here, amounted
- b to 1,000,000 *dinârs* <sup>c</sup>.

THIS year, *Al Aziz Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, being informed, that *Yakûb Ebn Yusef*, <sup>The castle of Ibrahim is taken by a detachment of Armenian troops, and delivered up to the Greeks.</sup> his *Wazîr*, *Al Fadl Ebn Sâleh*, and his brothers, had amassed vast treasures, he ordered them all to be incarcerated in separate prisons, and the money they had hoarded up to be carried to the imperial palace. This excited a commotion in the city of *Mesr*, wherein the populace plundered the market-places, and committed other disorders; which were not without some difficulty appeased. However, about two months afterwards, the *Khalîf* commanded them all to be released, and the money that had been taken from them to be restored. He also sent the *Wazîr* the present, that, on account of his office, had usually been made him. This year, likewise, a detachment of *Armenian* troops took a fortress in the territory of *Al Ray*, called the castle of *Ibrahim*, by the assistance and contrivance of a woman of the same nation, who had been detained in a state of captivity there. This fortress the *Armenians* had no sooner made themselves masters of, than they put it into the hands of the *Greeks*; for which they were amply rewarded by the emperor *Basilus*, who placed a strong garison in it, supplied it with all kinds of provisions, and erected there a magazine of arms and military stores. For the particulars of the reduction of the castle of *Ibrahim*, which are too long to be inserted here, we must beg leave to refer our curious and learned readers to *Al Makîn* <sup>d</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 374th of the *Hejra*, commencing June 4th, 984, *Abu Tharîf* <sup>The principal occurrences of the year 374.</sup> *Ohyân Ebn Thamal Al Khafâgi* took under his protection the city of *Cûfa*, and was the first *Emîr* of that city of the house of *Thamal*. About the same time, according to *Al Makîn*, the *Khalîf Al Tay'* granted *Fakbro'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla*, or *Rocno'ddawla*, the investiture of all the dominions he had taken possession of, the preceding year, and sent him the instrument of this investiture, with an imperial mantle, from *Baghdâd*. This year, died the famous *Hâfedh*, *Abu'l Fatab Mohammed Ebn Al Hasan Al Mawfeli*, and *Abu Yabya Abd'al-rahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ismael Ebn Nobatab*, denominated sometimes, from his great grandfather, *Ebn Nobatab*. The latter of these, who was born at *Mayyâfârakîn*, in the year of the *Hejra* 335, and died in the same city, the present year, went with the poet *Al Motanabbi* to *Saifo'ddawla's* court, was admitted into that prince's family, and attended him to *Mayyâfârakîn*, where he spent the latter part of his life. *Ebn Nobatab* was at first a most celebrated preacher at *Alcppo*, where his discourses made a very deep impression upon the minds of the people that heard them. He excelled in polite literature, and was the author of some moral and sacred discourses, which are reckoned the best of their kind extant amongst the *Mohammedans*. For this reason, he was dignified with the title of *Imâm Al Adab*, or the greatest doctor in eloquence and morality. In fine, he has been represented by some of the *Moslem* writers as a person so famous for his probity, as well as his erudition, that the prophet *Mohammed* himself appeared to him in a dream, and said, "All health and prosperity attend thee, O preacher of preachers, who art superior to all others in the art of persuasion! Come on, and draw up a sermon, that shall begin with the following words: *There are so few traces now remaining of the memory of those persons, who were formerly so powerful and illustrious, that they seem never to have been the joy and delight of the people amongst whom they lived. They are grown as obscure, and as much buried in oblivion, as if they had never been born.*" To this exordium, or beginning of a discourse, *Ebn Nobatab* made afterwards such additions, in his waking hours, that it became a sermon of a just length, and had assigned it by its author the title of the *sermon of the dream*. This nocturnal conference between him and the prophet, we are told, happened not long before

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & in chron. ad ann. Hej. 333.

<sup>d</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 247, 248.

(N) It appears from the words *Al Sanbâji* here, as well as from what has been already offered upon the same head, that the writer of the history of *Kairwan* must have been an *African*, and not a *Sicilian*, as we find intimated by *Carusius* (19). To which it may not be

improper to add, that *Abu'lfeda* mentions *Sanbâjah*, or *Al Sanbâjah*, as a certain district, or province, of *Africa*, and the village of *Gomara*, or of the *Gomarites*, as situated therein (20).

(19) *Jean. Baptist. Carus. in præfat. p. 3.*

(20) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 333.*



his death; and it was no sooner ended, according to the same writers, than *Mohammed* bad a him come to him, and open his mouth; which having done, the prophet spat into it; and he thereupon fasted three whole days, without being the least pinched by hunger, or having his strength at all impaired. Nay, if we will believe these writers, from the moment the prophet disappeared to the time of his death, *Ebn Nobatab's* breath emitted an odour resembling that of musk and the richest perfumes. He is surnamed by some authors *Al Hadbaki*, from the family, or tribe, he was descended from, and *Al Faraki*, or rather *Al Mayyâfârakîni*, from the city of *Mayyâfârakîn*, the place where he was born. It appears from *M. D'Herbelot*, that there were two other writers of the same name. One of these was sometimes called *Ebn Nabatab*, in order to distinguish him from the person of whom we are here speaking; and the other is frequently denominated *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed*. b *Ebn Nabatab*, or, as he is named by some, *Al Massib Ebn Nobatab*, composed a *Dîwân*, intituled *Sûk Al Rafik*, which is to be met with in the *French* king's library, N° 1173; and *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed* left behind him an historical work, going under the title of *Ibrâr Al Akbbâr*, of which we can give our readers no particular account. This *Mohammed* is, however, said to have died in the year of the *Hejra* 762. As for our *Ebn Nobatab's* sermons, a copy of them, adorned with the title of *Khotbah*, is preserved in the aforesaid library, N° 635. *Ebn Shobnah*, *Ebn Khalecân*, and *Abu'lfeda*, agree in the main in the articles they have handed down to us, relative to the life and productions of this celebrated author \*.

The Karmatians take and pillage Cûfa, but are driven from thence by the Khalif's troops.

THE following year, being the 375th of the *Hejra*, commencing May 24th, 985, the c *Karmatians* marched, under the conduct of their six leaders, or supreme magistrates, whom they had dignified with the title of *lords*, or *regents*, as has been remarked above, to *Cûfa*, and laid siege to that city. The inhabitants, for some time, defended themselves with sufficient bravery; but the place was at last carried by assault, and thoroughly pillaged. However, the city of *Baghdâd* being alarmed at the approach of these plunderers, *Samsâmo'ddawla* sent an army against them, which overthrew them with very great slaughter. This blow so effectually broke and dispersed them, that the *Khalif's* subjects in *Irâk* were never afterwards much terrified with them. Amongst the memorable events of this year, one has been mentioned by *Ebn Al Atshir*, which is too wonderful to be passed over in silence here. This author relates, that a sheep, bigger than an elephant, of an unusual form, and d a prodigious height, came out of the sea on the coast of *Omân*, ascended a hill in the neighbouring tract, and from thence, with an exceeding loud voice, pronounced distinctly the two following words, *Cad Caroba*, i. e. *he has approached*; and, after repeating them thrice, returned into the sea. The same thing, continues this writer, happened the two next days; and then the monster disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. *Jaasar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hasan*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 375; but, according to *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, that accident happened the preceding year. But however this may be, *Jaasar* was succeeded in the post of *Emîr* of *Sicily* by his brother *Abd'allah*; who presided over the *Moslem* part of that island till either the year of the *Hejra* 378, or 379 \*.

Sharfo'ddawla obliges the Khalif to make him Emîr Al Omrà.

IN the year we are now upon, *Sharfo'ddawla Abu'l Fawâres Shirzik*, the eldest of *Adado'ddawla's* sons, moved with a powerful army from *Al Abwâz* to *Wâset*; which immediately surrendered to him. This prince was possessed of *Esfahân*, *Al Ray*, *Shîrâz*, the cities of *Deylam*, with their dependencies, and several other tracts. Before he invaded *Irâk*, he wrote to his brother *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Adado'ddawla*, who at this time occupied most of the cities of *Fârs*, to join him with all the troops he could assemble, and attend him in this expedition. But *Abu'l Hasan*, not being disposed to act against his brother *Samsâmo'ddawla*, refused to enter into this war. Upon which, *Sharfo'ddawla* marched against him at the head of all his forces, defeated him, took him prisoner, and threw him into prison. He then seized upon *Al Abwâz*, and from thence advanced to *Wâset*; the inhabitants of which place, being f incapable of making any defence, opened their gates at his approach. The city of *Basra* likewise, soon after the surrender of *Wâset*, submitted to him. He then sent a letter to the *Khalif Al Tay'*, at *Baghdâd*; insisting upon the post of *Emîr Al Omrà*, and the deposition of of his brother *Samsâmo'ddawla*; with which the *Khalif*, who was not able to make head against him, found himself obliged to comply. He, therefore, immediately dispatched to him the imperial mantle, the instrument confirming him in the possession of the office he demanded, and a sum of money, which he probably wanted, in order to pay his troops. Not content with these concessions, he required the *Khalif* to deliver up his brother *Samsâmo'ddawla* into his hands. This being likewise granted him, he at first treated that prince,

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 374. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 240. EBN SHOHNAN, EBN KH. LE-CAN. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Nobatab*, p. 674. \* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 375. & ad ann. Hej. 336. EBN AL ATSHIR, apud Abu'lfed. ibid. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. histor. Saracenic-Sicul. p. 22. Panoimi, 1720.



- a who had been in vain advised by the noblesse of *Baghdâd* to retire either to *Al Mawfel*, or any other place where *Sbarfo'ddawla* could not come at him, with some respect, and promised him not only his life, but likewise the secure possession of all his effects. Notwithstanding which, he soon after ordered him to be put under arrest. He then decamped with his forces, consisting of 20,000 *Deylemites* and 3000 *Turks*, from *Wâfet*, and marched directly to *Baghdâd*; which he entered, according to *Al Makin*, in the month of *Kamadân*, and the year of the *Hejra* 375. But, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, that event happened in the same month of the following year. After his arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Sbarfo'ddawla* sent his brother *Samsîmo'ddawla* to a castle in *Fârs*, where he ordered him to be straitly confined. The latter of those princes, according to the best eastern historians, presided over the *Khalifat* of *Baghdâd* between three and four years<sup>y</sup>.

- b THE same year, *Saado'ddawla Ebn Saifo'ddawla*, the lord, or prince, of *Aleppo*, refused to pay the tribute which the emperor *Basilus* had for some years extorted from him. This so incensed the emperor, that he sent an army, under the command of *Bardas Phocas*, against him. *Bardas*, therefore, in pursuance of his orders, made an incursion into *Mesopotamia*, took the city of *Dârâ*, and carried all the inhabitants into captivity. This happened in the month of *Safar*. *Saado'ddawla*, receiving advice of this invasion, advanced with a body of troops to the convent, or monastery, of *Simeon*, in the territory of *Antioch*; which he carried by storm, after three days siege, the 12th of the latter *Rabî*, put most of the monks to the sword, and took a great number of *Christians*, who had made their escape out of the neighbouring district into this convent, prisoners; all of whom he carried with him to *Aleppo*. *Basilus*, being informed of what had happened to the monastery of *Simeon*, wrote to *Bardas*, then before *Afâmiyah*, or *Apamia*, and commanded him to raise the siege of that city. In obedience to which command, he drew off from before the place, and retired into the imperial territories. We are told by *Al Makin*, that the castle of *Telnâs* was taken by the *Bulgarians*, and retaken by *Leo Melissenus*, the imperial general, the present year<sup>z</sup>.

- c THE next year, being the 376th of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 13th, 986, a treaty of peace was concluded between the emperor *Basilus* and *Saado'ddawla Ebn Saifo'ddawla*; the principal article of which was, that the latter of those princes should pay the former an annual tribute of 400,000 *dirhems*. In the mean time, *Bardas Sclerus*, having been set at liberty by the *Emîr Al Omrà* at *Baghdâd*, to the general dissatisfaction of the *Moslems*, entered *Malatia*, in the month of *Shawâl*, this year, seized upon the imperial governor, stripped him of all his horses, arms, furniture, and money, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there. Being afterwards joined by a body of *Okailite* and *Namerite Arabs*, and having received a reinforcement from *Nabâr Al Cordi*, or the *Curd*, the lord of *Diyâr Becr*, under the command of *Abu Ali*, his brother, he began to be again formidable to *Basilus*. But as a full and ample account of what happened to *Sclerus*, and his son *Romanus*, who was released with him, after their departure from *Baghdâd*, has been inserted in our *Constantinopolitan* history, we shall not here take much farther notice of either of them, nor repeat what has been already related of them in that part of the large and extensive work in which we are at present engaged<sup>a</sup>.

- d ABOUT this time, died *Al Modhaffer*, who had expelled *Abu'l Ma'âli Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Modhaffer Omrân* from *Al Batîha*, and usurped the government there. He was succeeded by *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Nasr*, in conformity to his settlement of the succession before his death, his sister's son; who was confirmed in that prefecture, by an instrument, drawn up in form, and sent him for that purpose, by the *Khalif*. *Abu'l Hasan* assumed the title of *Mohadzebo'ddawla*, or *Mohadhdhebo'ddawla*, and governed his subjects with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He has been represented by *Abu'lfeda* as a pious and beneficent prince. About the same time, likewise died *Abu Ali Al Hosein Ebn Ahmed Ebn Abd'aljaasar Al Fârsî*, the author of the *Kitâb Al Idhai* above-mentioned, and one of the most eminent grammarians of his time. Some take him to have been a *Motazalite*; but this does not certainly appear. He was born at *Fasa*, or *Fassa*, a city of *Fârs*, but studied at *Baghdâd*. He resided, for some time, at *Aleppo*, and was well received at *Saifo'ddawla's* court. He was afterwards admitted into *Adado'ddawla's* family, and held in great esteem by that prince. Amongst his works *Abu'lfeda* ranks the *Kitâb Al Tadzkiri*, the *Kitâb Al Macsuri wa'l Mamdudi*, the *Kitâb Al Hojjati fi'l Carati*, the *Kitâb Al Awamel il Miatî*, and others, of which we must not take upon us at present to give our readers any particular account<sup>b</sup>.

- f IN the 377th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *May* 3d, 987, *Sclerus* possessed himself of a very considerable extent of territory, in the imperial provinces, bordering upon the

<sup>y</sup> AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 240, 241. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 376. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 321, 322. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Samsamaidoulat*, p. 754.

<sup>z</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 248, 249. <sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 249, 250. Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 590, 591, &c. Lond. 1742.

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 376.



*Moslem* frontiers, and caused himself to be acknowledged emperor there. This happened in the latter *Jomâda*, according to *Al Makin*. The same author relates, that the emperor *Basilus*, being in great want of money, was obliged to have recourse to the king of the *Russians*, for his assistance against the rebel *Bardas Phocas*; that the *Russian* monarch married *Basilus*'s sister, and embraced the *Christian* religion, in the principles of which he was instructed, together with all his people, who followed his example, by some bishops, sent him by *Basilus* for that purpose; that the *Russians* were a large and powerful nation, that, before this period, professed no religion at all, but remained to the time when this writer compiled his history in the *Christian* faith; and that *Basilus*, being assisted by the *Russian* king with a powerful army, worsted *Bardus Phocas*, both by sea and land, drove him out of all the countries he had subdued, put him to death, the third of *Al Mobarram*, 379, and ordered his head to be carried to *Constantinople*, and exposed in that city to public view. We also learn from this author, that the *Khalif Al Tay'* did not formally inaugurate *Sharfo'ddawla*, and dignify him with the title of *Shâbenshâw*, or *Shâbinshâb*, the great king, or the king of kings, before the present year<sup>c</sup>.

and of the  
year 378.

THE following year, being the 378th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 21st, 988, *Al Azîz Bîllah*, the *Fâtemite Khalif* of *Egypt*, sent *Monir*, the eunuch, with an army, to drive *Bacjûr* from the prefecture of *Damascus*, and to succeed him in the government of that city. *Bacjûr*, having received advice of *Monir*'s approach, waited for him at *Dârâ*, a village in the neighbourhood of *Damascus*, and engaged him there. But, after a vigorous action, he was routed by *Monir*, and obliged to fly into the city. Soon after which, a treaty was concluded between them; by virtue of which, *Bacjûr* was permitted to retire quietly from *Damascus* to *Al Rakka*, and *Monir* took immediate possession of the former of those cities. As for *Bacjûr*, upon his arrival at *Al Rakka*, he caused himself to be proclaimed sovereign there. Before the close of this year, *Ebn Ayad*, *Ebâd*, or *Abbâd*, surnamed *Al Sâheb*, or the companion, made *Fakbro'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla* a present of a gold medal, weighing 1000 *methkâls*, or *Arabic* drachms. *Abu'lfeda* writes, that this medal was given to *Fakbro'ddawla*, in the month of *Al Mobarram*; and that it was adorned with some *Arabic* verses, intended by the donor as a compliment upon that prince. We must beg leave to observe, that *Abu Hamed Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Isbak Al Naifâbûri*, the author of many excellent books, departed this life, in the year we are now upon<sup>d</sup>.

Sharfo'ddawla  
dies.

THE next year, being the 379th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *April* 11th, 989, *Sharfo'ddawla* sent *Mohammed Al Sbîrâzi* into *Persia*, to deprive of his sight his brother *Samsâmo'ddawla*, who was incarcerated in a castle there. In the mean time, *Sharfo'ddawla* himself was attacked by a dropsy; which carried him off either on the first or second day of the latter *Jomâda*, the present year. Soon after his decease, *Mohammed Al Sbîrâzi* arrived in *Persia*, and deprived *Samsâmo'ddawla* of the use of his eyes, in the prison wherein he was detained. *Sharfo'ddawla* died at *Baghdâd*, in the 29th year of his age, after he had continued in the post of *Emîr Al Omrâ* about two years and eight months. His remains were conducted to *Cûfa*, and interred at *Masbhad Ali*, near those of his father. His brother, *Abu Nasr Babao'ddawla Ebn Adado'ddawla*, called by some writers *Khasbadz*, or *Khaskbadz*, succeeded him in the office of *Emîr Al Omrâ*; in which he was confirmed by the *Khalif Al Tay'*, a proper instrument having been drawn up for that purpose. As soon as the news of *Sharfo'ddawla*'s death reached the castle where *Samsâmo'ddawla*, his brother *Abu Thâber*, and *Fûlâd*, or *Fûâd*, were confined, those princes were all released, and made the best of their way to *Sbîrâz*. As for *Samsâmo'ddawla*, he was put into the immediate possession of *Persia*, or *Fârs*, by a body of the *Deylamite* troops. In the mean time, *Babao'ddawla* having gotten *Abu Ali Ebn Sharfo'ddawla*, his nephew, into his hands, most barbarously put him to death. About the same time, *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Abbâs Al Salami*, a famous *Ashârian* dialectical doctor, surnamed *Al Nakkash*, departed this life; but in what part of the world this accident happened, we have not been certainly informed. *Abd'allah*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, who was succeeded by his son *Abu'l Fatub Yusef Ebn Abd'allah*, an excellent governor, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, died, in the year of the *Hejra* 379; though, according to *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddaîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawi*, that *Emîr* expired, the preceding year<sup>e</sup>.

A dispute  
arises between  
the Turkish  
and Deyla-  
mite troops in  
Baghdâd.

Nor long after *Babao'ddawla* had taken upon him the government and direction of the *Khalifat* of *Baghdâd*, a dispute arose between the *Deylamite* and *Turkish* troops in that capital. This continued five days; and, as both sides had recourse to arms, was attended with a considerable effusion of *Moslem* blood. Nor could *Babao'ddawla*, by any means he could devise, appease this commotion; so that he found himself obliged, during the aforesaid interval, to shut himself up in his palace. However, the soldiers on both sides, shewing

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 241. 251.

<sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 378. D'HERBEL.

Biblioth.orient. p. 285.

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 379. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 241. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 322. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, ubi sup. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Scharfaldoulat*, p. 777, 778, & alib.



a themselves averse to an accommodation, the *Emîr Al Omrá*, at the end of twelve days, joined the *Turks* against his countrymen, the *Deylamites*; which forced them to submit to such terms of pacification as he thought fit to prescribe. From this period, therefore, says *Abu'lfeda*, the power of the *Turks* grew more and more formidable every day, and that of the *Deylamites*, at least within the precincts of *Baghdad*, daily declined <sup>f</sup>.

b THE same year, a dispute likewise happened between *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Al Emîr* *Abu'l Abbâs Ishaq Ebn Al Moktader*, who was afterwards *Khalîf*, under the title, or surname, of *Al Kâder Ebn Al Moktader* *Bi'llah*, and his sister, about the division of the patrimony their father had left them. The lady, on this occasion, accused her brother to the *Khalîf*, then just recovered from a fit of sickness, of a design to depose him, and substitute himself in his room. This, she said, he had intended to attempt, in hopes of being favoured in the execution of his scheme, by the illness that he had, for some time, laboured under; which so exasperated the *Khalîf*, that he sent a party of his guards to apprehend *Abu'l Abbâs*, and bring him immediately before him. But *Abu'l Abbâs* having had timely notice given him of what was in agitation against him, he fled to *Mohadkhebo'ddawla*, the prince of *Al Batbihah*, or *Al Batiba*, as we find this tract denominated by *Abu'l Faraj*; who received him with uncommon marks of respect, and afforded him a secure retreat in a part of the world that was almost inaccessible. Here we shall take the liberty to leave him, happy in the protection of his hospitable and generous benefactor, till we meet with him again at the time of his elevation to the *Moslem* throne <sup>g</sup>.

c THIS year, *Abu Thâher Ibrahim* and *Abd'allah Al Hosein*, the brothers of *Abu Taglab*, who had been expelled the territory of *Al Mawfel* by *Adado'dawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla Ebn Bûiya*, as has been already observed, possessed themselves of that city, and all the district belonging to it. They had served in the armies of *Adado'dawla*, *Sharfo'ddawla*, and *Bahao'ddawla*, with great honour and reputation; insomuch that the last of those *Emîrs* permitted them to return to *Al Mawfel*, and recovered a country which had been governed by their father and brother, and erected into a principality by one of their family. Upon their arrival there, the governor of the place, for one of the princes of the house of *Bûiya*, pretended to oppose them; but the inhabitants being all in their interest, he was soon obliged to retire, and abandon to them the town, together with the whole extensive tract appertaining to it. In the month of *Rajeb*, *Sclerus* submitted to the emperor *Basilus*, who received him with uncommon civility, entertained him at his table, and declared him great steward of his household; having been introduced to that prince by his brother *Constantine*, according to *Al Makin*. About the same time, *Basilus* banished *Agabius*, the patriarch, from *Antioch*, and confined him in a monastery at *Constantinople*; having found amongst *Bardas Phocas's* papers a letter from him to that rebel, in which he animated him against his sovereign, and pressed him to persist in his rebellion, till he had carried his point. He remained in state of exile seven years; during which term, simony was practised and other irregularities happened in his see. We are told likewise by the above-mentioned author, that an earthquake threw down the third part of the church of *Santa Sophia* at *Constantinople*, and demolished a great part of the houses and public buildings of *Nicomedia*, by the falling down of which, many of the inhabitants were destroyed, in the year of the *Hejra* 379. The *Bulgarians* also, continues the same writer, penetrated into the imperial provinces, and made excursions as far as *Seleucia*; laying waste the country through which they moved with fire and sword. On *Saturday*, the 27th of *Dhu'lhajja*, the preceding year, there was a most terrible storm in *Egypt*, attended with thunder and lightning, and such darkness as had never been known. It did not cease till towards midnight, nor did the darkness abate till the morning began to appear; when the hemisphere exhibited a phænomenon resembling a pillar of fire, which communicated an unusual red colour both to the heavens and the earth. The atmosphere was likewise loaded with a sort of dust which hindered respiration, and proved extremely noxious to all kinds of animals, till the fourth hour of the day, when the sun discovered himself, disguised by an unnatural colour. With this colour he rose every morning till *Thursday*, the second of *Al Mobar-ram*, 379. A comet also appeared, in the western part of the hemisphere, on *Sunday*, the 20th of the latter *Rabi*, and was seen by the people of *Egypt* above twenty nights together, the present year <sup>h</sup>.

d received him with uncommon civility, entertained him at his table, and declared him great steward of his household; having been introduced to that prince by his brother *Constantine*, according to *Al Makin*. About the same time, *Basilus* banished *Agabius*, the patriarch, from *Antioch*, and confined him in a monastery at *Constantinople*; having found amongst *Bardas Phocas's* papers a letter from him to that rebel, in which he animated him against his sovereign, and pressed him to persist in his rebellion, till he had carried his point. He remained in state of exile seven years; during which term, simony was practised and other irregularities happened in his see. We are told likewise by the above-mentioned author, that an earthquake threw down the third part of the church of *Santa Sophia* at *Constantinople*, and demolished a great part of the houses and public buildings of *Nicomedia*, by the falling down of which, many of the inhabitants were destroyed, in the year of the *Hejra* 379. The *Bulgarians* also, continues the same writer, penetrated into the imperial provinces, and made excursions as far as *Seleucia*; laying waste the country through which they moved with fire and sword. On *Saturday*, the 27th of *Dhu'lhajja*, the preceding year, there was a most terrible storm in *Egypt*, attended with thunder and lightning, and such darkness as had never been known. It did not cease till towards midnight, nor did the darkness abate till the morning began to appear; when the hemisphere exhibited a phænomenon resembling a pillar of fire, which communicated an unusual red colour both to the heavens and the earth. The atmosphere was likewise loaded with a sort of dust which hindered respiration, and proved extremely noxious to all kinds of animals, till the fourth hour of the day, when the sun discovered himself, disguised by an unnatural colour. With this colour he rose every morning till *Thursday*, the second of *Al Mobar-ram*, 379. A comet also appeared, in the western part of the hemisphere, on *Sunday*, the 20th of the latter *Rabi*, and was seen by the people of *Egypt* above twenty nights together, the present year <sup>h</sup>.

e *Constantinople*, and demolished a great part of the houses and public buildings of *Nicomedia*, by the falling down of which, many of the inhabitants were destroyed, in the year of the *Hejra* 379. The *Bulgarians* also, continues the same writer, penetrated into the imperial provinces, and made excursions as far as *Seleucia*; laying waste the country through which they moved with fire and sword. On *Saturday*, the 27th of *Dhu'lhajja*, the preceding year, there was a most terrible storm in *Egypt*, attended with thunder and lightning, and such darkness as had never been known. It did not cease till towards midnight, nor did the darkness abate till the morning began to appear; when the hemisphere exhibited a phænomenon resembling a pillar of fire, which communicated an unusual red colour both to the heavens and the earth. The atmosphere was likewise loaded with a sort of dust which hindered respiration, and proved extremely noxious to all kinds of animals, till the fourth hour of the day, when the sun discovered himself, disguised by an unnatural colour. With this colour he rose every morning till *Thursday*, the second of *Al Mobar-ram*, 379. A comet also appeared, in the western part of the hemisphere, on *Sunday*, the 20th of the latter *Rabi*, and was seen by the people of *Egypt* above twenty nights together, the present year <sup>h</sup>.

f IN the 380th year of the *Hejra*, which began *March* 31st, 990, *Bâd* the prince of *Diyâr Bocr*, advanced with a body of *Curds* to *Al Mawfel*, in order to drive from thence *Abu Thâher Ibrahim* and *Abu Abd'allah Al Hosein*, who had made themselves masters of that city, the preceding year. This brought on a general action between those princes and *Bâd*; wherein

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.

ubi sup. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121.

253, 254. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 322, 323.

<sup>g</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR.

<sup>h</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 252,



wherein the latter, attempting to leap from the back of one horse to that of another, fell a to the ground and was killed by a soldier that knew him; having been abandoned by his own men, who were so pushed by the enemy, that they could not remount him. *Abu Thâber* and *Abu Abd'allah*, having, by this happy event, gained a complete victory, ordered *Bâd's* head to be cut off, and his body to be affixed to a sort of gibbet, over-against the royal palace, in *Al Mawfel*. But this giving great offence to the people of that city, who looked upon *Bâd* as one that had distinguished himself in the wars he had waged with the enemies of *Islamism*; it was taken down, and interred, in a decent manner. After *Bâd's* defeat, *Abu Ali Ebn Merwân*, his sister's son, repaired to the castle of *Caifa*, where *Bad's* wife and family then resided, with all possible expedition, was admitted into the place, and gave them a particular account of the disaster that had happened at *Al Mawfel*. He b soon after prevailed upon his uncle's widow to marry him; and, by that step, occupied, in a short time, not only the castle of *Caifa*, but likewise all the other fortresses in *Diyâr Becr* that had belonged to *Bâd*. Strengthened by this accession of power, he carried on the war, begun by his uncle, with good success, against *Abu Thâber Ibrahim* and *Abu Abd'allah Al Hosein*, the princes of *Al Mawfel*, and wrested from them several places of considerable note. He then went to *Meji*, put himself under the protection of *Al Azîz*, and was made by that *Khalîf* the governor of *Aleppo*, and its dependencies. From this time, he resided alternately in *Syria*, or *Shâm*, and *Diyâr Becr*, till the people of *Amed*, with *Sheikh Abd'al Barri*, at their head, conspired against him; when, having received advice of their intended revolt, he repaired to that city, and was assassinated in one of the gates, as he c was going out of it, by *Ebn Dimnah*, or *Ebn Damna*, an inhabitant of the place. This enabled *Sheikh Abd'al Barri* to cause himself to be acknowledged sovereign, or prince of *Amed*; he having long aspired at the supreme dignity, and been supported by a pretty powerful faction, there. However, it was not long before he was likewise dispatched by *Ebn Damna*, who had married his daughter, at an entertainment which the assassin had prepared for him. In the mean time, *Momabedo'ddawla Ebn Merwân*, who, after his brother *Abu Ali's* death, had seized upon *Mayyâfâra*, and several other towns, over which *Abu Ali* had formerly presided, governed his subjects with great lenity and moderation, and maintained himself on the throne he had ascended till the year of the *Hejra* 402, when he was cut off by *Sharwab*, one of the officers of his guards. *Abu Nasr Ahmed Ebn Merwân*, *Abu d Ali's* only surviving brother, after that tragical event, was taken out of the prison, where he had been by his brothers confined, on account of a portentous dream, and found means to possess himself of *Arzan-Al-Rûm*, or *Erzerum*, and gradually to secure almost the whole province of *Diyâr Becr*; though *Sharwab* had seized upon the greatest part of *Momabedo'ddawla's* substance, and several districts that had recognized the authority of that prince. The dream here mentioned has been related by *Abu'lfeda*, in the following terms. *Abu Ali* thought, in his sleep, that he carried the sun in his bosom; and that this was afterwards snatched from him by *Abu Nasr*; which so terrified him, that he immediately commanded his brother to be sent to prison, and detained him there during the remainder of his reign. Nor did *Momabedo'ddawla* afterwards release him, being equally terrified with *Abu Ali* by c the aforesaid dream; which *Abu'lfeda* takes to have been verified by *Abu Nasr's* ascension of the throne, in the year of the *Hejra* 402. As for old *Merwân* himself, the father of these princes, who was blind, he is said to have finished his days at his son *Abu Ali's* tomb, in a religious manner. *Abu Nasr*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, ruled the *Moslems* of *Diyâr Becr*, with singular felicity, fifty-one years. After the overthrow *Bâd*, the *Curd*, had received, *Abu'l Dzowad Mohammed Ebn Al Mosayyeb*, the *Emîr* of the *Okailite Arabs*, descended from *Jaafar*, the first prince and founder of that dynasty, marched with an army to *Al Mawfel*, vanquished *Abu Thâber Ibrahim* in battle, and put him, together with all his family, as well as many of his officers, and a vast number of his soldiers, to the sword. This gave the finishing stroke to the domination of the house of *Hamdân* at *Al Mawfel*, and substituted in his room that of the *Okailite Arabs* there <sup>1</sup>.

*Ebn Calas's death and character.* THE same year, *Yakûb Ebn Yusef Ebn Calas* (O), or *Cales*, *Al Azîz's Wazîr*, departed this life, in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, at *Mejr*. He was originally a *Jew*, but embraced *Islamism*,

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 380. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 323.

(O) This *Yakûb Ebn Yusef Ebn Calas* is called *Abu Yacoub Ebn Kalas* by M. Renaudot, who tells us, that he was brought over to *Islamism* by the *Khalîf Al Moezz* himself, and therefore greatly esteemed by him. He also relates, that *Severus*, the bishop of *Aphmûnin*, who was extremely well versed in the *Arabic* language,

being appointed to dispute with one *Mofes*, an intimate friend of *Ebn Calas*, before the *Khalîf Al Moezz*, upon the subject of religion, could not forbear telling that prince, when he appeared before him, that it was beneath his dignity to hear religion either attacked or defended by *Jews*; who had been represented by *Ijaiah*, one



a *Islamism*, in the days of *Câfûr*. He has been represented as a man of a happy genius, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government, by *Al Makîn*. After the death of *Câfûr*, who employed him on several occasions, he went to *Mobdia*, and was the person who invited *Al Moezz* to undertake the conquest of *Egypt*. The first post all *Al Moezz* conferred upon *Yakûb*, after his reduction of *Egypt*, was that of principal collector, or rather receiver-general, of the tribute; in which he remained till that prince advanced him to the office of *Wazîr*. *Al Azîz* himself visited him, in his last illness, a little before his death; and said the usual prayers over him, at the time of his interment. Nor was he unworthy, as the same author remarks, of the high regard shewn him, and the sorrow expressed for the loss of him, by that prince<sup>k</sup>.

b BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions of the present year, it may not be improper to observe, that *Samsâmo'ddawla* was released from his confinement by his brother *Bahao'ddawla*, in some part of it, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Abu'lfeda*, according to *Al Makîn*. The latter of these authors likewise relates, that *Bahao'ddawla* gave *Samsâmo'ddawla* and *Abu Thâber Ebn Adado'ddawla*, his other brother, *Shirâz* and *Arjûn*, together with the districts appertaining to them. To which he adds, that the latter of these princes died soon after, and that *Samsâmo'ddawla* was only a nominal king; his prime minister *Fûlâd* taking upon him the sole management and direction of all public affairs<sup>l</sup>.

c THE following year, being the 381st of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 20th, 991, the *Khalîf Al Tay'* was deposed by *Bahao'ddawla*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, in the following manner. That minister, gaping after the riches of this *Khalîf*, sent an officer to him, to desire leave to make him a visit in the imperial palace. The *Khalîf*, suspecting no ill design, set apart a solemn festival, in order to do him the greater honour, for his reception. When the day appointed came, *Bahao'ddawla* mounted his horse, and went to the palace, where he was received by the *Khalîf*, sitting upon his throne. As soon as the *Emîr Al Omrâ* entered the *Khalîf's* apartment, or rather the great saloon, where ambassadors had their audience of him, he prostrated himself before him, and afterwards sat down in a seat that had been prepared for him; upon which a great number of people rushed indiscriminately into the room. Things being thus in a sort of confusion, one of the *Deylamite* soldiers that attended *Bahao'ddawla* on this occasion, approached the *Khalîf*, seemingly with an intention to kiss his hand; but having taken hold of this, he dragged him from his throne with all his might. The poor prince, being thus treated, cried out to God to assist him, and to punish the injury that had been offered him; no one in the mean time, discovering the least disposition to interpose in his favour. Having now lost all his authority, and none of his subjects retaining any veneration for his person, he was carried to *Bahao'ddawla's* palace, where he was forced to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in a formal manner, before the *Kâdi* of *Baghdâd*, and other proper witnesses, that had met there for that purpose. After his abdication, *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Al Emîr Isbak Ebn Al Moktader* was pitched upon, under the title of *Al Kâder Bi'llah*, the 19th of *Shaabân*, to succeed him. It appears from *Al Makîn*, that a party of the *Deylamite* troops wrapped the *Khalîf* up first in the tapestry of his apartment, then hurried him with the utmost precipitation and violence to the place above-mentioned, and lastly plundered his palace. This *Khalîf* sat upon the throne of *Baghdâd* seventeen years, eight months, and a few days, if *Abu'lfeda* may be depended up; or seventeen years, nine months, and six days, if we chuse to follow *Al Makîn*. He survived his abdication about twelve years, and died in the year of the *Hejra* 393; being about seventy-six lunar years of age, at the time of his death. The funeral service over him was performed by his successor *Al Kâder*. With regard to his person, he had a red face, and was of a fair complexion. As to his disposition, he is said to have been liberal, and a prince of great honour. But, as he had little or no authority, through the whole course of his reign, perhaps his true character was not known. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Thursday*, and the last *Saturday*, according to *Al Makîn*. We are told, that the famous *Sharîf Al Râdi*, was in the imperial palace, when the *Khalîf* was treated there by the *Deylamites* in such an ignominious manner; but that, fearing to be murdered, he from thence made his escape; after which, he composed a tristich of *Ara-*

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 253. AL MAKRIZI, EUSEB. RENAUD. histor. patriarchar. Alexandrinor. Jacobitar. p. 367. Paris. 1713. <sup>l</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 241. EBN SHOHNÂH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Samfamdoulât, p. 754, & alib.

one of their own prophets, as inferior in point of knowledge to even brutes themselves. To which this author adds, that *Severus* having proved this, to the satisfac-

tion of the *Egyptian Khalîf*, from Scripture, an end was put to the dispute (21).

(21) Euseb. Renaud. hist. patriarch. Alexandrinor. Jacobitar. p. 367, 368.



*bi*c verses, on the melancholy occasion, that *Abu'lfeda* has handed down to us. *Al Makin* was, at the time of his election, with *Mobadhdbebo'ddawla* in *Al Batiba*, whither he had retired for safety, in the year of the *Hejra* 379. He made his public entry into *Raghdad*, where he was inaugurated in form, and received the oath of allegiance from the grantees of that city, the twelfth of *Ramadan*. The next day, he was prayed for, according to custom, in the mosques of that metropolis. After the deposition, or abdication and incarceration of *Al Tay*, *Bakao'ddawla* became master of all his treasures, and of all the rich furniture carried out of his palace by his insolent *Deylamites* above-mentioned, as we find clearly enough intimated by *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>m</sup>.

*Bacjur* is defeated by Saado'ddawla, who dispossesses him of Al Ramla. THE same year, *Bacjur*, who had erected a sort of principality at *Al Ramla*, as has been remarked above, undertook an expedition against *Saado'ddawla Ebn Saifo'ddawla*, the prince of *Aleppo*, with a body of troops he had assembled for that purpose. But *Saado'ddawla*, after a sharp engagement, intirely defeated him, put a great number of his men to the sword, and took him himself prisoner. *Bacjur*, having thus fallen into his enemies hands, was brought to *Saado'ddawla* in chains, who immediately ordered him to be put to death; which, as *Abu'lfeda* says, was a just reward for the perfidy he had been guilty of to *Saifo'ddawla*, his master and benefactor, *Saado'ddawla's* father. After the victory he had obtained, *Saado'ddawla* advanced to *Al Ramla* at the head of his troops, and made the necessary dispositions for the siege of that city. But *Bacjur's* family, finding he was resolved to carry the town, offered to surrender it to him, provided he would permit them to pass in safety to some other place, with all the money and effects *Bacjur* had required. To this he readily complied, and signed such a capitulation as they desired. But his troops were no sooner in possession of the town, than, in contempt of public faith, he violated this treaty, seized the persons of *Bacjur's* children, and stripped them of every thing valuable that they had brought out with them. However, the flagrant injustice and iniquity he committed on this occasion did not remain long unpunished. For upon his arrival at *Aleppo*, he was seized with a palsy, that deprived him of the use of his right side. The physician, who was sent for, after he had asked him some questions, according to custom, relative to his disorder, bid him stretch out his hand. Upon which, with some difficulty, he pointed his left hand towards him. But the doctor telling him it was his right hand he meant, he returned for answer, "The violation of the treaty I signed with my right hand has deprived me of the use of that part;" or, as it is more elegantly and concisely expressed in the *Arabic*, "My right hand has not left me my right hand:" which amounted to a plain implication, that he was sensible of the heinousness of his crime, and considered this stroke of the palsy as a punishment inflicted upon him for it. As the whole nervous system was destroyed by this shock, he lived but three days after the attack. However, during that interval he settled his affairs, and committed the care of his family, particularly his son *Abu'l Fadayel*, then a child, who succeeded him, to *Lulu' Al Kbaraji*, one of his manumitted slaves, on whom he had conferred many singular favours. For, that *Lulu'* was constituted the sole governor of *Abu'l Fadayel*, till he came of age, and the sole regent of the principality of *Aleppo*, till that young prince was capable of taking the government upon him, by *Saado'ddawla*, a little before he expired, is not only evident from *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makin*, but even from the very passage (P), which Dr. *Pocock* has made to speak a contrary sense, of *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>n</sup>.

The Khalif of Egypt's forces besiege Aleppo, but are forced to raise the siege of that important place at the approach of the Greeks. AL AZIZ BI'LLAH, the *Fatemite Khalif* of *Egypt*, having received advice of *Saado'ddawla's* death, sent a formidable army to reduce *Aleppo*, and annex that place, with its dependencies, to his other dominions in *Syria*. *Lulu'*, finding himself pressed by the *Egyptians*, who carried on the siege with the utmost vigour, desired the *Greek* emperor to assist him; who thereupon ordered a body of his forces to advance to his relief. *Manjibekin*, who commanded the *Khalif* of *Egypt's* troops, being informed of their approach, immediately raised the siege of *Aleppo*, and moved at the head of his forces, to give them battle. The two armies soon

<sup>m</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 381. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 243, 244. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 324. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Thai Billah*, p. 1018. EUSEB. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 381. <sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 241, 242. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 332. EBN SHOHNAH, Not. MS. ad Abu'l Far. ubi sup. apud JOAN. SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxoniens.

(P) The passage here referred to has been translated by Dr. *Pocock*, in his *Latin* version of *Abu'l Faraj*, — *de quo Luluo reliquisque affecis suis mandata dederat*. But it ought indubitably to be rendered thus:—*De quo, & reliqua familiâ sua, Luluo mandata dederat*. This is the natural sense and import of the correspondent

*Arabic* words, in the original, however it may have escaped Dr. *Pocock*; and the emendation here proposed is moreover confirmed by both *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makin*, in the parallel passages we have taken the liberty to point out to our learned and intelligent readers (21).

(21) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 381. Al Makin, in hist. Sar. ubi sup. p. 242.*



- a came in sight of each other, and a general action thereupon ensued. After a sharp and obstinate engagement, the *Greeks* were overthrown with very great slaughter; a vast number of their men having been killed upon the spot. The *Egyptians* having thus obtained a complete victory, *Manjûbekîn* returned to the siege of *Aleppo*; which, for some time, he pushed on with uncommon ardour, and not without a prospect of success. But finding that the place would probably defend itself much longer than he at first imagined, and that provisions began to fail, he dispatched a courier to *Mesr*, to let the *Khalîf* know the state of his affairs in *Syria*, and to desire his permission to retire from before *Aleppo*, which he did not then find himself in a condition to reduce. Nor did he think fit to wait for the *Khalîf*'s answer; but, in a short time after the courier's departure, raised the siege. As soon as *Al Azîz* had read
- b his general's letter he fell into a great rage; and was much more incensed, when, by the arrival of a fresh courier, he understood, that *Manjûbekîn* had abandoned the siege. He, therefore, sent him a very threatening letter, with orders to attack the place again, and not to leave it till he had obliged it to surrender. *Manjûbekîn*, therefore, sat down again before *Aleppo*, and continued the siege of that important fortress thirteen months; during which time, *Lîlî* defended it with incredible bravery, and killed the besiegers a vast number of men. The *Egyptians* being at last apprized, that a very numerous army of *Greeks*, moving to the succour of the town, were within a few marches of their camp, they raised the siege, and fled with the utmost precipitation. Upon which, *Lîlî* and *Abu'l Fadayel*, his master, or rather pupil, came out of the city to meet their deliverers; whom
- c they loaded with all the good and valuable things that *Aleppo* produced, treated with the highest marks of distinction and esteem, and conducted into the town with all the demonstrations of joy that could be expected on so happy and auspicious an occasion °.

- THE *Greeks* having thus forced the *Egyptians* to abandon the siege of *Aleppo*, they afterwards marched to *Hems*, took and plundered that city, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried most of the rest away with them into captivity. *Shaizar*, to which they next advanced, met with the same fate. From thence they moved to *Tripoli*, which they besieged above forty days; but without effect. After which, they retired into the imperial territories with a very considerable quantity of spoil. As for *Manjûbekîn*, he made the best of his way to *Damascus*, and set up for himself there; of which *Al Azîz* being informed, he
- d led an army against him, in order to bring him back to a sense of his duty. But being taken sick on his march at *Belbais*, he found himself obliged to halt. Here he nominated his son *Al Hakem* to succeed him, and committed the care of him to one *Arjûn*, a minister of great abilities and integrity, in whom he could intirely confide; his illness increasing to such a degree, that his life was for some time despaired of by the physicians that attended him. However, he recovered, and lived afterwards several years. On the 17th of *Al Muharram*, so dreadful an earthquake happened at *Damascus*, that a thousand houses were thrown down in that city, by the violence of some of its shocks. By the fall of which houses, a great number of people were destroyed. One of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Baalbec* was intirely demolished. Nor did all the agitations of the earth, consequential to these concussions, cease before *Friday*, the 14th of *Safar*, as we learn from *Al Makîn*. During this public calamity, the people in many places were so frightened, that they quitted their habitations, and fled from the cities into the open fields. We must not forget to observe, that the famous *Jawhar Al Kayed*, who conquered *Egypt* for the *Fâtemite Khalîf Al Moezz*, and was afterwards deprived of all the riches and honours he had so justly acquired, departed this life, the present year °.

Other transactions and contingencies of the year 381.

° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 242, 243. AL MAKRIZI, EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 372, 373. P AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 242, 243, 253, 254. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 381. & in descript. Syr. ALE. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Saad. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732.

## S E C T. XLVI.

- F THE new *Khalîf*, *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Al Emîr Ishak Ebn Al Moktader Ebn Al Mo'taded*, was created and proclaimed *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, or emperor of the faithful, under the title of *Al Kâder Bî'llah*, the 19th of *Shaabân*, according to *Al Makîn*. However, he was not inaugurated in form, before the 11th or 12th of *Ramadân*, if we will believe *Abu'l feda* and *Abu'l Faraj*. At the time of his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, he was with *Mohaddhebo'ddawla*, the prince of *Al Batîka*, or *Al Bathibak*, who had taken him under his protection, in the year of the *Hejra* 379, as has been already observed. He married *Sekîna*, *Bahao'ddawla*'s daughter, and assigned her a dower of 100,000 *dinârs*. When the courier arrived with the news of his being elected *Khalîf*, he found him relating a dream he had had the preceding night, which clearly portended his future greatness. With regard to the tract,

Al Kâder Bî'llah is elevated to the Moslem throne.



tract, or territory, denominated by the *Arabs* *Al Batîba*, or *Al Bathîbah*, it was a marshy a district, according to *Abu'lfeda*, in the neighbourhood of the fens formed by the re stagnation of the *Tigris*, and called *the marshes*, or *effusions*, of *Wâset*, as being only about seven parasangs below that city. M. D'Herbelot, however, notwithstanding the authority of *Abu'lfeda*, gives us to understand, that these lakes were formed by the stagnant waters of the *Euphrates*, as well as those of the *Tigris*; and that *Al Batîba*, of whose princes we have already given our readers some account, extended from *Wâset* to *Basra* <sup>1</sup>.

The Greeks  
make an irrup-  
tion into Ar-  
menia.

THE next year, being the 382d of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 9th, 992, the *Greeks*, under the conduct of *Basilus*, made an irruption into *Armenia*, and laid siege to the cities of *Khalât*, or *Akblât*, *Malâzkerd*, *Malâzjerd*, or *Malâzgerda*, and *Arjîs*, or *Arjîsb*; which threw *Abu Ali Al Hasan Ebn Merwân*, the *Moslem* governor of that province, into such a b panic, that he concluded a truce, or cessation of arms, with the emperor, for ten years, upon the best terms he could procure. This we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*; though it does not appear from any of the *Greek* writers, that the emperor *Basilus* himself either undertook, or headed his troops, in such an expedition <sup>1</sup>.

An insurrection  
at Baghdâd.

THE same year, there was an insurrection at *Baghdâd*; the people of that metropolis, as well as the troops in garison there, being greatly incensed against *Babao'ddawla*, the *Emîr* *Al Omrâ*, for suffering himself to be intirely governed by *Ebn Al Moallam*, a person of but an indifferent character. *Babao'ddawla*, therefore, finding that he could not stem the torrent of sedition, which ran so strongly against him, without sacrificing his favourite, immediately delivered up *Ebn Al Moallam* into the hands of the soldiery, who instantly put him c to death; by which means, the tumult, that had for some time disturbed the public repose, was easily appeased <sup>2</sup>.

The territories  
of Nûh Ebn  
Mansûr Al  
Samâni are  
invaded by  
Bagra Khân.

THE following year, being the 383d of the *Hejra*, commencing *Feb.* 26, 993, *Bagra Khân*, as he is called by *Abu'lfeda*, who was possessed of *Kâshgar*, *Balâfâgûn*, and all the vast tract extending to the confines of *China*, invaded the territories of *Nûh Ebn Mansûr Al Sammâni*, the lord, or sovereign, of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'lnahr*. *Bagra*, who was excited to this expedition by *Abu Ali* and *Faëkh*, two rebel brothers, who joined him with a considerable body of troops, overthrew the *Sammânian* forces, took *Samarkand* and *Bokhâra*, the latter of which cities was then the metropolis of *Mawarâ'lnahr*, and drove *Nûh* over the *Oxus*. That prince retiring to *Amol Al Sbat*, or *Amol upon the river*, that is, *Amol* upon the d *Jibûn*, or the *Oxus*, soon assembled his shattered forces there, and dispatched from thence his orders to *Abu Ali Ebn Simjûr* to advance with the troops he commanded in *Khorasân*; hoping, by the assistance of such a reinforcement, to oblige *Bagra Khân* to abandon the conquests he had made. But *Ebn Simjûr* was so far from obeying those orders, that he persisted in his attachment to *Bagra Khân*; who nevertheless soon delivered *Nûh* from all future apprehensions of so formidable a competitor. For that prince, falling sick at *Bokhâra*, was advised by his physicians to return to *Turkestan*; which he attempted to do, but died upon the road. *Abu'lfeda* represents *Bagra Khân* as a pious and religious prince; and tells us, that, in all his edicts and public instruments, he stiled himself *the servant of the apostle of God*. After his death, *Nûh* repossessed himself of *Samarkand*, *Bokhâra*, and e all the other places, in his territories, that had been reduced by *Bagra Khân*; though he was not yet able to extinguish the rebellion, headed by *Ebn Simjûr* and *Faëkh*. It may not be improper here to remark, that *Bagra Khân* is denominated by *Teixeira Bokra Khân*, and *Kara Khân* by M. D'Herbelot. The latter of these writers places the commencement of the troubles that occasioned the invasion here mentioned, in the year of the *Hejra* 371. Notwithstanding which, as the authority of *Abu'lfeda*, who lived nearer the time of it than the *Persian* historian followed by M. D'Herbelot, is express and decisive in the point before us, we doubt not but our learned readers will readily assign this irruption a place amongst the transactions of the year we are now upon. *Bagra* was succeeded in the sovereignty of his vast dominions, named by *Abu'lfeda* the kingdom of the *Turks*, and by *Mirkbond Turkestan*, f by *Ilek Khân* <sup>3</sup>.

Nûh and Sa-  
bektekin de-  
feat the rebels  
Ebn Simjûr  
and Faëkh, in  
the province of  
Herât.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 384, which began *Feb.* 15th, 994, the rebel brothers, *Abu Ali Ebn Simjûr* and *Faëkh*, persisting in their revolt, and having raised numerous forces to support themselves therein, *Nûh* found himself obliged to apply to *Sabektekin*, the lord, or prince, of *Gaznûn*, then returned in triumph from *India*, one of his most famous generals, for assistance. In order to induce him to advance with the greater expedition to his relief, he appointed him governor of *Khorasân*, in the room of *Ebn Simjûr*, and committed the

<sup>1</sup> AL MAK'IN, ubi sup. p. 254. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 332. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & ad ann. Hej. 369. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Cader Billah*, p. 224, 225. <sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 332. Vide etiam NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, in tab. geographic. edit. Hudf. Oxon. 1711. & ALB. SCHULT. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. Lugd. Batavor. 1732. <sup>3</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 382. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 383. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeir. 253, 254. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 253, 678, 679, &c.



- a administration of that province intirely to him. Upon which, *Sabektekin*, with his son *Mahmūd*, moved at the head of all his forces from *Gazna*, *Gaznab*, or *Gaznūn*, into *Khorasān*; and afterwards joined the *Sammānian* army, commanded by *Nāb*, at *Bekbāra*. This junction being thus effected, the combined army marched directly against the rebels, who waited for them in the province of *Herāt*, where they found them incamped. After several movements, a fierce conflict ensued, which ended in the defeat of *Ebn Simjūr* and *Fākkh*, whose camp was forced, and a great part of their men put to the sword. This victory, which was complete, and gained chiefly by the conduct of *Sabektekin*, and the bravery of his troops, re-established *Nāb*'s affairs; who thereupon appointed *Mahmūd Ebn Sabektekin* to preside over the province of *Khorasān*, and then returned to *Bekbāra*. He also made *Mahmūd*, at his father *Sabektekin*'s request, commander in chief of all his forces; after which, *Mahmūd* went to *Naisabūr*, or *Nisābūr*, and *Sabektekin* to *Gaznūn*. *Ebn Simjūr* and *Fākkh*, who had fled to *Nisābūr* after the late defeat, having received advice, that *Mahmūd Ebn Sabektekin* was advancing towards them, abandoned the city in which they had taken refuge at his approach. However, they soon found means to assemble another body of troops, with which they obliged *Mahmūd* to retire. But, being reinforced by his father *Sabektekin*, he gave them another overthrow; upon which, *Ebn Simjūr* thought fit to submit to *Nāb*, and *Fākkh* fled to *Ilek Khān*. The city of *Gazna*, *Gaznab*, or *Gaznūn*, for it went by all those names, was an emporium and fortrefs of *Zāblestān*, not far from the confines of *India*, as sufficiently appears from the eastern geographers. The writers followed by M.
- b *D'Herbelot* make it to have formerly been the capital of that province. Mr. *Hanway*, therefore, was undoubtedly mistaken, when he placed this city in *Khorasān*; as running counter in this point not only to the authority of *Golius*, *Abu'lfeda*, *Nasir Al Tāfi*, and *Ulugh Beik*, but likewise to himself. For, in the map prefixed to the third volume of his book, he has assigned it a situation in *Kandahar*, upon the borders of *Cābūl*, or *Cāblestān*, at no great distance from the confines of *Zāblestān*, called *Sablestān* by this author, and not in *Khorasān*. But, indeed, he has himself acknowledged this mistake, in the explanation of foreign words, subjoined to the last part of his curious work \*.

- THE same year, died *Obeid'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Nafe'*, a person of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life; as did likewise *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Isā*, a grammarian of considerable note, who wrote a large commentary upon the *Korān*, and was born in the year of the *Hejra* 296. *Mohammed Ebn Al Abbās Ebn Ahmed Al Cazzaz*, a writer greatly famed for his accuracy and erudition, and *Abu Isbak Ibrahim Ebn Helāl*, a *Sabian* notary, likewise departed this life, before the close of the present year. The latter of these was about ninety-one years old, at the time of his death. He had been secretary of state first to *Moezzo'ddawla*, and afterwards to *Bakhtiyār*, his son and successor, at *Baghdād*. During *Bakhtiyār*'s administration, he wrote, in that *Emir*'s name, several stinging letters to *Adado'ddawla*; which were afterwards remembered, and resented to such a degree, that when *Adado'ddawla* had made himself master of *Baghdād*, he caused him to be imprisoned. Nor was he content with detaining him in prison a considerable time. He ordered him, after he was released, to write the history of *Deylem*; imposing this as a sort of task, or rather inflicting it as a kind of punishment, upon him. Which history, under the title of *Al Taji*, was extant in *Abu'lfeda*'s days. Nor did this conciliate *Adado'ddawla*'s affection to him, though he had taken the liberty dedicate his performance to that prince. So far from it, that, after the piece was finished, *Adado'ddawla* was more incensed than ever against him, banished him to a great distance from court, and forbid any of his subjects to keep a correspondence with him. Whilst *Ebn Helāl* was compiling the aforesaid history, it happened, that one of his friends came to see him; who, finding him at work, asked him what he was upon? To which he replied, a little imprudently, "I am collecting and tacking together lies and trifles." Which answer, being carried to *Adado'ddawla*, so provoked him, that he immediately drove *Ebn Helāl* out of his presence, and would never be reconciled to him. *Moezzo'ddawla* could not, by any means, prevail upon him to embrace *Islamism*; though, according to *Abu'lfeda*, he could say all the *Korān* by heart. When *Al Sharif Al Rādi* was censured, for celebrating *Ebn Helāl*'s praises, in some elegant *Arabic* verses, after his death, he excused himself, by saying, that he did not consider him as an unbeliever, but as a sublime genius, and a man of most profound erudition. We have already given our readers a short account of this author's mathematical works, as well as a sketch of his character, extracted from *Abu'l Faraj* \*.

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 384. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeir. p. 255, &c. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 679. NASIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in geogr. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 109, 110. HANWAY'S travels, vol. iii. p. 23. See also his explanat. of foreign words, at the end of vol. iv. under the word *Ghobāzids*, and his map prefixed to vol. iii. \* ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 330.



Ebn Simjûr is  
obliged to sub-  
mit to Nûh.

THE next year, being the 385th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Feb. 5th, 995, *Abu Ali Ebn Simjûr*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, returned into *Khorasân*, and obliged *Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn*, afterwards denominated *Mahmûd Gazni*, to abandon that province. But *Mahmûd*, having been joined by his father *Sabektekîn*, with a large body of troops, went in quest of the rebels, and came up with them at *Tûs*. Here he engaged *Ebn Simjûr* with such bravery, that he put him to flight, killed a great part of his men upon the spot, and dispersed the rest in such a manner that they could never afterwards be rallied. This blow intirely ruined *Ebn Simjûr*'s affairs; so that he found himself constrained to submit to *Nûh*. After which, having been pardoned by that prince, he immediately repaired to *Bokhârâ*; where, with several of his accomplices, he no sooner arrived, than they were all, though in open violation of public faith, put under an arrest by *Nûh*, and detained in prison, by his order. Nor did *Ebn Simjûr* ever recover his liberty, till he was released by death. With regard to the city of *Tûs*, in *Khorasân*, we must beg leave to observe, that, in former times, it was the metropolis of *Khorasân*, but was afterwards considered as dependent on *Nisâbur*, from which it was distant about twelve parasangs; that it has been placed in lat. 37°, and long. 92', by the eastern astronomers and geographers; that it is divided, in reality, into two cities, the larger of which is called *Tâberân*, and the lesser *Nûkân*; and that, each of these being subdivided into two others, it seems to be composed of four cities, or towns. But, for a farther description of this place, our curious readers may have recourse to some of the authors referred to here \*.

Faëkh is made  
governor of  
Samarkand.

THE same year, *Faëkh*, called *Faïk* by M. D'Herbelot, meditated an irruption, in conjunction with *Ilek Khân*, into either *Khorasân* or *Mawarâ'lnahr*; of which *Nûh* receiving advice, he ordered *Sabektekîn* to attend him, and *Mahmûd* to join him with all the forces he could assemble, between *Kash* and *Nakhsab*, in the neighbourhood of *Samarkand*. But this treaty was at last concluded between *Faëkh* and *Nûh*; whereby the former was constituted by the latter governor of *Samarkand*, and all its dependencies; by which the troubles, that had so long subsisted between them, were intirely appeased, the present year. For a full account of the cities of *Kash* and *Nakhsab*, or *Nesef*, as it is called by *Nassir Al Tûsi* and *Ulugh Beik*, we must beg leave to refer our learned and curious readers to *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Berjendi*, and the other oriental geographers †.

Abu'l Kafem  
Al Sâheb,

THIS year, died, in the city of *Al Ray*, (Q) *Abu'l Kafem Ebn Ayâd*, *Ebâd*, or *Abbâd*, surnamed *Al Sâheb*, or the companion, *Fakhro'ddawla*'s *Wazîr*, and was buried at *Esfabân*. He

\* ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 385. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 678, 679. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185, 186. † Ibidem ibid. & alib. EBN HAWKEL, AL BERJENDI, &c.

(Q) The eastern writers followed by M. D'Herbelot make this *Wazîr*, whom they call *Abu'l Kafem Ismael Cafi Ebn Ebâd*, to have been one of the most wise and prudent statesmen that ever served any of the *Moslem* princes. Nay, he has always passed in *Persia*, on account of the transcendently excellent qualities he possessed, for the best and most accomplished, and, in fine, the greatest minister that ever lived. This is the character that *Mirkbond*, *Hamdallah*, *Khondemir*, *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwîni*, and the other *Persian* historians, unanimously give him; and with them *Ebn Shohnah*, who bestows the highest elogies upon him, for his singular sagacity, wisdom, greatness of soul, probity, and erudition, extremely well agrees. The author of the *Nighiaristan*, *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwîni*, has preserved a quatrain, or stanza of four verses, made in his life-time, and intended as an epitaph for him; which import, that he always kept clear of corruption; that, through the whole course of his ministry, he countenanced people of merit, and gloried in being the friend and protector of all good men; and that his name will be one of the greatest ornaments of the history of illustrious persons, though continued to the remotest periods of time (23).

Some of the aforesaid writers affirm, that *Fakhro'ddawla* himself honoured *Abu'l Kafem Ebn Ebâd* with the title of *Al Sâheb*, or the companion, because he had frequent conferences with him, and committed the government of his dominions intirely to him; but *Ebn Shohnah*

agrees with *Abu'lfeda*, in the cause he has assigned for that appellation. The books in this *Wazîr*'s library are said to have been so numerous, that he employed 400 camels in carrying them from one place to another. He composed some learned pieces, that were much esteemed; one particularly upon the art of poetry, intitled, *Ecnââ fî'l Orûdh*; which may be added to those mentioned by *Abu'lfeda*, in his *Chronicon*, that we have taken notice of here.

The people of *Persia* entertained so high a veneration for this *Wazîr*, after his death, that when his corpse was taken out of his house, in order to be interred, the grandees of the court prostrated themselves before his coffin, and kept it, for some time, suspended in the great mosque at *Al Ray*, till at last it was carried to that of *Esfabân*, where he had chosen to be inhumed (24).

According to *Ebn Shohnah*, he was born in the year of the *Hejra* 336, and died in the 383d year of that æra. But we chuse to follow *Abu'lfeda*, both in relation to the year of *Ebn Ebâd*'s birth and that of his death, as carrying with him a greater air of probability in both those particulars. Some authors relate, that he was born at *Al Ray*, some at *Esfabân*, others at *Esfakbr*, and, lastly, others at *Tâlakân*. Those who make *Tâlakân* the place of his nativity, mean *Tâlakân* in the district of *Kazwîn*, and not the city of the same name either in *Khorasân* or *Tokhârestân*. But which of these authors is the most to be depended upon, in the point before us, we shall not at present take upon us to decide (25).

(23) Mirkbond, Khondemir, Hamdallah Ebn Abu Becr Abmed Al Kazwîni, in Târikh Khozid. Abmed Ebn Muhammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwîni, in Nighiarist. Ebn Shohnah, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Sâheb Ebn Ebâd, p. 733, 734. (24) Ebn Shohnah, Abu'lfed & D'Herbel. ubi sup. (25) Ibidem ibid. Nassir Al Tûsi & Ulugh Beik, ubi sup.



- a was a person of a most amiable disposition, consummate abilities, great munificence, immense erudition, and at the same time thoroughly versed in all the arts of government; for which reason, he has been stiled by *Abu'lfeda* the phoenix of his age. He was the first *Wazîr* who bore the title, or appellation, of *Al Sâbeb*, or *the companion*, and had a larger library than any of the *Moslems* that ever lived before him. Being in a private station, he contracted an intimacy with *Ebn Al Amîd*, and from thence was called *Sâbeb Ebn Al Amîd*, *the companion of Ebn Al Amîd*; which title, after his elevation to the sublime post he so worthily filled, was contracted, and he retained only the former part of it, *Al Sâbeb*. He was first *Wazîr* to *Mowayyado'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla*, and, after his death, to *Fakbro'ddawla*, his brother, who always had him in great esteem. During his last illness, the latter of those princes
- b visited him in person, and desired to receive from his mouth some advice, for the better regulation of his future conduct. Upon which, this wise minister addressed himself to his master in the following terms: "You see, Sir, that, thanks be to God, I have introduced good order in every part of your dominions; all your subjects have had justice rendered them, and your finances are upon the most excellent foot. If, therefore, you would have the glory of my administration, take care to act uniformly upon the plan that I have laid down; since, if, by any deviation from it, after my death, your affairs should be embarrassed, and disorders should slip into the state, the people would not fail to ascribe all the happiness they enjoyed, during my ministry, to me; and consequently you would not by them be believed to have contributed any thing to it." These words
- c made a deep impression, for the present, upon *Fakro'ddawla's* mind; but notwithstanding this, his favourites and domestics, soon after the *Wazîr's* decease, governed with an absolute sway, and in so bad a manner, that the face of affairs was intired changed. Instead of lenity and justice, nothing was to be seen but violence and oppression; and the finances, that had been so well regulated before, were in a short time most shamefully dissipated. Such an infamous administration as this could not fail of exciting great murmurings amongst *Fakbro'ddawla's* subjects; who now, in conformity to his prediction, regretted the *Wazîr*, and praised his prudence more and more every day. This excellent minister so celebrated in history for his transcendent merit, is said by *Abu'lfeda* to have written the following books, which bore a very good character in the *Moslem* world; *Al Mohith*, a philological piece, concerning the genius and foundation of the *Arabic* tongue; *Al Casti*, a treatise upon the art and method of writing letters, particularly those sent in the name of a prince to any other potentate or great man; *Al Kitâb Al Imâmî*, i. e. *the book treating of the office of Imâm*, which expatiates upon the virtues of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, as well as those of *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, who preceded him in the *Khalifat*, and proves all these to have been true and lawful *Imâms*. A fourth piece, which contains a brief exposition of the office and duty of a *Wazîr*. He also penned several elegant poetical compositions, of which at present we can give our readers no particular account. *Abu'l Kasem* was born at *Esfakbr* in the province of *Fârs*, according to some of the authors followed by *Abu'lfeda*, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and the year of the *Hejra* 326. His father *Ayâd*, *Ebûd*, or *Abbâd*, was *Rucno'ddawla's* *Wazîr*, and died, if the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'lfeda's*
- d *Chronicon* may be credited, in the year of the *Moslem* æra 334, or 335. We must not forget to remark, that a specimen of *Abu'l Kasem's* poetical productions has been preserved by *Al Makîn*<sup>2</sup>.

THE same year, *Al Imâm Al Darcathani*, whose name was *Abu'l Hosein Ali Ebn Omar Ebn Ahmed*, a celebrated *Hâfedh*, *Imâm*, and *Fakih*, according to the principles of *Al Shâfeî*, likewise died at *Baghdâd*. He derived his surname, *Al Darcathani*, from *Dar Al Cathani*, a very large street in that metropolis. He had a prodigious memory, and could say by heart a vast number of antient poems, and, amongst the rest, those composed by *Al Sayyed Al Hamyari*; who being a friend to *Ali's* descendants, had contracted an invincible aversion to the *Sunnites*. As *Al Darcathani*, therefore, admired his poetical compositions, he was suspected of being a secret favourer of the *Shiites*. He went from *Baghdâd* to *Mesr*, where he was countenanced, and had much money given him, by *Abu'l Fadl Jaasar*, *Câsîn's* *Wazîr*. He excelled in various branches of literature, but most in interpreting the *Korân*. It appears from *Abu'lfeda*, that he was born in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and the year of the *Hejra* 306<sup>1</sup>.

ABU MOHAMMED YUSEF EBN AL HASAN EBN ABD'ALLAH EBN AL MARZABAN AL SIRAFI, a famous grammarian, also departed this life, the present year. His father, *Al Hasan*, wrote a commentary upon the grammar of *Sibuyab*, in which he discovered a vast fund of erudition. He likewise composed a book, intituled, *Al Kitâb Al Ica*, the

*Fakbro'd-dawla's*  
*Wazîr, died;*

*As does also*  
*Al Imâm Al*  
*Darcathani, at*  
*Baghdâd;*

*and Abu Mo-*  
*ammed Yusef*  
*Ebn Al Hasan*  
*Ebn Abd'allah*  
*Abn Al Mar-*

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 254. JSM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. MIREKOND, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNÂH, HAMDALLAH EBN ABU BECR EBN AHMED AL KAZWINI, in *Tarikh Khasid*. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'AL-JAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighirist*. Vide etiam JO. JAC. REISKE, in præfat. ad Abu'lfed. annal. Moslem. p. 21, 22, Lipsiæ, 1754.

<sup>2</sup> JSM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



zabân Al Sî-  
râfi.

*book of sufficiency*, to which the finishing hand was put by his son, of whom we are now speaking. This *Abu Mohammed Yusef* published a commentary upon *Al Abiyat*, or *the verses of the poets*, cited by the above-mentioned *Sibuyah*; and another upon the book, intitled, *Islab Al Mantbaki*, or *the method of improving the understanding and speech, or an emendation of logic*. *Sîrâf*, where *Abu Mohammed Yusef* was born, and from whence he deduced the surname of *Al Sîrâfi*, was a city and emporium of *Persia*, seated upon the Persian gulf, or bay of *Basra*. It was formerly, though situated in a barren soil, and sultry unwholesome air, one of the most opulent and splendid cities of *Persia*; abounding then with merchants, enjoying a very flourishing trade, and all its inhabitants being a sea-faring people. But, for a farther account of this place, we must beg leave to refer our learned and curious readers to the authors cited here <sup>b</sup>.

Al Aziz  
Billah's death  
and character.

THE following year, being the 386th of the *Hejra*, beginning Jan. 25th, 996, *Al Aziz Billah*, the *Fâtemite Khalif* of *Egypt*, died in the bath at *Belbais*, or *Belbis*. At the time of his death, which happened in the month of *Ramadân*, he was meditating an expedition against the *Greeks*; being then forty-two years, eight months, and fourteen days, old, according to *Al Makin*. We are told, however, by *Abu'lfeda*, that he was carried off by a complication of distempers, of which the cholic was chief, in the forty-second year of his age. He succeeded his father, *Al Moezz Ledinillab*, in the 365th year of the *Moslem* era, as has been already observed, and was then about twenty-one years old; having been born at *Mohdia*, or *Al Mohdia*, in the year of the *Hejra* 344. His secretary of state was a *Christian*, named *Isa*, and his treasurer in *Syria* a *Jew*, called *Manasseh*. The *Christians* and the *Jews*, being supported and protected by these men, says *Abu'lfeda*, insulted the *Moslems*; which, according to the same author, induced the people of *Mesr* to make of paper a figure in the shape of a woman, and to place it in the road, through which *Al Aziz* was to pass, with a libel in one of its hands, to the following effect: "We conjure you by him, who has enabled *Isa* to render the *Christians* insolent and powerful, and *Manasseh* the *Jews*, and who by you has humbled the *Moslems*," i. e. God, "to tell us when an end shall be put to the afflictions that we endure." Which libel, continues the *Arab* historian, notwithstanding the asperity of expression visible in it, the *Khalif* was so far from taking amiss, that he immediately dismissed *Isa*, who had the greatest ascendant over him, and stripped him of all the wealth he had acquired. This prince has been represented by the *Moslem* writers as a person of a most excellent disposition, a prudent ruler, and a great lover of his people; whom he governed with uncommon justice, lenity, and moderation, twenty-one years, six months, and seventeen days, according to *Al Makin*. *Abu'lfeda*, however, relates that he reigned only twenty-one years, five months, and fifteen days. Be that as it will, his goodness and clemency to his subjects were scarce to be paralleled; of which we have been supplied with the following most remarkable instance by *Abu'l Faraj*. A certain satirical poet having once written a scurrilous libel in verse upon the *Wazir*, and the secretary of state, in which the *Khalif* himself came in for a share of the abuse; the *Wazir* carried his complaints to *Al Aziz*, and demanded to have the author of those verses punished. But the *Khalif* having read them, made him this answer, "As I bear with you part of the injury offered, so I desire that you would take part with me of the merit of the pardon I shall grant him for the same." He was succeeded by his son, *Abu Ali Al Mansûr*, then only eleven years old, having been born at *Al Kabirah*, in the former *Rabi*, and the year 375; who was proclaimed *Khalif* on Tuesday, the 28th of *Ramadân*, the present year. But, during *Al Mansûr*'s minority, *Al Aziz*, before his death, appointed *Arjûn*, one of his white eunuchs, in whose capacity and fidelity to his son he could absolutely confide, to take the government of all his extensive dominions upon him <sup>c</sup>.

Other eminent  
persons die,  
before the close  
of the present  
year.

THIS year, likewise died *Abu'l Dawd Ebn Al Mosayyeb*, prince of the *Okailite Arabs*, and *Emîr* of *Al Mawfel*, who was succeeded by his brother, *Al Mokalled*; as did also *Al Mansûr*, or *Mansûr*, *Ebn Yusef Belkin Ebn Zeir Al Sanbâji*, *Emîr* of *Libya*, a generous, valiant, and magnanimous prince, whose son *Badis* presided over the people he had governed, after his death. In the latter *Jemâda*, *Abu Tâleb Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Athbiyah*, who was born in *Fârs*, and lived a considerable part of his time at *Mecca*, departed this life, at *Baghdâd*. He was the author of an excellent book, which bore the title of *the nourishment of hearts*. Whilst he wrote this piece, he is reported to have had no other sustenance than the roots of the *papyrus*, a flaggy shrub, of whose leaves a sort of paper was made, growing in the marshes and standing waters of the *Nile*. He devoted himself intirely to the service of God. However, whilst he was preaching one of his sermons at *Baghdâd*, he was

<sup>b</sup> ABU'LFED. in descript. mar. Persic. & ubi sup. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEK, ubi sup. GOLDI not. ad Alfragan. p. 116, 117. <sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 254, 255. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 386. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 332. KHONDAMIR, AL MAKRIZI, EBN SHOHAN, ABU ABD'ALLAH MOHAMMED, in *Târikh Mesr*, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 372.



- a so far transported by the fervour of his discourse, that he came out with some blasphemous effusions, in the highest degree shocking to pious ears; upon which, he was immediately silenced, and not suffered to preach afterwards in any of the mosques of that city. He was probably one of the *Sûffis*, who pretended to a superior degree of sanctity, were puffed up with spiritual pride, depreciated every branch of literature then in vogue amongst the *Arabs*, and absolutely excluded reason from all concern with matters of religion. In which they are imitated by some ignorant and opinionated enthusiasts of the present age, who nearly resemble them in all the above-mentioned particulars; and, by similar practices, as well as their absurd tenets, expose our most holy faith to the contempt of unbelievers, and thereby contribute more to the growth and propagation of infidelity than perhaps any other set of
- b men in the *Christian* world <sup>d</sup>.

WE are informed by *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawî*, that, soon after *Al* *What happened in Sicily; this year.* *Azîz's* death, the *Sicilian Moslems* were governed by two persons, who were members of the same family; viz. *Al Hasan Ebn Ammâr*, the *Fâtemite Kbalîf's Wazîr*, and *Yusef Ebn Abd'allah*, who had acted amongst those *Moslems* several years in the capacity of *Emîr*. The same author likewise relates, that the latter of these great men lost the use of his left side, by a stroke of the palsy, the present year; and that, upon this unexpected event, *Yusef Ebn Abd'allah* appointed his son, *Jaasar*, to occupy the sublime post he had filled. To which he adds, that *Jaasar* was confirmed in the possession of that post by the *Kbalîf* of *Egypt*, who dignified him with a new title, on this occasion; and that he continued therein till the

c year of the *Hejra* 409, when he was deposed, and his brother *Abmed* appointed to preside over the *Sicilian Moslems* in his room <sup>e</sup>.

IN the 387th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Jan. 14th, 997, *Badis Ebn Mansûr* *The beginning of the dynasty of the Hamedites in Africa.* *Ebn Yusef Ebn Zeir Al Sanbâjî*, the *Emîr* of *Libya*, sent his uncle, *Hammad*, *Hamed*, or, as the present *African Arabs* pronounce it, *Hamet*, the son of *Yusef Ebn Zeir Al Sanbâjî*, to preside over the city of *Asbir*, the *Assurus*, or *Assuras*, probably of the antients, with the district appertaining to it. *Hamed*, or *Hamet*, who took possession of the prefecture assigned him, either in the month of *Safar*, or that of the former *Rabî*, having amassed vast treasures, and greatly extended his frontiers, by the addition of several of the neighbouring districts, afterwards set up for himself, and renounced his allegiance to *Badis Ebn Mansûr*, his nephew.

- d This defection occasioned an intestine war in that part of *Africa*, of which our readers will meet with an account in the sequel of this history. As *Hamed's* power and grandeur commenced, when he entered upon the government of *Asbir*, the beginning of the dynasty of the *Hammadites*, or *Hamedites*, in the provinces of *Bajâyah*, or *Bûjiab*, of which we shall speak hereafter, is placed by *Abu'lfeda* in the present year. Dr. *Shaw* relates, that the modern name of *Asbir*, or *Assurus*, is *Kisser*; and that, at this time, only the ruins of it are to be seen. He likewise observes, that these ruins are three leagues to the S. W. of *Iouseph*, or *Iûsef*, a town which probably derived its name from *Yusef Belkin Ebn Zier Al Sanbâjî* himself; who, as well as his son *Hamed*, made a very considerable figure in this part of *Africa*. It may not be improper to remark, that *Badis Ebn Mansûr*, though he arrogated to himself the sovereignty of the *African* provinces he governed, was considered only
- e as a viceroy, or at most as a tributary and dependent prince, by *Abu Ali Mansûr*, the *Fâtemite Kbalîf* of *Egypt*; who assumed the title of *Al Hâkem Beamrî'llah*, after he had ascended the *Egyptian* throne <sup>f</sup>.

IT appears from *Al Makîn*, that *Fânûs Ebn Washmakîn*, or *Wasmakîn*, this year, possessed *Kâbûs Ebn* himself of the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*; but by what means he became master of *Washmakîn* such extensive territories, we have not been told by that author. This *Fânûs*, who is called *Kâbûs* in the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'lfeda's Chronicon*, as we learn from M. *Reiske*, was expelled *possessed himself of Jorjân and Tabrestân.* from the countries he at this time recovered, in the year of the *Hejra* 371. As the *Fa* and *stân*.

- f the *Kîf*, or the *F* and *K*, are represented by one character, rendered capable of exhibiting two different powers by its different diacritical points; and as the same thing may be affirmed of the *Ba* and the *Nûn*, or *B* and *N*, to omit other elements in that alphabet to which these letters belong; it is no wonder *Washmakîn's* son should be named *Kâbûs* in the *Leyden MS.* above-mentioned, and *Fânûs* in *Erpenius's MS.* of *Al Makîn*. However, as the latter of these manuscripts has been extremely corrupted, especially in the proper names; and as the reading in the former of them is supported by Dr. *Pocock's* manuscripts of *Abu'l Faraj*; our learned and intelligent readers will be inclined to believe, that *Kâbûs* was really the name of the prince we have been speaking of here <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> AL KADI SHABABO'DDIN EBN ABI'LDAM AL HAMAWI, in lib. cui tit.

*Asmâ'if.* ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. SHAW'S travels, &c. p. 89, 198. Oxford, 1738. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 255. AL MAKRIZI, GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 332. D'HERBEL.

Biblioth. orient. art. *Hakem Bemrillah*, p. 411. <sup>g</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 255, 258, &c. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 371. JO. JAC. REISKE, in præfat. ad Abu'lfed. annal. Moslemic, p. 21, 22. & in Abu'lfed. annal. Moslemic. p. 301. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 319. 334.



Fakhro'd-  
dawla dies,  
and is succeed-  
ed by his son.

IN the month of *Shawâl*, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, or the 10th of *Shaabân*, according to *Al Makîn*, *Fakhro'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla Ebn Bûiya* departed this life, at the castle of *Tabarak*; and, immediately after his death, the grandees of *Al Ray*, and the territory belonging to it, elected his son, *Abu Tâleb Rostam Majdo'ddawla Ebn Fakhro'ddawla Ebn Rucno'ddawla Ebn Bûiya*, then only four years old, to succeed him. But the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*, which *Fakhro'ddawla* likewise governed, were seized by *Kâbûs Ebn Washmakîn*, who had formerly presided over them, as has been already observed. The *Khalîf*, *Al Kâder Bîllah*, confirmed the election of the noblesse of *Al Ray*, sent *Rostam* an imperial robe from *Baghdâd*, and gave him the title, or surname, of *Majdo'ddawla*, which he ever afterwards retained. The young prince being incapable of taking upon himself the government of his dominions, on account of his tender age, his mother *Seyda* placed herself at the head of the administration, at the desire of the grandees, and with the approbation of the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd* <sup>a</sup>.

Sabektekin  
likewise dies,  
the present  
year;

THIS year, died also the famous *Sabektekin*, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. During the latter part of his life, he resided at *Balkh*; but having long laboured under a chronical distemper, of which he could not be cured, he thought fit, in order to try whether a change of air would not relieve him, to undertake a journey to *Gazna*. But as he was very weak when he left *Balkh*, he died upon the road, in the month of *Shaabân*, and was carried to *Gazna*, where his remains were interred. He was a prince of great probity and justice, and governed his subjects with uncommon prudence, equity, and moderation, almost twenty years. A little before his death, he nominated his younger son, *Ismael Ebn Sabektekin*, to succeed him. *Ismael* was scarce settled on the throne, when he received a letter from *Mahmûd*, his elder brother; who therein acquainted him, that as his father could have no other reason for excluding him from the succession, which by right of primogeniture apparently belonged to him, than because he was at a great distance from him when his end approached, so he insisted upon his ceding to him the territories that had been ravished from him, and the government of which he (*Ismael*) had so unjustly usurped. But *Ismael* taking no notice of this letter, *Mahmûd*, who was then at *Nisâbûr*, raised a powerful army, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Gazna*, in order to dethrone his brother; who, being terrified at his approach, and overthrown in a general action by him, found himself obliged to retire into the castle of *Gazna*, and at last to submit to the victor upon such terms as he was pleased to prescribe. In fine, about seven months after *Sabektekin*'s death, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, *Mahmûd* mounted his father's throne; though he treated *Ismael* with uncommon marks of distinction and esteem. Notwithstanding which, according to that historian, *Mahmûd* confined his brother to a private station; though the contrary notion, it must be owned, seems to have been espoused by *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>b</sup>.

as does also  
Nûh Al Man-  
sûr Al Sam-  
mâni, at  
Bokhâra;

THE same year, in the month of *Rajeb*, *Nûh Ebn Mansûr Al Sammâni*, the lord, or *Emîr*, of *Khorasân* and *Marwarâ'lnabr*, and the seventh prince of the *Sammânian* dynasty, departed this life, at *Bokhâra*. His title, as we are informed by *Abu'lfeda*, was *Al Emîr Al Râdi*, that is, *the accepted, agreeable, or well-beloved prince*. His son, *Abu'l Hâreth Mansûr Ebn Nûh*, took upon himself the government of *Khorasân* and *Marwarâ'lnabr*, after his decease <sup>c</sup>.

and Abu'l  
Wafa Al Bûz-  
jâni.

THIS year, likewise died *Abu'l Wafa Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Al Mohandes*, or the geometer, *Al Bûzjâni*, who was born in the month of *Ramadân*, and of the year of the *Hejra* 328. He was one of the best geometers of the age in which he lived, and received the surname of *Al Bûzjâni* from *Bûzjân*, the place of his nativity, a town of *Khorasân*, situated between *Nisâbûr* and *Herât*. *M. D'Herbelot* calls him *Mohammed Ebn Yakya*, and makes him to have been a native of *Nisâbûr*. He also relates, that this *Mohammed*, whom he styles a famous mathematician, lived in the year of the *Hejra* 348, composed an *Almagest*, probably in imitation of the excellent piece of *Ptolemy* that bears this title, and translated into *Arabic*, as well as wrote a commentary upon, *Diophantus* <sup>d</sup>.

Al Hosein  
Ebn Ibrahim  
Al Mesri like-  
wise pays the  
common debt  
to nature, the  
present year;

AL HOSEIN EBN IBRAHIM EBN AL HOSEIN, descended from *Solimân Ebn Zulac Al Mîsri*, or *Mesri*, a person extremely well versed in history, paid also the common debt to nature, in the year we are now upon. He wrote a book, intituled, *Kethbat Mesri*, concerning the nomes of *Egypt*, and the streets of the city of *Mesri*; as likewise another, upon the *Kâdis* of *Egypt*, and several others, of which we have not time at present to give our readers even a general and concise account <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 255. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 333. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Fakhr Al dawlat*, p. 329. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sabektegin*, p. 792, 793. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 333. EBN SHOHNAH, Canon. Persic. cui tit. *Nokbat Al Tarwârikh*, i. e. *Medulla Chronicorum*, MS. apud vir. eruditiss. THOM. HUNT, S. T. P. *Ædis Christi Canon. Ling. Hebr.* Prof. Reg. Ling. Arabic. Prælect. Laudian. Oxon. & R. S. S. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sammâni*, p. 751, 752. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 338. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Buzjani*, p. 218. <sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



- a ABU AHMED AL HASAN EBN ABD'ALLAH EBN SA'ID AL ASCARI, a man of vast erudition, who published many excellent pieces upon the genius and foundation of the Arabic tongue, its peculiar phrases and manner of expression, as well as the proverbs in vogue amongst the Arabs, likewise departed this life, the present year. He was denominated *Al Ascari* from *Ascar Macrûm*, a city of *Khûzestân*, in the territory of *Abwâz*, about sixteen parasangs from *Tuster*, the capital of the province, where he was born, in the year of the *Hejra* 293. He was the author of the *Kitâb Al Mant'hakî*, or a system of logic; the *Kitâb Al Zawajeri*; the *Kitâb Al Mokhtalafî wa'l Mutalafî*, i. e. a treatise upon conjuncts and disparates, or those things which will and will not cohere; and the *Kitâb Al Hocmî wa'l Amtshali*, or a collection of wise sayings and proverbs; besides others, which we cannot at this time so much as touch upon. He received his education from the famous *Abu Becr Ebn Doreid*, who was held in universal esteem<sup>a</sup>.

- b BEFORE the close of this year, *Mûmîn Ebn Mohammed*, the lord, or sovereign, of *Khowârazm*, also died, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. This *Mûmîn* was the first prince, or king, of *Khowârazm*, mentioned in the *Moslem* history as independent of the *Khalîf*; though probably some one of the *Khalîf*'s governors of that province had, before his time, set up there for himself. The country seems to have been lost to the *Khalîf*, at least for a considerable number of years, before *Mûmîn* expired; his son *Ali*, if we will believe the aforesaid author, succeeding him, by a sort of hereditary right, and the crown being then consequently settled in his family. We must not forget to remind our readers, that *Khowârazm* was reduced to the obedience of the *Khalîf Yezîd Ebn Mcâwiyah*, by a body of Arab troops, under the command of *Selim Ebn Ziyâd*, the governor of *Khorasân*, as early as the 61st year of the *Moslem* æra, according to *Al Makîn*<sup>c</sup>.

- d THE next year, being the 388th of the *Hejra*, beginning Jan. 3d, 998, *Samsâmô'ddawla Abu Câlijâr Ebn Adado'ddawla* was killed at *Abwâz*, in an action that happened between him and *Abu'l Kasem*, the son of *Azzo'ddawla*, who had been put to death by *Adado'ddawla*, *Samsâmô'ddawla*'s father; of which tragical event the following particulars have been handed down to us by *Al Makîn*. After *Samsâmô'ddawla* was released out of prison, several of the fortresses of *Deylam* were put into his hands; and *Abu Nasr*, one of *Fîrûz*'s relations, and *Abu'l Kasem*, *Azzo'ddawla*'s son, who had been imprisoned with him, having found means to corrupt the jailor with a sum of money, had likewise their liberty given them. They were no sooner released, than they began to raise forces, and, in a short time, assembled a very considerable number of troops. What became of *Abu Nasr*, we have not been told by our author; but, according to him, *Abu'l Kasem* marched to *Arjân*, a city in the province of *Fârs*, then subject to *Samsâmô'ddawla*, which that prince's governor of the place delivered up to him. *Samsâmô'ddawla* having received advice of what had happened, was struck with terror, and retired with great precipitation to *Shîrâz*, in order to take refuge in the citadel there; but the governor refusing to admit him, he found himself obliged to retreat with 300 men to *Abwâz*, where *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Azzo'ddawla* soon came up with him. They had not long been in sight of each other, before an action ensued; which ended in the defeat of *Samsâmô'ddawla*, who was himself killed upon the spot. His head being afterwards cut off, and brought to *Abu'l Kasem*, that prince, upon seeing it, said, "This is a doctrine which your father has taught me;" meaning, that as *Adado'ddawla* had put to death his father *Azzo'ddawla*, so he had now served that *Emîr*'s son, *Samsâmô'ddawla*, in the same manner. With regard to this affair, *Abu'l feda* has only in general told us, that *Samsâmô'ddawla* was destroyed by the *Deylemites*, after he had ruled *Persia* nine years and eight days; being, at the time of his death, thirty-five years, and seven months, old. This writer likewise observes, from *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm*, or *Abu'l Dam*, *Al Hamawî*, so often cited here, that *Samsâmô'ddawla* was deprived of his sight, by his brother *Sbarfo'ddawla*'s order, before he left the place of his confinement; and consequently before the people of *Deylam* and *Fârs* thought fit to recognize his authority. The *Persian* historians, followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, relate this event in a different manner; but as we are now writing the history of the Arabs, our readers will expect that we should adhere to the Arab writers in this particular. However, we shall hereafter insert the other relation in a place to which it will more properly belong<sup>e</sup>.

f THIS year, died *Mohammed Ebn Al Hossein Ebn Al Modbaffer Al Hatemi*, a person who had a very extensive knowledge in history, and who was extremely well versed in every branch of polite literature. He derived the surname of *Al Hatemi* from *Hatem*, one of his ancestors, who had made a very considerable figure. He wrote a piece, intitled, *Al Resalet Al Hatemiyah*, in which he pretends to have detected the plagiarism of the famous *Al Mota-*

<sup>a</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Askari*, p. 133. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEK, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 216, 217, 218.

<sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 353. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 53. <sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 255, 256. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. *Hej.* 388.

AL KADI SHABABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, apud Abu'lfed. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 169, 754, & alib.



*nabbi*, a most celebrated *Arab* poet, of whom we have already given our readers a full and ample account <sup>a</sup>.

Yusef, the  
Emir of Sici-  
ly, is rendered  
incapable of  
government by  
a paralytic  
disorder;

BEFORE we conclude our detail of the principal transactions of the present year, it may not be improper to observe, that, before the close of it, *Yusef Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Emir* of *Sicily*, had a stroke of the palsy, according to *Abu'lfeda*, which deprived him of the use of his left side. This event has, however, been placed by *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddîn Ebn Abildam Al Hamawi* in the year of the *Hejra* 386, as we have already remarked. The former of these writers also relates, that *Al Hâkem*, the *Fâtemite Khalif* of *Egypt*, soon after his accession, made *Al Hasan Ebn Annâr*, one of *Yusef's* relations, his *Wazîr*; whence it came to pass, that two persons of the same family bore the principal sway at that time in the *Fâtemite* empire, *Al Hasan Ebn Annâr* at the *Khalif's* court, and *Yusef Ebn Abd'allah* in *Sicily*. b  
If this last article was extracted from *Shababo'ddîn Ebn Abildam Al Hamawi*, as from one of the preceding paragraphs there is perhaps sufficient reason to believe, the passage we have inserted above from that author has not been rightly translated by *Debelius*; who makes him therein to assert, that both *Al Hasan*, *Al Hâkem's Wazîr*, and *Al Emir Yusef*, his relation, governed the *Sicilian Moslems*, in particular, at least during part of the year of the *Hejra* 386; whereas, upon the foregoing supposition, he must have affirmed, that *Al Hasan*, the *Wazîr*, and *Yusef*, the *Emir*, of *Sicily*, had the sole management and direction of all public affairs in the *Khalifat* of *Egypt*, soon after *Al Azîz's* death, which happened in that year. However, we submit what is here advanced, as well as all other points of a dubious nature, to the judgment of our learned and intelligent readers <sup>c</sup>.

and is succeed-  
ed by his son  
Jaafar Ebn  
Yusef Ebn  
Abd'allah.

YUSEF EBN ABD'ALLAH, finding himself incapable of acting at the head of the administration in *Sicily*, appointed his son, *Jaafar*, to preside over the *Moslems* of that island; and, by his great influence at the *Egyptian* court, obtained of the *Fâtemite Khalif* an instrument, drawn up in form, for that purpose, confirming him in the possession of the sublime post in which he had already been placed. This we learn from *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece so often referred to here; though *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddîn* has ranked this event amongst the principal transactions of the year 386. Nor was *Al Hâkem*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, satisfied with barely sending *Jaafar*, at his father's request, the aforesaid instrument to *Sicily*: he likewise dignified him, in order to procure him the greater respect from the people he was to govern, with the title, or surname, of *Tajo'ddawla*, or *the crown of the court*. But this *Emir* afterwards discovered himself, by his enormous cruelty and most iniquitous administration, to be by no means worthy of the high honour that had been done him; the *Sicilian Moslems* having deposed him, for his oppressive and tyrannical conduct, and substituted *Ahmed*, another of *Yusef's* sons, in his room, either in the 409th or 410th year of the *Moslem æra*, as will hereafter more clearly appear <sup>d</sup>.

The 389th  
year of the  
Hejra proves  
fatal to the  
Sammânian  
dynasty settled  
in Khorasân  
and Mawarâ-  
râ'nahr.

THE following year, being the 389th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Dec.* 23d, 998, proved fatal to the *Sammânian* dynasty, settled in *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'nahr*. For the commanders of the forces there, together with *Bekturun* and *Fayek*, or *Baktuzun* and *Faëkb*, conspired against *Abu'l Hâreth Mansûr Ebn Nûb*, the sovereign of those countries, drove him from the throne, and, by *Baktuzun's* order, with a red-hot iron put out his eyes, after he had reigned, according to the *Persian Chronicon*, cited above, one year and seven months. *Abu'lfeda* observes, that *Baktuzun*, whom he calls *Bekturun*, was guilty of the blackest perfidy and ingratitude on this occasion; as he had been loaded with favours by, and owed his advancement to, the princes of the *Sammânian* family. After the conspirators had, in so cruel a manner, deprived *Mansûr Ebn Nûb* of his regal authority, they appointed *Abû'alimâlec Ebn Nûb*, his brother, to succeed him. *Mirkbond*, or rather *Teixeira*, in the place referred to here, gives *Mansûr Ebn Nûb* the name, or rather prænomen, of *Abu'lbares*; which is nothing but a corruption of *Abu'l Hâreth*, as he is denominated in the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'lfeda's Chronicon*, according to *M. Reiske*, *Mabmûd Ebn Sabektckin*, or, as he is more frequently called, *Mabmûd Gazni*, having received advice of what had happened to *Abu'l Hâreth Mansûr Ebn Nûb*, first expostulated with *Baktuzun* and *Faëkb*, the principal of the conspirators, for their cruelty and ingratitude to that prince, by way of letter, and afterwards marched with an army against them. Those traitors, being informed of his approach, drew out all their forces, and gave him battle; but, after a sharp and bloody engagement, they were overthrown with very great slaughter, and obliged to fly to the extremity of *Khorasân*. This victory put *Mabmûd* in possession of all that province; so that *Baktuzun* and *Faëkb* found themselves obliged intirely to abandon *Khorasân*, and retire with the utmost precipitation to *Bokhâra*. Here, however, for some time they remained; and, as they carried *Abû'alimâlec* with them, they began to raise forces in that prince's name. But, before they could assemble <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 386. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in lib. cui tit. *Ajnad*; ubi sup.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. J. DEB. BAPTIST. CARUS. histor.

Saracenico-Sicul. p. 22. Panormi, 1720.



a a sufficient body of troops, in order to dispute a second time with *Mahmūd* the possession of *Khorasān*, *Faëkb* died at *Bokhāra*; which proved a great mortification to the rebels, and even intirely frustrated their designs. We must not forget to remark, that *Mahmūd* is styled *Al Sābeb Al Hind*, the prince of India, and has the title, or surname, of *Tamīno'ddawla*, or the right hand of the court, given him by *Mirkhond*, *Al Makīn*, *Abu'lfeda*, and *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>1</sup>.

In the mean time, *Ilek Khān*, taking advantage of these troubles, advanced at the head of a powerful army to *Bokhāra*, under the pretext of assisting *Abd'almālek*, then residing in that city. *Baktuzun*, and the other commanders, who had taken the young king under their protection, giving credit to his words, went to meet him, when he was at a small distance from the town; but, in open violation of his promise, the *Khān* ordered them all to be seized, and put under arrest. After which, he entered *Bokhāra*, the 10th of *Dbu'lkaada*, the present year, secured the persons both of *Abd'almālek Ebn Nūh*, and his predecessor, *Abu'l Hāreth Mansūr Ebn Nūh*, and sent them to prison, where they remained to the time of their death. Thus ended the dynasty of the *Sammānians*, whose territories, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, comprehended *Khorasān*, *Bokhāra*, and a considerable part of *Persia*. The princes that composed this dynasty have been represented both by that author and *Abu'lfeda* as good men, and lovers of justice. Some of the eastern writers relate, that *Abd'almālek*, in a fright, hid himself, with an intent to make his escape; but that *Ilek Khān* having taken *Bokhāra*, he was found, and by that prince sent to *Uškand*, or *Dizghend*, a city of *Turkestan*, probably the same with *Urkaud*, or *Awrcand*, which has been placed in *Mawarā'n-nabr* by *Nassir Al Tūfi* and *Ulugh Beik*, where he died in confinement. Both *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnah* make the *Sammānian* dynasty to have commenced in the year of the *Hejra* 261. It appears from some of the oriental historians, followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, that *Ilek Khān* had solemnly engaged to act with all his forces against *Mahmūd Gazni*, at this time in possession of *Khorasān*; but that, instead of marching into that country, he took the route of *Bokhāra*, and treated *Abd'almālek Ebn Nūh Al Sammāni*, as well as *Abu'l Hāreth Mansūr*, his unfortunate brother, in the manner related here<sup>2</sup>.

In the 390th year of the *Hejra*, which began Dec. 13th, 999, *Abu Ibrahim Montaser*, or *The principal Montaser*, *Ebn Nūh*, who had been confined, with *Abd'almālek Ebn Nūh Abu'l Hāreth Mansūr* *transactions of Ebn Nūh*, and *Abu Yakūb Ebn Nūh*, his brothers, two uncles, and others of the royal family, the year 390. by *Ilek Khān*, escaped out of prison, by the assistance of a female slave, and made the best of his way to *Khowārazm*. Here, crouds resorting to him, he soon raised a numerous army; which he sent, under the command of *Arslān Balu*, to *Bokhāra*. This brought on a general action between his forces and those of *Ilek Khān*, which ended in the defeat of the latter. *Ilek Khān's* general, *Jaafar Takīn*, was taken prisoner in this action; but what afterwards became of him we have not been told. After this victory, *Arslān Balu* routed another of *Ilek's* armies, commanded by *Takīn Khān*, the governor of *Samarkand*; upon which, *Abu Ibrahim Montaser* returned to *Bokhāra*. But *Ilek Khān* marching with a most formidable army against him, both he and *Arslān Balu* passed the *Jibūn*, and fled to *Nisābūr*, where they remained till the commencement of the following year. We must not forget to remark, that *Abu'l Hosein Ahmed Ebn Fares Ebn Zacarīā Al Rāzī*, an *Arab* philologer of good repute, who resided for the most part at *Hamadān*, and wrote a vast number of books, most of which were not a little esteemed in the *Moslem* world, died before the close of the year we are now upon. The principal of his works is the *Arabic* dictionary, intituled, *Kitāb Al Mojmel fi'l Logati*; though another of his pieces, that bears the title of *Al Masayel Al Fikhiyato*, containing an hundred questions drawn from the most celebrated masters of jurisprudence, was highly esteemed by *Al Badi Al Hamadāni*, one of his scholars. Some authors, however, place his death in the year of the *Hejra* 375<sup>3</sup>.

THE 391st year of the *Hejra*, commencing Dec. 1st, 1000, was rendered remarkable by the deaths of several great men. *Abu'l Fadāyel Ebn Saifo'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdān*, *Several great men die, in the year of the Hejra 391.* the prince of *Aleppo*, died about the middle of *Safar*. He was poisoned, as some have imagined, by a girl that had frequent access to him; but others will have it, that *Lūlū*, his prime minister, who governed the territory of *Aleppo* with an absolute sway, was the author of his death. *Abu'l Fadāyel* reigned nine years and some months; leaving behind him two sons, *Abu'l Hasan Ali* and *Abu'l Ma'ālī Sharif*, who succeeded him in the sovereignty of *Aleppo*. But they were both soon expelled from thence by *Lūlū Al Kharāji*; who had placed himself and his son, *Mansūr*, at the head of the administration. The two young princes, after their expulsion from *Aleppo*, fled into *Egypt*; but what fate they met with in

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 389. & ad ann. Hej. 393. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira, p. 259, 260, 285, &c. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Ilek Khan*, p. 490, & alib. pass. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 256. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 338. <sup>2</sup> Ibidem ibid. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, LEFTARIKH, &c. <sup>3</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira, p. 269, 270. LEFTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, &c. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 390.



that country, or in what part of it they resided, we have not been told. About the same time, *Abu Naṣr Ebn Azzo'ddawla* was assassinated by one of his domestics, in the province of *Kermān*, after he had been engaged with *Bahao'ddawla*, the *Sāheb*, or lord, of *Irāk*, in a long and bloody war. The assassin had no sooner dispatched him, than he cut off his head, and brought it to *Mowaffek*, *Bahao'ddawla's* general; upon which, all the territories that had been possessed by *Abu Naṣr* fell into the victor's hands. *Hosaino'ddawla Al Mokalled Ebn Al Mosayyeb*, the second of the *Okailite Emirs* of *Al Mawṣel*, was likewise murdered, this year, at *Al Anbār*, by some of his *Turkish* slaves. His son, *Karwāsh*, mounted the throne of *Al Mawṣel*, after his father's violent death; but we have not been favoured with many remarkable particulars relating to him by the eastern writers. *Abu Abd'allah Al Hosein Ebn Al Hejāj*, a poet celebrated for his inimitable drollery, also departed this life, at *Al Nil*, a town seated upon the *Euphrates*, between *Baghdād* and *Cūfa*, before the close of the present year. *Al Nil*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, was built by the famous *Al Hejāj*; who gave it the name it afterwards retained, because he formed there a river out of the *Euphrates*, adorned with towns and villages on both its banks, in the same manner as the *Nile*. *Al Hosein Ebn Al Hejāj*, notwithstanding he sometimes affected to act the part of a buffoon, was trusted, if we will believe the last-mentioned author, with a public office at *Baghdād*\*.

Montefer  
makes an ir-  
ruption into  
Mawarā'l-  
nahr.

EITHER this or the following year, *Abu Ibrahim Montefer*, called *Ibrahim* by *M. D'Herbelot*, the only surviving prince of the *Sammānian* family that was in a condition to take the field, seems to have made an irruption with a powerful army into *Mawarā'nahr*. This expedition he was enabled to undertake, by the assistance of the *Turkmāns*; who, with a considerable body, reinforced his troops. However, he was met by *Ilek Khān*, at the head of all his forces; who incamped at a small distance from him. The *Turkmāns*, finding the enemy not in the least apprehensive of such a visit, fell upon *Ilek's* camp, by favour of the night, forced it, put a great number of his men to the sword, and obliged the rest to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. After which, they returned to their hords, with the better part of the booty they had acquired. *Abu Ibrahim*, perceiving himself deserted by the flower of his troops, passed the *Jihān*, which was then frozen, upon the ice. The *Turkmāns* had no sooner joined their hords, than they began to repent that they had not brought away with them all the plunder that had fallen into their hands. They, therefore, in consequence of a resolution that had been taken, advanced to the *Jihān*, in order to pursue *Abu Ibrahim*, who had carried off the remainder of the spoil; but finding the river thawed, they were incapable of executing their design. About this time, according to some writers, *Mahmūd Gazni*, after he had concluded a treaty of peace with him, married the daughter of *Ilek Khān*†.

Mahmūd  
Gazni pene-  
trates into  
Indostān.

THE next year, being the 392d of the *Hejra*, beginning *November 20, 1001*, *Mahmūd Gazni* (R), after he had secured the repose of his own dominions, penetrated into *Indostān*, called by the *Arabs Hind*, took *Gebal* one of the most powerful kings of that vast region, twice prisoner, and as often released him. This repeated misfortune, according to the custom of the country, rendered him incapable of government. He was therefore obliged, in conformity to the usual practice in all similar cases, to put the crown upon the head of his son, and to throw himself into the flames, where he immediately expired. After which, *Mahmūd* returned to *Gazni*, with all the valuable spoil, and the immense riches, he had acquired in this successful expedition‡.

Montefer  
gains some ad-  
vantages over  
his enemies,  
the present  
year.

IT appears probable from *Mirkhond*, as we find him translated by *Teixeira*, that *Abu Ibrahim Montefer* gained some advantages over his enemies, and particularly over the forces of *Ilek Khān*, the present year. However, it may not be improper to observe, that neither the year of these transactions, nor that of the others in which *Montefer* was concerned, ranked by us amongst those that happened in the 391st year of the *Moslem* æra, can with precision be ascertained§.

Other events  
that happened,  
this year.

THIS year, a bloody war was likewise carried on between *Karwāsh Ebn Al Mokalled Ebn Al Mosayyeb*, the *Okailite Emir* of *Al Mawṣel*, and *Bahao'ddawla*, the lord of *Irāk*; in which

\* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 256. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 391. KHONDEMIR, LEETARIKH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Babaeddoulat*, p. 169, 170. † MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 270, 271. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 9, 533, & alib. ‡ ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 392. KHONDEMIR, LEETARIKH, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 534. § MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 271.

(R) *M. D'Herbelot* informs us, from some of the oriental writers, that *Mahmūd Gazni* found immense treasures in *India*, after he had conquered that most extensive tract, planted there the *Mohammedan* faith, and made himself master of *Khorvārazm*. He also relates, from the same authors, that *Ilek Khān*, king of the ori-

ental *Turks*, and of all the country beyond the *Jihān*, attacked *Soltān Mahmūd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 392: but that he was defeated by the *Soltān* near the city of *Balkh*, in *Khorāsān*, and obliged to repass the *Jihān*, which was the natural boundary betwixt their respective states (26).



a the former of those princes at first proved victorious, but was afterwards defeated in his turn. About the same time, *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, a *Fakib* of the sect of *Al Shâfeî*, generally going under the appellation of *Ebn Al Dakkak*, or *the son of the miller*, departed this life. He was the author of the book, intituled, *Al Oful*, and written upon the foundations and principal heads of the *Mohammedan* faith <sup>b</sup>.

THE following year, being the 393d of the *Hejra*, commencing Nov. 10th, 1002, *Mah- Mahmûd* marched with an army into *Sejstân*, in order to reduce to reason *Khalaf Ebn Ahmed*, <sup>Gazni reduces to reason Kha-</sup> the governor of that province; who had set up for himself, and fortified the castle of *That*, <sup>laf Ebn Ah-</sup> as though he had an intention to defend it against any power that might attempt to disturb him therein. But being informed of *Mahmûd's* approach, he was so terrified, that he went <sup>med, the go-</sup> out to meet him, delivered the keys of the fortress into his hands, and acknowledged him <sup>vernor of Se-</sup> for his *Soltân*. This title, which, according to some of the writers followed by *M. D'Her-*

b *belot*, had never before been applied to any *Moslem* prince, so pleased *Mahmûd*, that he ever afterwards retained it, and did not only forgive *Khalaf* his defection, but likewise re-established him in his government. Notwithstanding which, making an ill use of his master's clemency, he rebelled a second time, and sent for assistance to *Ilek Khân*. This so irritated the *Soltân*, that he moved at the head of a large body of troops, with the utmost celerity, against him, surprized him, and sent him prisoner to a castle in *Jorjân*; where, as some authors relate, he remained in confinement to the time of his death. It appears from *Abu'l-feda*, that this *Khalaf* acquired great reputation by the learning he was master of, and published a voluminous commentary upon the *Korân* <sup>c</sup>.

c *MIRKHOND*, or rather *Teixeira*, his translator, seems to intimate, that, about this time, *Montefer* first defeated *Abu Jaafar*, a highwayman, who had possessed himself of *Merû* in <sup>takes Bokhâra;</sup> *Khorasân*, and afterwards *Abu Nasr*, the governor of that province; but that, notwithstanding these victories, he found himself obliged to repass the *Jibûn*, with his followers. After this, a brisk action happened between him and the governor of *Bokhâra*, wherein he lost the greatest part of his men; though, with the rest, he attacked that city by night, and took it. The author, however, now in view, has not with any certainty determined whether these events are to be placed in this or the following year <sup>d</sup>.

d IN the 393d year of the *Hejra*, *Abu Amer Mohammed*, who had governed *Andalusia*, under Abu Amer the title, or surname, of *Al Mansûr*, twenty-seven years, departed this life. He was prime Mohammed, minister to *Al Mowayyad*, or *Al Mowayyed*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who had assumed the <sup>the prime mi-</sup> title of *Khalif*, and presided over the *Moslems* of *Spain*. That monarch was, however, only <sup>nister of the</sup> a nominal prince; all the power being in reality exercised by *Al Mansûr*, who ruled with <sup>Khalif of An-</sup> an unlimited sway. *Abu Amer* was succeeded by his son, *Abu Merwân Abd'almâlec*, who occupied the post of prime minister, took the title of *Al Modhaffêr*, i. e. *the conqueror*, or *the victorious*, and followed his father's example, in making irruptions into the *Christian* territories, as well as in every other point of his conduct. He remained in his illustrious employment about seven years, and died in the 400th year of the *Moslem* æra. After him, came *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Mansûr*, his brother, who was placed at the head of the admini- stration, under the title of *Al Nasr*, i. e. *the avenger, helper, or defender*. As he was incapa- ble of government, and addicted to all kinds of debauchery, he did not hold the reins of the *Moslem* empire in *Spain* much above four months. Whilst he sat at the helm, *Moham-* med *Ebn Heshâm*, who styled himself *Al Mohdi*, or *the director*, one of the *Khalif's* relations, deposed *Al Mowayyad*, put *Abd'alrahmân* to death, and then ordered his body to be affixed to a gibbet, which he had caused to be erected for that purpose. This is the account of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Mansûr's* tragical exit, handed down to us by *Abu'l-feda*; tho' *Roderic* of *Toledo* seems to intimate, that he was destroyed by the people of *Corduba*, who had suffered so much from the wickedness and iniquity of his administration, as has been already observed. We must not forget to remark, that several large gangs of robbers, grown formidable by their numbers, committed great disorders, this year, in the city of *Baghdâd* <sup>e</sup>.

f AL HAKEM, the *Fatemite Khalif* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, appointed *Abu Mohammed Al Afwad*, or *the black*, to preside over the people of *Damascus*, before the close of the present <sup>Other events that happened, this year.</sup> year. *Abu Mohammed*, soon after his arrival at that capital, began to harass and oppress the *Sonnites* there in such a manner as gave great offence to many of the *Damascenes*. A *Magre-* bian soldier, in particular, of that sect he ordered to be publicly whipt; the crier proclaiming at the same time, that this would henceforth be the reward of those who paid any regard to the memory of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*. After which, the *Magrebian* was banished the city. *Othmân Ebn Yabya*, a grammarian of *Al Mawfel*, who wrote several pieces of good repute, *Al Kâdi Ali Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Jorjâni*, an *Imâm* that excelled in various branches

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 273, 274.

*RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxxi. p. 26, 27.*

<sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 393. *KHONDEMIR, D'HEREFI.*

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 366.



of literature, *Al Walid Ebn Becr Ebn Mokballed* of *Andalusia*, a celebrated *Fakib* and traditionist of the sect of *Malec Ebn Ans*, and *Abu'l Hasan Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Al Salami*, a poet of *Baghdád*, greatly esteemed by his cotemporaries, died in the year we are now upon. *Al Kádi Ali Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Forjáni* finished his days at *Al Ray*. This sublimity of *Al Salami's* poetical compositions has been taken notice of by *Abu'lfeda*, who has preserved a specimen of them, in the piece so often referred to here <sup>f</sup>.

Monteser  
overthrows  
Ilek Khán,  
and is after-  
wards defeat-  
ed by him.

In the 394th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 30th, 1003, *Ilek Khán*, having received advice, that *Monteser* had taken the city of *Bokhára*, began his march for the district belonging to it; but was met by *Monteser* in the territory of *Samarkand*, and overthrown with very great slaughter. As the latter of these princes was not a little animated by the success he had met with, some time before, having defeated *Abu Jaasar*, then upon his march from *Merú*, and *Abu Nafr*, two *Moslem* commanders, who pretended to oppose him; he behaved with unusual bravery on this occasion, forced *Ilek Khán's* camp, and possessed himself of all his baggage and military chest. But one of *Monteser's* generals afterwards going over to the enemy with 4000 men, and *Ilek Khán* being reinforced with a strong body of troops; the face of affairs received a sudden and total alteration in that part of the world. For *Monteser*, being thus abandoned by one of his principal officers, and deserted by his auxiliaries, was not able to make head against *Ilek Khán*; and therefore betook himself to a precipitate flight. What became of him afterwards, we shall see in our relation of the transactions of the following year <sup>g</sup>.

Ebn Wafel  
seizes upon Al  
Batíba.

*MOHADHDHEBO'DDAWLA*, the king, or prince, of *Al Batíba*, sent an army, under the command of *Ebn Wafel*, a general on whom he had heaped his favours, and whom he had raised from the lowest state to the post of commander in chief of all his forces, to attack *Síráf* and *Basra*, in the year we are now upon. Having reduced both those cities, and enriched himself with the spoils and immense wealth found therein, *Ebn Wafel* set up for himself, drove his master out of *Al Batíba*, and obliged him to fly for refuge to *Baghdád*. But the reception he met with there was such as manifested the blackest ingratitude in *Al Káder* that any man could be guilty of. For, notwithstanding that poor prince had treated this ungrateful wretch in the most hospitable and generous manner, nay, had in a great measure put his treasures and kingdom itself into his hands, when he was threatened with immediate death by *Al Tay'*, and forced to seek for an asylum in *Al Batíba*; *Al Káder*, at this time, expelled him the city of *Baghdád*, and drove him, as it were, into the very jaws of destruction. A more flagrant instance of ingratitude than this is perhaps not to be met with in history <sup>h</sup>!

Al Sharíf Abu  
Ahmed Al  
Múfawi is ap-  
pointed to pre-  
side over Ali's  
descendants in  
Irák.

THE same year, *Bahao'ddawla* conferred upon *Al Sharíf Abu Ahmed Al Múfawi*, the father of *Al Sharíf Al Rádi*, the office of *Nakib*, or chief of *Ali's* descendants, and followers, in *Irák*; as also the post of supreme *Kádi* and *Imám*, with the title of *Dbí'l Manakeb*, or a man of most illustrious virtues, in that province. *Ebn Shaidan*, *Bahao'ddawla's* principal secretary, having drawn up the proper instruments to be signed by the *Khalíf*, in order to his being confirmed in the aforesaid employments by the authority of that prince, brought them to the palace. When he appeared with them there, *Al Káder* signed all those instruments, excepting that only which was to constitute him supreme *Kádi* and *Imám*. But to this he refused setting his hand; not thinking it proper that a *Shiite* should be invested with so great a degree of authority, as such an important post must necessarily give him <sup>i</sup>.

Abu Ibrahim  
Monteser is  
cut off by Ma-  
ruyh, one of  
Soltán Mah-  
múd's officers.

THE following year, being the 395th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 18th, 1004, *Abu Ibrahim Monteser*, finding it impracticable to pass the *Jibún*, retired, with a few of his adherents, to *Bokhára*. Upon his arrival there, the governor promised to assist him; but being closely pursued by *Ilek Khán's* general, to whom most of his men had gone over in disgust, he abandoned that city, and fled into *Khorasán*. He had not been long in that province, when *Ebn Bek*, one of *Makmúd Gazni's* commanders there, sent an officer, called *Maruyh*, in quest of him; who took him out of a poor house, or cottage, where he lay concealed, which he forced in the night, and put him to death. This cruelty so incensed *Mahmúd Gazni*, though an enemy, that he ordered *Maruyh* to be executed for it. In consequence of which, according to *Mirkbond*, he expired in exquisite torture, under the executioner's hands. After the death of *Monteser*, we hear no more of the *Sammánian* family in the east; that poor prince, who, after he had been hunted from province to province for six years, met with the above-mentioned fate, being the last of the *Sammánian* dynasty, (which some authors make to end in *Núb Ebn Mansúr*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 387) mentioned by the oriental writers. Upon the ruins of this dynasty was erected that of *Gazni*; the foundations of which had been laid by *Sabektekin*, *Mahmúd Yamíno'ddawla's*

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 393.

<sup>g</sup> MIRKOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. p. 273, 274, &c.

<sup>h</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 394, & ad ann. Hej. 379. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 332.

<sup>i</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 394.



a father. Of the *Gazni* monarchy, which sprung up after *Nâb Ebn Mansûr*'s decease, our readers will meet with a full and ample account in a future part of this work, to which it will more properly belong<sup>k</sup>.

THIS year, *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Wâsil* being gone to *Basra*, the people of *Al Batîbâ* Mohadh-dhebo'ddawla renounced their allegiance to him; upon which, *Babao'ddawla* sent *Amîd Al Joyûshi*, his is reinstated in the govern-ment of Al governor of *Irâk*, with an army, to support them in their revolt. *Al Joyûshi*, having driven *Ebn Wâsil*'s lieutenant out of the territory of *Al Batîbâ*, in pursuance of the orders he had received, reinstated *Mohadbedkbo'ddawla*, who had formerly reigned there, in the govern-ment of that country. That prince, upon his arrival amongst them, was received by his subjects with the loudest acclamations, and with all other possible demonstrations of joy.

b He agreed to pay *Babao'ddawla* an annual tribute of 50,000 *dinârs*, for the important service he had done him on this occasion<sup>l</sup>.

THE same year, *Yamîno'ddawla Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn*, commonly called *Mahmûd Gazni*, Mahmûd Gazni reduces the city of Bahadiyah; reduced the city of *Bahadiyah*, a fortress situated not far from the confines of the kingdom of *Moltân*, or *Miltân*. This city was extremely well fortified; and had walls of a prodigious height. The province, or kingdom, of *Moltân* was properly a part of that vast region called by the *Arabs* *Sind*, or *Sindia*; which was bounded on the north by the province of *Kermân*, or rather that of *Macrân*, and the deserts of *Sejîstân*, and on all other sides by *Hind*, or *India*. According to some writers, it was also contiguous to *Zâblestân*, or *Sâblestân*, comprehended part of *India*, and was adorned with a capital of the same name<sup>m</sup>.

c THE next year, being the 396th of the *Hejra*, beginning OZ. 8th, 1005, *Mahmûd Gazni* and invades India. entered *India* on the side of *Hebatb* and *Moltân*; which he easily made himself master of, and then advanced at the head of his forces against *Bida*, or *Bidarw*, an *Indian* prince, who had shut himself up in a strong fortress called *Câlîjâr*, where he hoped to defend himself. However, *Mahmûd* besieged him there, and at last forced him to submit to such terms of peace as he was pleased to prescribe. The principal of these was, that *Bidarw* should become tributary to him. In the mean time, *Ilek Khân*, taking advantage of *Soltân Mahmûd*'s absence, on the *Indian* expedition, sent *Sipashî Takîn* and *Jaasar Takîn*, two of his generals, with two armies, to attack at the same time two different parts of the province of *Khorasân*. Of which *Arslân Jazeb*, who commanded for *Soltân Mahmûd* in *Herât*, having received advice; he immediately dispatched a courier to his master in *India*, to inform him that his dominions were upon the point of being invaded by the forces of *Ilek Khân*. Upon the arrival of this news, *Mahmûd* began immediately to move towards his own frontiers, and at last, by forced marches, came up with the *Turkish* generals, who had broke into *Khorasân*. But, his name being grown terrible by the extensive conquests he had made, they retired at his approach, and, after a feeble resistance, were obliged to abandon the province. *Ilek Khân*, finding his forces thus shamefully chased by *Mahmûd*, and forced to repass the *Jibûn* with ignominy and disgrace, applied to *Kader Khân*, of *Ketau Kotan*, or *Katay*, for succour; the effect of which application will be seen amongst the principal events of the following year<sup>n</sup>.

c THE *Nakib*, or chief of *Ali*'s descendants, in *Irâk*, received from *Babao'ddawla* the title Other events of the present year. of *Al Râdi*, or *Al Sharîf Al Râdi*, and his brother that of *Al Sharîf Al Mortadi*, the present year. They were the sons of *Al Sharîf Abu Ahmed*, mentioned above. About the same time, *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Ebn Mohammed Ebn Yabya Ebn Mandab*, denominated sometimes *Ebn Mandab*, or *Ebn Mandab Al Esfabâni*, who distinguished himself by his excellent writings, likewise departed this life; but whether he finished his days at *Esfabân*, where he was born, or some other place in the *East*, we have not been told<sup>o</sup>.

f IN the 397th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Sept. 27th, 1006, *Kader Khân* joined *Mahmûd Ilek Khân* with a body of 50,000 horse, collected in *Ketau Kotan*, *Turkestân*, and *Mawu-râ'nabr*. Gazni overthrows Ilek Khân. After this junction, the combined army passed the *Jibûn*, and presented itself before the city of *Balkb*. *Soltân Mahmûd*, finding himself upon the point of being attacked by so formidable an army, had recourse to God, the arbiter of events; to whom he prayed most fervently for his assistance against so great a number of infidels as then appeared in the field. Having thus recommended himself to the divine protection, he mounted his white elephant, and drew up his troops in order of battle. After which, he charged the *Turks* with great bravery; but, being borne down by numbers, his forces were obliged to give ground. Finding himself then in the most imminent danger, and animated in a manner by despair, *Mahmûd* rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and, cutting his way

<sup>k</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. aliique scriptor. orient. p251. <sup>l</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 395. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. NASSIR AL

TUSI & ULUGH BEK, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 77, 108, 109. D'HERBEEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 533, 647, &c. <sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 396. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 278. D'HER-

EEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Mahmud, p. 533. <sup>o</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



through them, came up to *Ilek Khân*; whom his elephant unhorsed, and tossed up in the air, with his trunk. Not content with this, the angry beast trod under foot the greatest part of the *Turks* who were fighting round him; which intirely changed the fortune of the day, and wrested the victory out of the enemy's hands. For the *Soltân's* men resumed their courage at this, returned with fresh vigour to the charge, and made so great a slaughter of the *Turks*, that only a small number of them, who threw themselves headlong into the *Jibûn*, and swam over that river, escaped. This bloody battle was fought on a spot of ground, about four parasangs from the city of *Balkh*, in the year of the *Hejra* 397. Some authors, however, make it to have happened about ten years later; though we are inclined to follow *Mirkhond*, who places it in the year we are now upon. The same year, *Mahmûd* returned into *India*, and chastised one of the *Indian Rajahs* for renouncing *Islamism*; which he had before embraced, in order to oblige him <sup>a</sup>.

**Bahao'ddawla** <sup>puts Ebn Wafel to death.</sup> THIS year, *Bahao'ddawla* sent a body of troops to drive *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Wafel*, who had been expelled from *Al Batîba*, in the 395th year of the *Moslem* æra, from *Basra*; which they effected with very little loss, and took *Ebn Wafel* himself prisoner. *Bahao'ddawla*, having gotten the rebel into his hands, ordered him to be executed at *Wâset*. After which, his head was cut off, and carried to *Bahao'ddawla*, who then resided at *Abwâz*. By whose order, it was fixed upon the point of a spear, and exposed to public view in every street of the city <sup>b</sup>.

**A rebellion in Egypt.** ABOUT the same time, a person descended from *Heshâm Ebn Abd'almâlec*, one of the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, took up arms against *Al Hâkem*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, in *Egypt*. As this man at first carried water about in bottles, as a common porter, he had the nickname of *Abu Racwah*, or *the father of the bottle*, given him. He set up for a reformer, preached to the people, whom he exhorted to forsake their sins, and live pious lives, in the streets, highways, and other publick places, and by his pretended sanctity gained a great number of followers. He first possessed himself of *Barka*; and afterwards, having overthrown one of the *Khalîf's* generals that engaged him, reduced to his obedience all the country of *Al Sa'id*, or the *Upper Egypt*. By which acquisition of territory, as well as of power, he became so formidable that *Al Hâkem* found it necessary to employ the forces of the whole *Fâtemite* empire against him. Having, therefore, raised a powerful army in *Egypt*, and sent orders to his troops in *Syria* to advance into the neighbourhood of *Mesr*; he at last attacked the rebels with so much bravery, that, after a very obstinate and bloody dispute, they were forced to betake themselves to flight. Most of them were cut to pieces in the action, and the rest so dispersed, that not the faintest traces of this rebellion were afterwards to be seen. As for *Abu Racwah* himself, whose true name was *Al Walid*, and who had assumed the title of *Al Nâyer Beamri'llah*, he was taken prisoner, after he had disturbed the publick repose several months, and brought before *Al Hâkem*; who commanded him to be put to death in his presence. His head was then cut off, and exposed to publick view in all the streets of *Mesr*; after which, it was, together with the body, affixed to a gibbet, erected for that purpose. We must not forget to remind our readers, that, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the tract denominated *Al Sa'id*, or the *Upper Egypt*, extends from the city of *Mesr*, or *Al Fostât*, to *Afwân*, a place of great antiquity, though at present a poor incon siderable town, upon the borders of *Ethiopia* <sup>c</sup>.

**Soltân Mahmûd penetrates again into India.** THE following year, being the 398th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *Sept. 17th, 1007*, *Yamîno'ddawla Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn* penetrated again into *India*, where his arms were attended with extraordinary success. *Ilek Khân* likewise, after the loss he sustained in the battle fought, last year, near the city of *Balkh*, retired into *Mawarâ'lnabr*, where he arrived towards the beginning of the present year. About the same time, *Sayda*, or *Seida*, the mother of *Majdo'ddawla Ebn Fakbro'ddawla*, who governed the territory of *Esfakân*, and some other neighbouring districts, for her son, placed *Abu Jaasar Sbeheriyar*, commonly known by the surname, or appellation, of *Ebn Cacuyeh*, i. e. *the uncle's son*, at the head of the administration there. *Abu Jaasar* amassed immense riches, in the sublime post to which he had been advanced. *Abu'lfeda* gives us to understand, that the word *Cacuyeh* denotes *uncle* in the *Persic* tongue <sup>d</sup>.

**Several learned men die, this year.** THE same year, died *Abd'akwâbed Ebn Nasr*, commonly called *Al Babaga*, a poet of considerable note, *Abu'l Fadl Ahmed Ebn Al Hosein*, generally denominated *Al Badi Al Hamadâni*, *the admirable citizen of Hamadân*, the author of the *Al Macamat*, and *Abu Nasr Ismael Ebn Hamdân*, who for the most part went under the name or surname of *Al Jawarek*. The last of these was a perfect master of the *Arabic* language, and the author of the lexicon, <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. p. 278, 279. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 533, 535. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 397. <sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 256. AL MAKRIZI, ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. & in descript. Diyâr Mesr. Vide etiam GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101. & POC. observat. on Egypt, p. 116, Lond. 1743. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 398. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup.



a intitled, *Al Sabîh, the pure, the sincere*, as containing in it all the genuine roots, and every uncorrupted word, belonging to the *Arabic* tongue. It also sometimes bore the title of *Sabîh Al Jawarek*, which it deduced from the name of the learned man by whom it was composed. *Al Jawarek* was born at *Fârâb*, a city of *Turkestan*, situated, according to *Abu'lfeda*, on the river *Al Shâsh*, in the neighbourhood of *Balâsâgûn*, of which we have already given our readers a full and ample account. This city was likewise named *Otrâr*. The district, or territory, appertaining to it stretched out itself beyond the *Sibûn*, the *Jaxartes* of the antients. *Al Jawarek* died at *Nisâbûr*, and is said to have written a more beautiful hand than any other person of the age wherein he lived <sup>c</sup>.

b In the 399th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Sept. 5th, 1008*, *Abu Ali Ebn Tha-* The most me-  
morabile trans-  
actions of the  
year 399.  
mal *Al Khafagi*, who had formerly been appointed by *Al Hâkem*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf* of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the governor of *Rababa*, was killed. The prefecture of *Rababa*, after *Al Khafagi*'s dismissal, was conferred upon *Sâleb Ebn Mardâs Al Kelâbi*, dignified by *Abu'lfeda* with the title of prince of *Aleppo*; though he did not attain to the sovereignty of that city, before the year of the *Hejra* 414. In the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, died *Lîlû Al Kharâji*, who had been intrusted by *Saado'ddawla* with the government of *Aleppo*, during the minority of his son; and *Mansûr Abunafr*, *Lîlû*'s son, who assumed the title, or surname, of *Mortadî'o'ddawla*, presided over the people of that city, after his father's death. *Ali Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Ahmed Ebn Yûnes*, or *Yûnas*, *Al Mesri*, the author of the *Zij Al Hâkemi-yah*, or the *Hâkemian tables*, as they were intitled by *Ebn Yûnes* himself, likewise departed  
c this life, the present year. Those tables, however, which are said by *Abu'lfeda* to make up four whole volumes, sometimes bore the title of *Al Zij Ebn Yûnes, the tables of Ebn Yûnes*. Some writers relate, that they were constructed by *Al Aziz*'s order, before *Al Hâkem*'s accession to the crown; but what degree of credit is due to those writers, in this point, we shall not at present take upon us to decide <sup>d</sup>.

THE next year, being the 400th of the *Hejra*, beginning *August 25th, 1009*, a surpriz- A revolution  
happens in  
Spain.  
ing revolution happened in *Andalusia*; of which *Abu'lfeda*, whose authority in this point is of great weight, has handed down to us the following particulars. *Mohammed Ebn Heshâm Ebn Abd'aljabbar Ebn Al Nafr*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, depending upon the favour of the people of *Corduba*, seized upon the person of the *Khalîf Al Mowayyad*, and immediately  
d ordered him to be confined, in the latter *Jomâda*, the preceding year. After which, he caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalîf*, under the title of *Al Mohdi*, or the director, and obliged the people of *Corduba* to take an oath of fidelity to him. But the usurped authority he acquired on this occasion was of very short continuance. For, *Solimân Ebn Al Hâkem Ebn Solimân Ebn Al Nafr*, having vanquished him in battle, ravished the *Khalîfat* from him, in the beginning of the month of *Shawâl*, the present year. However, *Al Mohdi*, returning with an army to *Corduba*, expelled from thence his competitor, the 15th of the same month. But, the officers of the army, being displeased with his conduct, soon after deposed him, took *Al Mowayyad* out of prison, and replaced him upon the *Andalusian* throne. *Al Mowayyad* was no sooner reinstated in the government of his dominions, than he com-  
e manded *Al Mohdi* to be brought before him, and put to death in his presence. After which, he made *Wadkeb*, one of *Abu Amer*'s slaves, his prime minister; though he afterwards, being disgusted at his administration, caused him likewise to be cut off. From this time, the *Khalîfat* of *Andalusia* was rent by civil dissensions; the different factions there harassing one another, in the most terrible manner. In the mean time, *Solimân*, who had lately been driven from *Corduba*, found means to conciliate the affections of the *African Moslems* to him, crossed the sea with a powerful army, and returned to that city; which, after having sustained a siege, was carried by assault, and *Al Mowayyad* dispossessed of the citadel, in the month of *Shawâl*, and the year of the *Hejra* 403. The fifteenth of the same month, *Solimân* compelled the citizens of *Corduba* to take again the oath of allegiance to  
f him. He also assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mosta'in Bi'llah*; which he retained, as long as he sat upon the *Andalusian* throne. As *Al Mowayyad* was never afterwards either seen or heard of, no one could tell from that time what became of him. It is remarkable that the *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, at least during the period we are now upon, was the prime minister, or *Wazîr*, to the *Moslem* princes of the house of *Ommiyah* in *Spain* <sup>g</sup>.

It may not be improper here to observe, that the account of this revolution preserved by *Roderic of Toledo* differs from the foregoing relation, extracted from *Abu'lfeda*, in several particulars. According to that author, *Mohammed Ebn Heshâm*, or *Al Mohdi*, with twelve of his accomplices, rebelled against the *Khalîf Heshâm*, or *Al Mowayyad*, and seized upon

<sup>c</sup> *ABU'LFED.* ubi sup. & in descript. *Khowârazm*, five *Chorasmia*, &c. p. 64. edit. *Huds.* Oxon. 1712. *GOLV.* not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 167, 293. *SHARIF ADDIN*'s life of *Timûr Bek*, p. 382, 390, 395, 397. *AL BER-*  
*JENDI*, An account of the present state of the Northern Asia, &c. p. 464. Lond. 1729. <sup>d</sup> *ISM. ABU'LFED.*  
in chron. ad ann. *Hej.* 399. *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 256, 257, 261. <sup>e</sup> *ISM. ABU'LFED.* in chron.  
ad ann. *Hej.* 400. *D'HERBEL.* Biblioth. orient. p. 451.



the city of *Corduba*, after the violent death of *Abd'alrahmân*, who had succeeded his brother *Abd'almâlec* in the office of *Hâjeb*, the present year. Being master of the *Khalîf*'s person, he caused him to be privately confined in a house belonging to one of his friends, killed a *Christian* extremely like him, and gave out that he was dead. The grandees and principal courtiers, being then desired to view the corps, really took it to be that of *Heshâm*; and it was soon after interred, with great funeral pomp. *Mohammed*, now thinking himself secure, began to oppress his subjects, and to insult their wives in such a manner as absolutely alienated their affections from him. This excited one *Heshâm*, with several others, to enter into a conspiracy against him. In pursuance, therefore, of the plan that had been formed, the conspirators destroyed many of *Mohammed*'s friends, burnt some of the gates of *Corduba*, and made an attempt to dethrone the tyrant. However, *Al Mohdi* rendered abortive their design, killed several of them, and took a great number prisoners. Having thus extinguished the rebellion, he ordered *Heshâm* to be executed, together with many others, who had been the most active in the late revolt. This, however, did not hinder some of the *African Moslems* then in *Spain* from casting their eyes upon *Solimân*, the *Khalîf* *Heshâm*'s nephew, whom they pitched upon for their prince; though *Maruban*, or *Merwân*'s, his cousin-german, had likewise a considerable party amongst them. *Solimân*, being informed that *Merwân*'s friends had made him a present of a horse and a sword, in token of their attachment to him, and promised to proclaim him *Khalîf*, if he could find an opportunity of taking off his relation *Solimân*; he ordered several of the ringleaders to be beheaded, loaded *Merwân* with irons, and with a large sum of money procured the assistance of count *Sancho* of *Castile*. In the mean time, *Al Mohdi*, having received advice of the treaty concluded between *Sancho* and *Solimân*, raised an army in the neighbourhood of *Medina Celi*, which he ordered to advance to *Corduba*; but, being overthrown by the confederates, with the loss of 36000 men, and forced to abandon to the victors part of his capital, he found himself obliged to bring the *Khalîf* *Heshâm*, or *Al Mowayyad*, who was thought to have been dead, out of the place where he had been concealed. This he did, that he might prevail upon the people, when he saw his own affairs in a desperate situation, to submit to their natural prince, rather than to *Solimân*. But, every one being now struck with terror, no regard was paid to his solicitations; so that he was constrained to fly to *Toledo*, with *Mohammed Al Toleiteli*, one of his most intimate friends, and *Solimân* possessed himself of *Corduba*, where he reigned about seven months. However, distrusting the fidelity of the citizens, he kept the *Christian* forces for some time in *Andalusia*, and formed a camp of his troops at a small distance from the city. *Al Mohdi*, on the other hand, soon after his flight to *Toledo*, by the activity of *Al Amri*, his *Hâjeb*, assembled a very numerous body of troops, which was reinforced by *Armengandus* and *Veremudus*, or *Veremundus*, two *Christian* officers of note, who were extremely serviceable to him. *Solimân*, having been apprized of the preparations that were making to attack him, endeavoured to engage the people of *Corduba* to support him; but, they, being at the bottom disaffected to him, excused themselves upon frivolous pretexts from taking the field. As he had, therefore, dismissed the *Christian* forces, commanded by count *Sancho* of *Castile*, he had only the *Barbarians*, or *African Moslems*, to depend upon. Notwithstanding which, he advanced to a place, called by *Roderic Accauatal Bacar*, about ten leagues from *Corduba*; where his competitor, *Al Mohdi*, at the head of his army, likewise soon appeared. A battle hereupon immediately ensued, in which the *African Moslems* fell upon the enemy with such bravery that they forced them to give ground, and put several thousands of them to the sword; but *Al Mohdi* rallying his men, they resumed their courage, charged the *Barbarians* with fresh vigour, and, chiefly by the valour of the *Christian* troops, gained a complete victory. As for *Solimân* himself, he fled first to *Azafra*, and afterwards to *Citana*; upon which, the people of *Corduba* entered the former of those places, massacred all the inhabitants they met with, as well as the *Africans* that fell in their way, thoroughly plundered the town, and carried off with them the golden lamps out of the great mosque, together with many other valuable effects, that the *Africans*, or *Barbarians*, had deposited there. This decisive action placed the crown once more upon *Al Mohdi*'s head; though that prince, or rather usurper, was in a very short time driven again from the throne. For, not being able to protect his subjects against the violences of the *Barbarians*, who continued still in *Andalusia*, and committed dreadful devastations there, and the people of *Corduba* having conceived an invincible aversion to his government; some *Arabs* and eunuchs conspired against him, and, under the direction of *Al Amri*, his *Hâjeb*, and *Hambar*, one of the principal eunuchs, seized upon him in his palace. After which, *Heshâm*, or *Al Mowayyad*, re-ascended the throne; who, having commanded *Al Mohdi* to be brought before him, and upbraided him with his traitorous and villainous conduct, ordered his head to be struck off, and his body to be thrown from the walls into one of the streets of the city. The head was afterwards carried upon the top of a lance through the metropolis, and the body, though strangely mangled, at the request



a of several persons, buried, in a corner of the mosque. *Solimán*, however, who still had the crown in view, found means to get the head into his hands; which he sent to *Obeid'allab*, *Al Mobdi's* son, then at *Toledo*, where he was held in vast esteem. *Heshám*, not being able to repress the insolence of the *Barbarians*, who still ravaged the country without controul, and kept the city of *Corduba* itself, where all kinds of provisions began to fail, in a manner blocked up, there were great murmurings in that capital; insomuch that several of the citizens formed a design to restore *Solimán* to the throne. But, in order to prevent this scheme from taking effect, and to hinder any assistance from coming to *Solimán* from that quarter, *Heshám* concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with count *Sancho of Castile*; who managed this point with uncommon dexterity and address, and procured of *Heshám*, as a reward for the assistance he was to afford him, the cession of six fortresses, which had formerly been taken from the *Christians* by *Al Mansúr*. After the conclusion of this treaty, the citizens of *Toledo*, with *Obeid'allab Ebn Mohammed Al Mobdi* at their head, revolted against the *Khalif*. But *Heshám* possessed himself of the city, beheaded *Obeid'allab*, and extinguished the rebellion, without any considerable effusion of *Moslem* blood. This good success did not hinder *Al Amri*, the *Hájeb*, from entering into some intrigues with *Solimán*, in order to elevate him to the *Khalifat* of *Andalusia*; but several of the letters he had received from *Solimán* having been intercepted, *Heshám* instantly commanded his head to be cut off, and exposed to publick view in every part of the city, to deter others from such treasonable practices for the future. Notwithstanding which, as *Solimán's* adherents, the *African Moslems*, continued their ravages in the country about *Corduba*, *Seville*, and *Calatráva*, laying it waste with fire and sword, insomuch that a very extensive tract was almost intirely depopulated; the people entertained thoughts of deposing *Heshám*, and calling *Solimán*, whom they considered as the only person capable of protecting them, to the crown. That prince, therefore, having fixed *Al Mondar*, the governor of *Saragossa*, and other officers of rank, in his interest, and been joined by a vast number of *Moslems*, who flocked to him from all parts, advanced with a formidable army to the gates of *Corduba*, and summoned the city to surrender. But, finding the garison and inhabitants resolved to defend it to the last extremity, he laid siege to the place in form, and carried on his attacks with the utmost vigour; the besieged opposing him with equal bravery, and making several successful sallies. However, one of the gates being at last betrayed into *Solimán's* hands, he entered the town without opposition, burnt many of the houses and public buildings, destroyed an infinite number of the citizens, and gave the place up to his troops to be plundered for three whole days. This so terrified the people, who survived the carnage, that they immediately submitted to him. As for *Heshám*, he was led out of the city, and permitted to retire into *Africa*, where he probably ended his days. This last revolution must have happened, according to *Roderic*, either in, or after, the year of the *Hejra* 404; though *Abu'lfeda*, whose authority in this point is perhaps more to be depended upon, has placed it amongst the memorable events of the preceding year \*.

e SOLTAN MAHMUD pushed his conquests in *India*, and defeated *Bal Ebn Andbal*, who was esteemed one of the richest and most powerful kings of *Indostán*, the present year. He also made himself master of the fortress of *Bebesim*, and found therein immense treasures, which had been amassed by *Bal*, in gold, silver, and precious stones. The same year, the king of kings, or emperor of *Indostán*, sent to demand peace of the *Soltán*; which he granted him, on condition that he should send him fifty elephants, with a proper number of *Indian* querries to manage and take care of them, and pay him a very large annual tribute. The peace between these two potentates being ratified, the commerce of their subjects was re-established, and the caravans, or *Karwáns*, took their usual routes. *Ilek Khán* having been informed, some time after his arrival in *Mawgrá'nabr*, that his brother *Togan*, or *Dogán*, *Khán*, who had been with him in the battle fought near *Balkh*, had made an apology to *Mahmúd* for his former conduct; he led an army against him, in order to punish his supposed disaffection to him. But, by the intervention of *Mahmúd* himself, a rupture was prevented, and a good understanding between the two brothers perfectly restored †.

f BEFORE the expiration of the year we are now upon, *Abu Mohammed Ebn Sablan* surrounded the place where, according to the *Sbiites*, *Ali* suffered martyrdom with a wall. About the same time, *Abu'l Abbás Al Nami*, a poet, *Abu'l Fatab Ali Ebn Mohammed Al Bafí*, a poet, author, and notary, of good repute, and *Al Sherif Abu Ahmed Ebn Músa*, father of *Al Sherif Al Rádi*, departed this life. The last of these had for some time lost his sight, and was near an hundred years old, at the day of his death; having been born, in the year of the *Hejra* 304 ‡.

\* RODERIC. TOLENTAN. hist. Arab. c. xxxiii—xl. p. 27—32. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. † KRONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. p. 281. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mahmoud fils de Sebecteghin*, p. 533. ‡ ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.



Ilek Khân  
marches  
against his  
brother To-  
gân Khân.

THE following year, being the 401st of the Moslem æra, commencing August 15th, 1010, a  
*Ilek Khân*, notwithstanding the late pacification, upon some fresh disgust, marched, with an  
army from *Samarkand*, against his brother, *Togân Khân*. Having advanced to *Urcand*, a  
city of *Mawarâ'nahr*, he was obliged to halt; a deep snow, which at that time fell, having  
rendered the roads impassable, so that he could neither proceed farther, nor return to the  
place from whence he came. The name of this city in the *Leyden MS.* of *Abu'l-feda's* chro-  
nicon is *Uzcund*, or rather *Uzcand*, according to *M. Reiske*; but this must be a mistake,  
occasioned by the affinity, or rather identity, of character visible in the forms of *Za* and  
*Ra*, or *Z* and *R*, in the *Arabic* alphabet; the former being distinguished from the latter  
only by the diacritical point. *Urcand*, or *Awrcand*, has 102° 50' long. and 44° N. lat.  
assigned it by *Nafsîr Al Tûsî* and *Ulugh Beik*. Some writers take *Urcand* and *Urkenj*, or b  
*Corkânj*, called by the *Arabs* *Al Forjâniyah*, in *Khowârazm*, to be the same city. But this  
can by no means be allowed, as the latter of those places is situated upon the western bank  
of the *Jibûn*; which does not at all accord with the position of *Urcand*, seated, according  
to the oriental geographers, beyond the *Jibûn*, upon the eastern bank of that river<sup>a</sup>.

Bahao'ddawla  
obliges Kar-  
wâsh to pray  
for Al Kâder.

THE same year, *Karwâsh Ebn Al Mokalled Ebn Al Mofayyab*, the *Emîr* of the *Okailite*  
*Arabs*, issued an edict, injoyning his subjects at *Al Marwâsîl*, *Al Anbâr*, *Al Madâyen*, *Al Cûfa*,  
and the other cities under his jurisdiction, to pray in their respective mosques for *Al Hâkem*  
*Beamrî'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*. The beginning of the prayer injoyned on this occasion  
was conceived in the following terms; "Praise be given to God, by whose divine light  
" the thick darkness of tyranny and injustice is dispelled, by whose greatness the founda- c  
" tions of an idol (or idolatry) are overturned, and by whose power the sun moves from  
" east to west, &c." But this edict did not long remain in force. For, *Bahao'ddawla*,  
who was then at *Arjân*, ordered *Amîd Al Joyûshi*, his general, to march directly with all the  
forces he could assemble against the *Emîr* of *Al Marwâsîl*; which so terrified *Karwâsh*, that  
he asked pardon for his crime, rescinded the edict that gave so much offence, and com-  
manded his subjects to pray for the *Khalîf* *Al Kâder Bi'llah*, in all their mosques, as they  
had done before<sup>b</sup>.

A war be-  
tween the  
Dobaisite and  
Mazjadite  
Arabs.

THIS year, *Abu'l Ganayem Mohammed Ebn Mazjad*, being amongst the *Dobaisite Arabs*, to  
whom he was related, in *Khûzestân*, happened to kill one of the principal men of that tribe;  
upon which, he found himself obliged to fly to *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Mazjad*, the *Emîr* of the d  
*Mazjadite Arabs*, his brother. This brought on a war between the two tribes, which proved  
fatal to the two brothers that occasioned it. For, the *Mazjadite Arabs* having met with a  
defeat, *Abu'l Ganayem* fell upon the field of battle, and *Abu'l Hasan* betook himself to a  
precipitate flight<sup>c</sup>.

Amîd Al  
Joyûshi Baha-  
o'ddawla's  
general, dies.

AMID AL JOYUSHI ABU ALI EBN ISTAD, or ISTATH, HORMUZ, who had been consti-  
tuted by *Bahao'ddawla* the *Emîr* of *Irâk*, died before the close of the present year. He  
extirpated the gang of robbers, and quelled all the seditious spirits, that had for some time  
infested, and disturbed the repose of, the city of *Baghdâd*. After his death, *Bahao'ddawla*  
appointed *Abu Gâleb Fakhr Al Molk* to command in that capital, and throughout the whole  
district appertaining to it<sup>d</sup>.

Soltân Mah-  
mûd extends  
his conquests.

SOLTAN MAHMUD attacked *Mohammed Ebn Suri* (S), prince, or king, of the country of e  
*Gaur*, or, according to *Teixeira*, *Guzarate*, and took him prisoner, before the close of the  
present year. The *Soltân* found upon this prince some poison, which he kept concealed  
in a ring, and with which he delivered himself from his captivity, by putting an end to his  
days. Soon after this expedition, *Mahmûd* penetrated into *Gurjestân*, or *Georgia*, chased the  
*Shâr*, or king, of that country from thence, and made himself master of all his dominions.  
Some authors relate, that *Altun Tash*, one of *Mahmûd's* generals, defeated *Shâb Shâr*, the  
king of *Gurjestân*, and sent him prisoner to the *Soltân*; who gave him his liberty, and  
re-established him in his kingdom, on condition that he should always remain a good and  
faithful vassal. But, continue those authors, having afterwards revolted against the *Soltân*, f  
been again defeated, and taken prisoner a second time; he was, by *Mahmûd's* order,  
whipped like a common slave that had made his escape, and confined in a certain castle to  
the day of his death. It has been observed by *Kbondemir*, that he was the last of the kings

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 401. JO. JAC. REISKE, in præfat. p. 21, 22. & in Abu'lfed. annal. Moslemic. p. 323. Lipsiæ, 1754. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Urkend*, p. 916. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. ABU'LFED. in tab. Chorasm. p. 25. ed. Hudf. Oxon. 1712. <sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 401. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 257. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 333, 334. <sup>c</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

(S) *Mirkbond*, as translated and abridged by *Teixeira*, tells us, that *Mohammed Ebn Suri* was general of the *Banians*; and that his son, being taken prisoner by *Mahmûd*, destroyed himself by some poison, which he carried about with him in one of his bracelets for that purpose (26).



a of *Gurjestân* who assumed the title of *Shâr*; and that this was applied to all the princes of a dynasty there, in the same manner as *Cæsar* was to the *Roman* emperors, and *Czar* to the sovereigns of *Muscovy*, or *Russia*. Perhaps both *Shâr* and *Czar* were deduced from the word *Cæsar*, as being titles of much the same import, and only corruptions of it<sup>c</sup>.

In the year of the *Hejra* 402, beginning *August* 4th, 1011, the *Khalif Al Kâder Bi'llah* Al Kâder published a sort of manifesto, or declaration, against the *Khalifs* of *Egypt*, wherein they were asserted to be guilty of manifest falsehood and imposture, when they pretended to deduce their origin from *Ali* and *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*; and, in consequence of that pretension, assumed the honourable appellation of *Fâtimites*. This declaration was subscribed by many of *Ali's* genuine descendants, by many *Kâdis*, and by a considerable number of other learned men; one of whom was *Abd'allah Ebn Al Nooman*, a celebrated *Fakih* of the *Shiites*, held amongst them in great esteem. The purport of it was to the following effect. "These are the sentiments and assertions of the persons whose names are hereunto subscribed, and who are worthy of credit in every particular. They affirm, that *Al Moezz*, the son of *Ismael*, the son of *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of *Sa'id*, deduced his origin from *Disân Ebn Sa'id*, the common father of the *Disânites*, and the author of the sect going under that name. They likewise assert, that *Mansûr*, who now pretends to reign in *Egypt*, under the title of *Al Hâkem*, is an upstart, sprung up on a sudden, out of meannels and obscurity, like a mushroom, in that country, upon whose head may all God's plagues and curses fall! and that, as he is the grandson of the aforesaid *Al Moezz*, he is also descended from *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of *Sa'id*, to whom may God never permit any prosperous event to happen, and from the same ancestors, who were the scum of mankind, the scandal of human nature, the pests and nuisances of society, the worst of filth, impostors, utterly unworthy of the noble family from whence they pretend to be derived. And may God damn to all eternity the aforesaid reprobates and rebels, and may they moreover be for ever pursued by the curses and imprecations of all lovers of piety and truth! The aforesaid worthy persons farther affirm, that the lineage of these usurpers has no manner of affinity with, nor bears any relation to, the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, to whom may God be always propitious! and that their ostentation, by which they arrogate to themselves the splendor of that most illustrious house, is mere vanity, a downright falsehood and lie. They also pronounce this son of the earth (*Al Hâkem*,) who lately sprung up in *Egypt*, and boasts so much of himself, and all the members of his mean, sordid, and beggarly family, infidels, villains, *Sadducees*, and atheists, who have renounced *Islamism*, which they formerly professed, allow marriages within the prohibited degrees, permit the use of wine, treat the prophets and holy men in a contumelious manner, and attribute divinity to themselves." To which our author adds, that he did not give his readers the declaration itself at large, lest they should esteem him too tedious and prolix<sup>d</sup>.

It may not be improper here to remark, that this most bitter and virulent manifesto seems to have been occasioned by *Karwâsh Ebn Al Mokalled's* conduct, when he ordered his subjects to pray in their mosques for *Al Hâkem*, the preceding year. Both *Al Kader* and *Bahao'ddawla* reproved him for the edict he then issued, which enjoined this, in pretty severe terms; though after the rescission of that edict, when his penitence fully appeared, *Al Kâder* sent him some rich presents, that were valued at 30,000 *dinârs*, according to *Al Makîn*<sup>e</sup>.

AMONGST the principal transactions of this year *Abu'lfeda* seems to rank the commencement of *Sâleh Ebn Mardâs's* power, as he gives us a short and concise history of the dynasty at *Aleppo* of the princes descended from him under the year of the *Hejra* 402; but whether this be done with sufficient judgment and propriety, we shall not take upon us absolutely to determine. However, as this author has offered no reason for his disposition of such a series of facts under the year we are now upon; and as the beginning of the aforesaid dynasty has been placed, seemingly with more propriety either in the year of the *Hejra* 414, or 415, when *Sâleh Ebn Mardâs* made himself master of *Aleppo*, even according to *Abu'lfeda* himself, by *Al Makîn*; our readers will not be displeased, if we supersede any farther account of that race of princes here, especially as this will more properly make its appearance hereafter in a future part of this work<sup>f</sup>.

THE next year, being the 403d of the *Hejra*, commencing *July* 23d, 1012, *Kâbûs Ebn Wushmakîn*, surnamed *Shams Al Ma'âli*, the king of *Forjân* and *Mazanderân*, was cut off by his subjects, in a manner scarce to be paralleled in history. This prince, though adorned

<sup>c</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 280. ut & ipse TEIXEIRA. ibid. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. & alib. passim.

<sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 257. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighariyât*. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 255. & alib.

<sup>e</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 401. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & AL MAKÎN, ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 261.



with many and great virtues, and in the main a good governor, was rather too strict in a his discipline, and too severe in his punishments, seldom pardoning even the slightest faults; which rendered him extremely disagreeable to the people about him. The officers of the army, in particular, having felt the effects of his severity more than others, had an utter aversion to him. They, therefore, sent for *Manújabar*, his son, then in *Jorján*, and told him, that they would place him upon the throne, if he would consent with them to the deposition of his father; but that if he refused this, they must look out elsewhere for another *Soltán*. Being, therefore, in a manner compelled to comply with their demands, they proclaimed and acknowledged him *Soltán* of *Jorján* and *Mazanderán*, and took the oath of allegiance to him. After which, he went to the city of *Baslán*, whither his father had been sent by the rebels under a strong escorte, prostrated himself before him, and, b having promised in the strongest terms perpetual obedience to him, offered to march against the rebels that had deposed him, in order to bring them to condign punishment if he thought proper to lay his commands upon him, and to make the utmost efforts to constrain his disaffected subjects once more to recognize his authority. But *Kábús*, satisfied with his son's duty, wisely answered him: "I have fixed here the term of my public  
" actions, and of my public life; and I now voluntarily resign all my power and autho-  
" rity into your hands." He was then confined in the castle of *Gefasenk*, where he spent the remainder of his days in solitude, the service of God, and pious meditations. Being conducted to the place of his confinement by a party of the rebels, he asked one of them, c  
" What could induce them to depose him?" To which he answered, "Your extreme  
" severity obliged us to take that resolution." *Kábús* instantly replied, "That is a false  
" pretext, for I have been reduced to the melancholy condition I at present am in by  
" my aversion to the effusion of human blood, and by sparing the lives of five or six  
" of you in particular." His enemies, apprehending that some time or other he might take vengeance of them for their disobedience, hired certain persons, according to *Ebn Siná*, to poison him in prison. But, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*, who both agree in this particular, the conspirators, after they had in vain attempted to prevail upon *Manújabar* to concur with them, went to the castle of *Gefasenk*, which they entered by force, plundered his apartment, and stript him of all the cloaths he had, that were proper for the season, it being then the midst of winter; so that he miserably perished with cold. d  
*Kábús* was in his time a prince of the highest reputation, and possessed an assemblage of the finest qualities. He had a noble and elevated mind, was wise and eloquent, understood astronomy, had made a considerable progress in other sciences, was perfectly well versed in all the arts of government, and had the character of an excellent poet. He wrote a most beautiful hand, left several elegant letters and copies of verses behind him, and was well acquainted with every branch of polite literature. He greatly cared for the celebrated *Ebn Siná*, or, as we corruptly name him, *Avicenna*, and made him many valuable presents. Such marks of distinction that incomparable physician and philosopher merited, by curing his nephew of a most violent amorous passion, that had like to have proved fatal to him. *Kábús* mounted the throne, after the death of his elder brother *Tausbín*, or *Tausbén*, who succeeded his father *Washmakîr*, or *Washmakîn*, either in the year of the *Hejra* 366, or 367. e  
He recovered his territories, of which he had been deprived, after *Fakbro'ddawla's* decease, and departed from the city of *Nisábûr*, the place of his retreat, in order to take possession of them, in the year 388. After which, he annexed to his dominions the provinces of *Ghilân* and *Tabrestân*, and for some time made a very considerable figure. *Al Birûni*, a celebrated author, dedicated to him an historical work, intituled *Atkar Al Bekiab*, which was much esteemed. Some of the eastern writers pretend, that *Washmakîn*, *Kábús's* father, was descended from *Raash*, an antient governor of *Ghilân*, who presided over the people of that province, when *Kay Kbofrû*, the second prince of the *Kayanian* dynasty, sat upon the *Persian* throne. f

*Ilck Khân*  
*dies;*

THE same year, *Ilck Khân*, the king of *Turkestan*, as he is stiled by some of the oriental writers, likewise departed this life. If we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, he was an upright and a religious prince, had a thirst after knowledge, and was an encourager of learned men. He died at home, in peace; and notwithstanding the unfavourable sentiments he had formerly entertained of his fidelity to him, was succeeded in the sovereignty of his dominions by his brother, *Togân Khân* \*.

*as, also Ba-*  
*hao'ddawla,*

*BAHAO'DDAWLA ABU NASR KHASHAD, OR KHASHATH, EBN ADADO'DDAWLA EBN RUCA-NO'DDAWLA EBN BUIYA* died also the sixteenth of the latter *Jomâda*, the present year. He was

<sup>i</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 403. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 334. KHANDÉMIR, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 276, 277. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Cabus*, p. 223. & art. *Manougheir*, p. 551.

<sup>\*</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. H-j. 403. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. p. 231. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 535.



- a carried off by a fit of the epilepsy, a distemper that proved fatal to *Adado'dawla*, his father, in the 372d year of the *Hejra*, as has been already observed. He ended his days at *Arjân*, a city of *Fârs*, where he had resided during the latter part of his life, before he had completed the forty-third year of his age. He presided over the people of *Irâk* about twenty-four years, and was succeeded in the government, or rather sovereignty, of that province by *Soltânoddawla Abu Shajâ'*, his son. The *Khalîf Al Kâder* confirmed *Abu Shajâ'* in the sublime post he had taken possession of, by an instrument drawn up in form for that purpose, and sent him from *Baghdâd*. *Babao'ddawla* desired in his last moments to be buried near the sepulchres of *Ali* and his son *Al Hossein*, in order to demonstrate by this disposition his attachment to the sect of those *Imâms*. He left several children behind him,
- b besides *Abu Shajâ'*, his eldest son. That young prince, soon after his accession, transferred the seat of his empire to *Shîrâz*, and fixed his residence there<sup>1</sup>.

BEFORE the close of the year we are now upon, *Al Kâdi Mohammed Ebn Al Teyyeb Ebn Mohammed Ebn Jaasar Al Bakelani*, commonly called *Abu Becr Ebn Al Bakelani*, a zealous follower of *Abu'l Hasan Al Ajbâri*, likewise departed this life. He lived at *Baghdâd*, was a strenuous assertor of the tenets of his sect, and composed several treatises upon dialectical and theological subjects. He derived the surname *Ebn Al Bakelani* from the business his father, who was a seller of herbs, and particularly of beans, followed; the word *Bakela* denoting a bean, in the *Arabic* tongue. The derivative from thence ought, according to the analogy usually observed in the formation of such words, to have been *Bakelai*; as, therefore, in *Bakelani* there is a superfluous servile *Nûn*, that gentile term a little recedes from the turn and genius of many others deduced from primitives of a similar kind. However, the method of derivation here observed may be supported by the derivative *Sanaani*, not *Sanâi*, from *Sanaa*, and other parallel instances that might with equal facility be produced<sup>m</sup>.

- BEFORE we conclude our account of the principal transactions of this year, it may not be improper to remind our readers, that *Solimân Ebn Al Hâkem Ebn Solimân Ebn Abd'al-rahmân Al Nasr*, of whom we have spoken above, re-ascended the throne of *Corduba*, according to *Abu'lfeda* (T), before it expired. To which this author adds, that *Heshâm Al Mowayyad*, the former *Khalîf*, then disappeared, and no person could ever discover to what place he made his escape. He also relates, that *Solimân* assumed the title of *Al Mosta'in*, *Bi'llah*, or *He who gets God for his helper*; and that an impostor afterwards pretended to personate *Al Mowayyad* at *Corduba*. What finally happened to this *Solimân*, who was the eleventh *Khalîf* of the house of *Ommiyah* in *Spain*, our readers will learn hereafter, when we come to the most memorable events of the year 407<sup>n</sup>.

- YAMINO'DDAWLA *Mahmûd Ebn Sabektckin* was still victorious in *Indostân*, nothing there being able to stand before him. In the year of the *Hejra* 404, which commenced July 13th 1013, he made another irruption into that country, ravaged it in a dreadful manner, defeated all the *Indian* troops sent to oppose him, and then returned in triumph to *Gazna*, loaded with spoil. This year, the *Khaffajite Arabs* likewise pillaged, and committed many disorders in, *Al Sawâd Al Cûfa*; but a detachment of the *Khalîf's* troops soon came up with them, put many of them to the sword, and intirely dispersed the rest. *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Sa'id Al Estakbri*, a famous *Môtazalite* doctor, also died, in some part of it; being, at the time of his death, above eighty lunar years of age<sup>o</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 405th of the *Hejra*, beginning July 2d 1014; *Mortadio'ddawla Abu Nasr Mansûr Ebn Lûlû*, the *Sâheb*, or prince, of *Aleppo*, marched against the *Arabs* of the tribe of *Kelâb*, commanded by *Sâleb Ebn Mardâs Ebn Abu Edrîs Ebn Nasr Ebn Jamîl*; having left *Al Fatab*, one of his officers, to command in the citadel, during his absence. *Sâleb* having overthrown *Mansûr*, and taken him prisoner, afterwards released him, upon his delivering up into his hands a great part of his wealth and the rich furniture of his palace; after which, *Mansûr* retired into *Al Rûm*, or the territories of

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 257. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. p. 266. KHOND-DEMIR, LEBTARIKH, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 169, 170. <sup>m</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & ad ann. Hej. 400. EBN SHOHNAH, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 822, <sup>o</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 404.

(T) *Roderic of Toledo* does not agree with *Abu'lfeda* in this particular; as placing the event here mentioned either in the year of the *Hejra* 401. or after that year. But, as *Roderic* is frequently very inaccurate and indistinct, particularly in his chronology; and as not only *Abu'lfeda*, but the other *Arab* writers, may rationally be supposed to be more clear and exact in what they have

related of the *Moslem* affairs; we have not scrupled to prefer *Abu'lfeda's* authority to that of the *Spanish* historian, in the point before us. Nor are we apprehensive of being censured for this, by our learned and intelligent readers; especially, as the very learned Signor *Assemani* (27) has done the same, in several passages of the piece referred to here.

(27) *Italic. histor. scriptor. tom. III. cap. ii. p. 127, 131, 163, 164, & alib. Romæ, 1752.*



the Greek emperor. In the mean time, *Fatab*, having received advice of *Mansûr's* defeat, set up for himself at *Aleppo*; and, in order to secure the possession of that city, put himself under the protection of *Al Hâkem*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, to whom he agreed to pay an annual tribute. This revolt *Fatab* had been meditating for some time; but could not find a proper opportunity of carrying his design into execution, before the present year. *Al Hâkem*, not caring to trust the government of *Aleppo* with a person who had been guilty of infidelity to his former master there, conferred upon him the lieutenancy of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and sent another person to succeed him in his former post. This we learn from *Abu'l-feda*, though the matter has been differently related by *Al Makîn*. For, according to the latter of these writers, *Fatab* was not only confirmed by *Al Hâkem* in his government of *Aleppo*, but had likewise the tribute of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Berytus* granted him by that prince. To which he adds, that *Al Hâkem* dignified him with the title, or surname, of *Mobâreco'ddawla*; and that he continued to preside over the people of *Aleppo*, till the year of the *Hejra* 407. It ought to be remarked, that *Al Hâkem* had, before *Fatab's* defection, constituted *Abu Nasr Mansûr Ebn Lâilû* the *Sahab*, or prince, of *Aleppo*; though he was an usurper, and had expelled the family of *Hamdân*, in a very iniquitous manner, from that place <sup>p</sup>.

A war between the Mazjadite and Dobaisite Arabs.

THE same year, a very bloody war was carried on between *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Mazjad Al Asadi*, the chief, or *Emîr*, of the *Mazjadite Arabs*, and *Modar, Al Hasan, Naban, and Tarad*, who commanded the *Dobaisite Arabs*; in which *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Mazjad* received an overthrow, by the conduct and bravery of *Modar*, and fled into the district, or territory, of *Al Nil*. The *Mazjadite Arabs* lost on this occasion all their horses, tents, and military chest, as well as the booty which before the action they had acquired <sup>q</sup>.

Al Hâfedh Mohammed Ebn Noaim dies.

THIS year, died *Al Hâfedh Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Hamdûyah Ebn Noaim*, a member of that family of the tribe of *Dhobba*, or rather *Dhobyan*, denominated *Tahman*. He generally went under the appellation of *Ebn Al Hakem Al Naisâbûri*, or the son of the judge of *Naisâbûr*, his father having been the *Kâdi*, or judge, of that city. He was looked upon as the most celebrated doctor of the traditionists of the age in which he lived. He wrote several books upon theological subjects, that excelled all other productions of the same kind, which made their appearance in his days. The principal of these treatises were *Al Sahibat*, or discourses upon genuine traditions, *Al Kitâb Al Amali*, or the book of dictates, and his treatise upon the virtues and excellency of *Al Shâfeî*. Nor is it to be wondered at, that he should have shined so much amongst the people of his sect, as he had attended the lectures of near 2000 doctors, all of whom amongst them were held in high esteem <sup>r</sup>.

The Kâdi, or judge, of Deinawar is murdered.

ABOUT the same time, some of the lower class of people at *Deinawar*, or *Dainawar*, murdered *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Yusef Ebn Ahmed*, the *Kâdi*, or judge, of that place commonly called *Ebn Cajji*, and a zealous adherer to the sect of *Al Shâfeî*. He had, however, several peculiarities in his notions. He published many books, acquired much knowledge, and was for a considerable time at the top of his profession. The villains, that assassinated him, were excited to the perpetration of that horrid fact by fear; they being apprehensive of meeting with from him the punishment due to their enormous crimes <sup>s</sup>.

Soltân Mahmud reduces a considerable part of India.

YAMINO'DDAWLA MAHMUD EBN SABEKTEKIN undertook another expedition likewise into *India*, and reduced the kingdom of *Marwin*, which had a capital of the same name, in the year we are now upon. Here he was informed, that an *Indian* idolatrous prince occupied a province, which produced a race of elephants, called *Moslem*, or faithful, elephants. This excited him to attempt the conquest of that province; which having effected, he brought off with him from thence a vast quantity of spoil, and a great number of those elephants. They were termed *Moslem*, or faithful, elephants, because they sometimes performed a sort of genuflexion and prostration, not unlike those of the *Moslems*, or *Mohammedans*; which induced many of the latter to believe, that they were religious animals. *Pliny* and other authors relate, that the elephant is capable of religion, and worships the rising sun; but this is advanced without any manner of foundation, and ought to be considered as a fable <sup>t</sup>.

Hammad revolts against Badis in Africa.

BADIS EBN MANSUR EBN YUSEF EBN ZEIR AL SANHAJI, the *Emîr* of *Libya*, having conferred the government of *Asbîr*, or *Asbûr*, perhaps the *Assurus* of *Ptolemy*, upon his uncle, *Hammad*, or *Hamet*, *Ebn Yusef Ebn Zeir Al Sanhâji*, in the year of the *Hejra* 387, as has been already observed; this *Hammad*, who founded the dynasty of the *Hammadites*, in the province of *Bajayah*, *Bujiab*, or *Boojeiab*, as it is called by *Dr. Shaw*, having enlarged

<sup>p</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 257, 258. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad ann. Hej. 402. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 555. <sup>q</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 405. <sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 673. <sup>s</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. <sup>t</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 349, 553. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. viii. c. 1.



- a his territories, amassed vast treasures, and set a numerous army on foot, shook off the yoke of *Badis*, the present year. This occasioned an intestine war in that part of *Africa*, of which we shall hereafter give our readers a particular account. In the mean time, it may not be amiss to remark, that the memory of this *Hammad*; or, as he is called by the present inhabitants of *Boojeiab*, *Seedy Hamet Ben Yusef*, is still preserved by a river of the same name; as is likewise that of his father, *Yusef Ebn Zeir Al Sanbâji*, by the ruins of a town going under the appellation of *Yooseph*, or *Yusef*, which may be seen at this very day <sup>a</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 406th of the *Hejra*, commencing June 22d, 1015, in the beginning of the former *Jomâda*, a bloody battle was fought between *Hammad* and *Badis*, <sup>Hammad is overthrown by Badis, who soon after dies.</sup>  
 b his nephew; wherein the former was routed, and forced to fly to the castle of *Majilah*. From this place he made excursions as far as the city of *Dzacamah*, and carried off with him all the provisions he could meet with there. This enabled him to sustain a siege, which was carried on with great vigour by *Badis*; who had pursued him to *Majilah*, and closely besieged him in that town. However, he was delivered from all future apprehensions of *Badis*, by that prince's death; which happened in the night preceding the last day of *Dhu'lkaada*, the present year. As soon as *Al Hakem*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, was apprized of this event, he sent *Badis's* son, *Al Moezz*, the robes of state, and the instrument confirming him in his father's post; though he was not then above eight years old. *Al Hâkem* also dignified him with the title, or surname, of *Sbarfo'ddawla*; assuring him at the same time, that he might depend upon his favour and protection. Notwithstanding which, *Hammad* continued still to assert his independency, and to maintain himself in the possession of the territories he had acquired. *Al Moezz* introduced the doctrine of *Mâlec Ebn Ans* amongst his subjects, then for the most part *Hanefites*; which was afterwards chiefly followed in *Barbary*, and other parts of *Africa* <sup>w</sup>.

THIS year, *Soltân Mahmûd* penetrated again into *India*; but this irruption had like to have proved fatal to him. For, crossing an immense solitude, or desert, with his army, he found one part of it covered with water, occasioned by a stagnation of the neighbouring ocean. Here he lost many of his men, who perished in that water, without being able to keep pace with the rest. However, he at last got clear of that dreadful morass, and arrived safe with the remainder of his forces in *Khorasân* <sup>x</sup>.

- d THE same year, *Soltânô'ddawla Ebn Bahao'ddawla* deprived *Fakhr Al Molk*, his governor of *Irâk*, then about fifty-three years of age, of his post, and soon after put him to death. He had presided over the people of that province five years, four months, and several days. He met with his fate at *Abwâz*, where he had a palace fitted up in the richest manner, and adorned with many things of exceeding great value. He also left behind him, in ready money, 1,000,000 *dinârs*. But this palace was thoroughly plundered, immediately after his execution, and stripped of every thing valuable in it. *Soltânô'ddawla* substituted *Abu Mohammed Al Hasan Ebn Saklana* to preside over the people of *Irâk*, in his room <sup>y</sup>.

- ABU MOHAMMED, the *Shâr*, or *Shâb Shâr*, of *Gurjestân*, who in the days of *Nûb Ebn Mansûr Al Sammâni*, had resigned his kingdom to *Abu Nasr*, his son, in order to live a retired and private life, died, according to *Mirkbond*, the present year. When *Abu Ali* rebelled against *Nûb*, he seized upon *Abu Nasr's* territories; upon which, that prince took on in *Sabektekin's* service, who reinstated him in the government of his dominions. However, some time after, *Soltân Mahmûd*, *Sabektekin's* son, placed *Abu Mohammed*, *Abu Nasr's* father, who was one of his most faithful servants, again upon the throne of *Gurjestân*. But that prince refusing, under frivolous pretexts, to attend *Mahmûd* in one of his *Indian* expeditions, he, after his return home, sent *Altun Tash* and *Arslân Balu*, two of his generals, against both him and his son, *Abu Nasr*, who then reigned in conjunction with him. *Abu Mohammed*, having recourse to *Mahmûd's* clemency, was received again into favour; but *Abu Nasr*, retiring into one of his fortresses, in defiance of the *Soltân*, was soon afterwards  
 f obliged to surrender it to him, and, by means of the rack, to discover the immense treasures he had concealed. *Abu Mohammed* had then, according to this writer, lands assigned him near the city of *Gazna*, in lieu of what he was deprived of in *Gurjestân*; but, as for *Abu Nasr*, he was first whipped, or scourged, in a cruel manner, and then thrown into prison. Here, if we will believe some of the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, after *Mahmûd* had taken possession of the vast sums of money he had amassed, he miserably ended his days <sup>z</sup>.

ABOUT the same time, *Al Sharîf Al Râdi Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Mûsa*, descended in a right line from *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, departed this life. He was the author of a *Dîwân*, <sup>as also Al Sharîf Al Râdi,</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 29, 198.

in chron. ad ann. Hej. 406. & ad ann. Hej. 387. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 156.

sup. ad ann. Hej. 406.

ubi sup. p. 408.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>z</sup> MIRKBOND, apud Teixeira. p. 281, 282. D'HERBEL.

<sup>w</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED.

<sup>x</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi



or collection of poetical pieces, greatly esteemed by all people of the politest taste amongst the *Arabs*. He gave very great proofs of a most surprizing genius, one of which has been preserved by *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece so often referred to here. This extraordinary person was born in the year of the *Hejra* 359, and was consequently about forty-seven lunar years old, at the time of his death <sup>a</sup>.

and Al Imâm Ahmed Al Esfarayeni. AL IMAM ABU HAMED AHMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN AHMED AL ESFARAYENI, an *Imâm* of the sect of *Al Shâfe'i*, died likewise, in the year we are now upon. His fame was so great, when he came to *Baghdâd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 363, that he had for his hearers frequently about three hundred doctors at once, all dignified with the title of *Fakib*. He had also seven hundred scholars, all of whom professed the doctrine and principles of *Al Shâfe'i*; in the knowledge of which this *Imâm* so much excelled, that many considered him as superior even to *Al Shâfe'i* himself; and others agreed, that if *Al Shâfe'i* had been then living, he would have had a very particular regard for him. He filled, says *Abu'lfeda*, the world with the young persons who received their education from him, and wrote a considerable number of books; one of which, intituled, *Talimat Al Cabra*, he composed solely for the use of his sect. He deduced the surname, or gentile name, *Al Esfarayeni* from *Esfarayen*, *Esfarayin*, or *Esfarayn*, a city of *Khorasân*, in the district of *Naisâbûr*, on the road that leads to *Jorjân*. *Nassir Al Tusi* places this city in 36°. 55' N. lat. and 91°. 5' long. but it has been intirely omitted in the geographical table of *Ulugb Beik*. It has produced several grand personages, and many writers of considerable note. *Al Imâm Abu Hamed Ahmed Al Esfarayeni* was born in the 344th year of the *Hejra*, and taught jurisprudence, with prodigious success, from the year 363 to 370, at *Baghdâd*. An infinite number of people attended his funeral, which was extremely magnificent. He was first interred in his own house, and afterwards carried from thence to one of the gates of *Baghdâd*, called *Darb Al Harb*, or the gate of war; though when his remains were deposited in the second sepulchre assigned them, we have not been told by any of the authors referred to here <sup>b</sup>.

What happened in the Moslem part of Spain, the following year. IN the 407th year of the *Hejra*, which began June 10th, 1016, *Solimân Ebn Al Hâkem Ebn Solimân Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Nafr*, the eleventh *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah* in Spain, was killed by *Ali Ebn Hamed*, *Hamûd*, or *Hamûda*, as he is called by *Ebn Shobnah*, at *Corduba*. *Solimân* having assigned lands and habitations to the six clans, or *Al Kabyleah*, of *Africans*, that had in reality placed him upon the *Andalusian* throne; many of the *Spanish Moslems*, and particularly several powerful eunuchs, who were secretly friends to *Heshâm*, were disgusted thereat, and took an occasion from thence to inflame the minds of the people against him. One of these, named by *Roderic* of *Toledo* *Hayran*, who had formerly fled from *Corduba*, when *Solimân* possessed himself of that city, and was grievously wounded by the *Africans* that attended him, soon began to grow formidable, assembled a large body of troops, and made himself master of several towns. *Hayran* was in a short time joined with a strong reinforcement by one *Ali Ebn Hamûda*, a *Moslem* commander, who had been appointed by *Heshâm* the governor of *Ceuta*; and, if *Roderic* in the place referred to be intelligible, seems then to have presided over the people of *Almeria*. For, according to that writer, one *Affa* had rebelled against him there, and occupied that city. *Hayran* and *Ali Ebn Hamûda* retook *Almeria*, after a siege of twenty days, threw *Affa* and his family into the sea, and in consequence of this success quickly expelled the *Africans* from that part of the *Moslem* conquests in Spain. Things being in this favourable situation, *Hayran* caused *Ali Ebn Hamûda* to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Malaga*; after which, *Hayran*, *Ali*, and others, drew such a number of forces out of *Granada*, *Murcia*, &c. that they formed of them a powerful army, and ranged their troops in order of battle in the plains of *Corduba*. *Solimân*, having received advice of their approach, led all his forces out of the city against them, in order to decide this dispute by the sword as soon as possible. A general action hereupon ensued, wherein *Solimân* had the misfortune to be overthrown, with very great slaughter, and to lose his capital. *Ali* then commanded him, together with his father and brother, to be brought before him; and, after having reproached him with his traitorous conduct, slew them all with his own hand. *Ebn Shobnah* writes, that the new *Khalif* ordered *Solimân* and all his family to be put to death, under the pretext of taking vengeance of him for the murder of *Al Mowayyad*; but that he did not long enjoy the fruits of his cruelty and ambition, as he sat not upon the throne two whole years. He assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Motawakkel Al'allah*; and was descended, as he gave out, in a right line from *Al Hasan*, the eldest son of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*. *Ebn Shobnah* places his elevation to the *Khalifat* of *Andalusia* in the year of the *Hejra* 408, and *Abu'lfeda*, whom we chuse to follow in this particular, in that we are now upon. *Al Motawakkel Al'allah* <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Idem. ABU'LFEDA. ubi sup. p. 324.

<sup>b</sup> Idem. ibid. NASSIR AL TUSI, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient



a was intirely stripped of his estates by a relation, named *Abd'alrahmán*, and soon after assassinated by one of his slaves. He is denominated by the *Spanish* historians *Ali Ebn Hamid*, and occasioned an interruption in the succession of the house of *Ommiyah* in the *Moslem* part of *Spain* <sup>c</sup>.

THE same year *Mámún Ebn Mámún*, who had married *Soltán Mahmúd's* daughter, and *Other occur-* had been made by that prince the governor of *Khowárazm*, revolted against his father-in-*rences of the* law, at the instigation of *Begal Takín*, and some other malecontents, and set up for himself *year 407* in that province. But *Mahmúd* soon brought him back to a sense of his duty, and deprived him of his post, which he conferred upon his favourite general, *Altun Tash*. This we learn from the eastern writers followed by *M. D'Herbelot*. But *Mámún Ebn Mámún* succeeded, by a sort of hereditary right, to the kingdom of *Khowárazm*, and was cut off, this year, by *Mahmúd*, after he had possessed himself of that country, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*. About this time, a *Bulgarian* nobleman, who had murdered *Al Katomers*, *Samuel's* prime minister, and seized upon the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, wrote to the emperor *Basilus*, and offered to make his submission to him, according to *Al Makín*. This nobleman must undoubtedly have been *John Bladistlabus*, or *Bladistlaus*, nearly related to *Gabriel*, king of the *Bulgarians*, and *Samuel's* son, whom he assassinated, and then mounted the throne. This usurper, according to *Curopolates*, after he had caused himself to be acknowledged king of the *Bulgarians*, sent ambassadors to *Basilus*, and proposed to submit to any terms, and to own himself, and behave on all occasions, as a subject and vassal of the empire. This year *Al Hákem*, the *Khalif* of *Syria* and *Egypt*, sent *Kayed Abu Shaja' Azizo'd-dawla* to *Aleppo*, in the month of *Ramadán*, to take upon himself the government of that city. He had not been long there, before he renounced his allegiance to the *Fátémite Khalif*, asserted his own independency, and obliged the people of *Aleppo* to take an oath of fidelity to him <sup>d</sup>.

WE must not forget to observe, that a different account of the affairs of *Khowárazm*, as *A different account of the* they stood at this time, has been given us by *Mirkhond*, the *Persian* historian. He relates, that *Mámún Khowárazm Sháh*, dying about the year we are now upon, his son *Abu Ali* succeeded him; who, by marrying one of *Soltán Mahmúd's* sisters, secured the repose of his subjects, during the short time he lived. His brother *Mámún Ebn Mámún* ascended the throne, after his decease. But he having been poisoned by *Neala*, or *Neal Takín*, almost immediately after his accession, according to the common opinion, his son was saluted king, or *Sháh*, of *Khowárazm*. *Mahmúd*, being resolved to revenge *Mámún Ebn Mámún's* death, marched with a powerful army into that country. He had not long entered it, before he was surprized by *Neala Takín*, and attacked with such vigour, that at first victory seemed but little disposed to declare in his favour. However, he at last defeated *Neala Takín*; who was seized by the person to whom he applied for a boat, in order to cross a neighbouring river, and brought bound to the conqueror. *Mahmúd*, being greatly offended at his insolence to him, commanded him to be hanged, and conferred the government of *Khowárazm* upon *Altun Tash*. After which, having settled every thing there to his satisfaction, he made the necessary preparations for another *Indian* expedition <sup>e</sup>.

THE following year, being the 408th of the *Hejra*, commencing *May 30th 1017*, *Hammad Ebn Yusuf Ebn Zeir Al Sanháji*, persisting in his rebellion, *Al Moezz Ebn Badis*, the *Emir* of *Libya*, or rather *Mauritania*, and *Africa Propria*, sent an army to reduce him. *Hammad* meeting the *Emir* at *Thabenah*, a fierce conflict ensued; in which *Hammad* was overthrown with great slaughter, and forced to betake himself to a precipitate flight. However, a treaty was soon after concluded between him and the *Emir*; whereby the tract denominated the prefecture of *Ebn Ali*, *Ashir* and *Tábart*, with their respective districts and dependences, beyond that tract, being all the territories he then possessed, were ceded to him. His son *Al Kayed* was likewise permitted to preside over *Al Masilah*, *Thabnah*, *Marsa Al Dajaji*, *Zawawab*, *Macrah*, *Dzacamah*, and other places; by which, though the *Emir* proved victorious in the late action at *Thabenah*, it should seem that his affairs at this time were not in a very flourishing situation. What happened in this part of the world, from the period we are now upon, our readers will meet with accounts of hereafter, in those parts of the work to which they will more properly belong <sup>f</sup>.

*SOLTÁN'DDAWLA ABU SHAJA'*, having appointed *Abu Thaber Jalalo'ddawla*, one of his brothers, to preside over the people of *Skíríz*, and *Abu'l Fawares*, another of them, to command in *Kermán*; the latter revolted against him, and possessed himself of the city of *Skiríz*. *Soltán'ddawla*, having received advice of *Abu'l Fawares's* defection, advanced at

<sup>c</sup> EBN SHONNAN, ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 407. & ad ann. Hej. 400. ROBERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. cap. XL, XLII, p. 32, 33. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 98, 322.

<sup>d</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 533, 534. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 334. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 264, 258. JOAN. CUROPALAT. in Basil.

<sup>e</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 282, 283. <sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 408. & ad ann. Hej. 387.



the head of a formidable army to *Skîrâz*; which *Abu'l Fawares*, not being able to make a head against him, abandoned, at his approach. Nay he pursued him into *Kermân*, and drove him out of that province. *Abu'l Fawares*, therefore, found himself obliged to fly into *Khorasân*, to implore the assistance and protection of *Soltân Mahmûd Tamîno'ddawla*; who, in compliance with his request, sent *Abu Sa'id Tabi*, one of his generals, with a numerous body of troops, to make an irruption into *Irâk*. *Abu Sa'id*, who was attended by *Abu'l Fawares* in this expedition, reduced the province of *Kermân*, penetrated into *Fârs*, and took the city of *Skîrâz*. The news of this invasion being brought to *Soltânno'ddawla*, who was then at *Baghdâd*, he assembled all the troops he could draw together, and moved again towards *Skîrâz*; of which *Abu'l Fawares* being informed, he fled from thence a second time, with the utmost precipitation, to *Hamadân*, a city of *Al Jebâl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, where *Shams-o'ddawla Ebn Fakhr-o'ddawla* at that time reigned. Not thinking himself safe there, he retired for his farther safety to a place called *Fakey*, or *Fakkey*, the residence, according to *Mîrkhond*, of one *Mazzobo'ddawla*; who treated him, notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstances he was in, with uncommon marks of distinction and esteem. An accommodation being soon after brought about between *Abu'l Fawares* and *Soltânno'ddawla*, by the intervention of *Jalâlo'ddawla*, their brother, then at *Basra*, the first of these princes was re-instated in the government of *Kermân*, by the mutual consent of all parties, in the year of the *Hejra* 409<sup>8</sup>.

The oriental  
Turks ad-  
vance towards  
Bâlâfâgûn.

It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, as well as from the *Persian* authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, that, in the 408th year of the *Moslem* æra, a vast body of *Tartars* and *Moguls*, comprized under the name of *Turks*, issuing from the borders of *China*, ravaged the country from the oriental ocean to the confines of the proper *Turkestân*; though when they were within eight days journey of *Bâlâfâgûn*, then the capital of that region, they found themselves obliged to halt. Here they were apprized, that *Togân*, or *Dagân*, *Khân*, at that time the king of *Turkestân*, was marching towards them with a numerous army, in order to cut off their retreat. This not only prevented their progress any farther westward, but obliged them to think immediately of returning home. We may form some sort of notion of the immense multitude of these eastern *Turks*, from the prodigious number of tents they pitched; which amounted to above 300,000, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. But notwithstanding this, they did not think fit to wait for *Togân Khân*; who pursued them for three months together, at last came up with them, when they thought themselves secure, by reason of the vast extent of tract they had traversed, and fell upon them with such fury that he put above 200,000 of them to the sword. We are likewise told, that he carried off with him into *Turkestân* an infinite quantity of baggage, together with the beasts belonging to it, and many vessels of gold and silver, as well as porcelain, such as in his country had never before been seen. This last particular seems to evince, that a body of *Chinese* themselves were intermixed with those roving eastern *Tartars*, or oriental *Turks*, who had been so rash as to undertake such a romantic expedition<sup>h</sup>.

What passed in  
the Khalifat  
of Spain, this  
year.

THE new *Khalîf* of *Andalusia* having violated the engagements he had entered into with *Hayran* and others, who had been so instrumental in his elevation, they thought themselves at liberty to conspire against him, and, if possible, to drive him from the throne. *Hayran*, therefore, wrote to *Al Mondar Ebn Yabya*, the governor of *Saragossa*, to join him with a body of troops, that he might thereby be enabled to dethrone the tyrant. Having united their forces, they marched to *Corduba*, and routed a large party of *Ali's* men, that sallied out of the town; but a dissension arising soon after between *Al Mondar* and *Hayran*, they reaped no manner of advantage from this successful action, which otherwise they might have done. This induced *Hayran* to think of placing the crown upon the head of one *Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who bore, according to *Roderic*, or rather the authors, he followed, a very good character. *Ali*, being informed of his design, pursued him from place to place, and at last defeated him. However, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, *Abd'alrahmân* found means to attain to the *Khalifat*; and *Ali*, if we will believe *Roderic*, was assassinated by some of his eunuchs in a bath. The assassins immediately fled from *Corduba*, and made their escape. As for *Abd'alrahmân*, he assumed the surname of *Mortadi*, or *Mortada*, as well as the title of *Khalîf*; his authority having been recognized not only by *Hayran* and *Al Mondar Ebn Yabya*, but likewise by the kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Valencia*, together with part of the people of *Catalonia* and *Aragon*. But the minds of *Hayran* and *Al Mondar* being afterwards alienated from him, on account of his ungrateful and insolent conduct, they took up arms against him, and were joined by the governor of *Granada*, in their revolt. *Abd'alrahmân*, being informed of their defection, pursued them to *Granada*, and formed the siege of that city. But the garrison, being animated by a misunder-

<sup>8</sup> MîRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 284, 285.  
REL. Biblioth. orient. p. 899.

<sup>h</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 334, 335. D'HER-



a standing that prevailed between the officers of *Abd'alrahmán's* troops, made a sally upon the besiegers, intirely defeated them, and killed *Abd'alrahmán* upon the spot. This unexpected event gave great pleasure to *Al Kasem Ebn Hamûda*, who succeeded his brother *Ali* at *Corduba*; especially when he understood, that *Hayran*, *Al Mondar Ebn Yahya*, and the governor of *Granada*, had submitted to him, and sent him all the valuable spoil that had fallen into his hands. *Al Kasem*, who had fixed his residence at *Seville*, now reigned without any competitor in *Spain*. Soon after his accession, he ordered two boys to be put to death, who had been privy to the murder of his brother. *Roderic* places the assassination of *Ali Ebn Hamûda* in the 408th year of the *Hejra*: but as, even according to this very author, *Al Kasem* swayed the sceptre three years, four months, and twenty-six days; as  
b both *Roderic* and the *Arab* writers agree, that *Tabya* succeeded *Al Kasem* in the 412th year of that æra; and as *Ebn Shobnah* asserts, that *Ali Ebn Hamûda* sat upon the throne of *Corduba* near two years; we cannot well suppose *Ali's* death to have happened before the year of the *Hejra* 409, or 410. Nay, if we place with *Ebn Shobnah*, *Ali Ebn Hamûda's* elevation to the *Khalifat* of *Andalusia* in 408, the latter must have been the year of that tragical event; though we are more inclined to pitch upon the former, as we cannot help preferring *Abu'lfeda's* authority to that of *Ebn Shobnah* in the point before us<sup>1</sup>.

As *Kayed Abu Skajâ Azizo'ddawla's* revolt against the *Khalif* of *Egypt* at *Aleppo* was not immediately extinguished, he undoubtedly continued in his defection the present year; though this has not been expressly affirmed either by *Abu'lfeda*, *Ebn Shobnah*, or *Al Makin*.  
c The last of those authors writes, that the person who had by violence seized upon the *Bulgarian* throne (named *John Bladisthlabus*, or *Bladistlaus*, by *Curopolates*) was assassinated by the soldiers, about the year that we are now upon. The noblesse of *Bulgaria*, looking upon themselves as in a state of anarchy after this unexpected event, wrote to the emperor *Basilus*, and offered to make their submission to him. That prince, therefore, in the month of *Shawâl*, this year, took possession of the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, and had all the strong holds of that kingdom put into his hands; so that henceforth the *Greeks* and *Bulgarians* became one people, according to *Al Makin*, and the rivetted antipathy that had subsisted so many years between them intirely ceased<sup>2</sup>.

THE same year, an impostor, whose name was *Mohammed Ebn Isnael*, and his surname  
d *Al Darari*, appeared in *Egypt*. He assumed the prophetic character, and taught the people to believe, that *Al Hâkem* was God, who created the universe; and that it was their duty to worship and adore him. Nor did *Al Hâkem* himself discountenance such blasphemous notions, but on the contrary approved of and encouraged them. Nay, he loaded this  
e impious impostor with all manner of favours. Notwithstanding which, being detested by his subjects, a *Turk* assassinated him even in the *Khalif's* chariot. This occasioned great commotions in *Al Kâkirah*, which continued three days. During this interval, the populace plundered *Al Darari's* house, and pulled to pieces several of his followers. As the gates were shut, whilst the tumult lasted, the assassin could not make his escape; but was taken, thrown into prison, and at last executed for the crime he had been guilty of. Soon after  
f this commotion was appeased, one of *Al Darari's* disciples, named *Hamza Ebn Ahmed*, and surnamed *Al Hâdi*, encouraged probably by the execution of the aforesaid *Turk*, who lived at a place called *Mesjedbeir*, in the neighbourhood of *Al Kâkirah*, began likewise to act the prophet, and to propagate *Al Darari's* impious opinions. And in order to do this the more effectually, he planted teachers at *Mesr*, as also throughout the district of that city, and in several parts of *Syria*. These were to instruct the converts they made in the most abandoned principles of their infamous sect. They permitted their followers to marry within the prohibited degrees, to omit fasting, prayer, giving of alms, the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and in fine all religious practices and pious exercises whatsoever. This new religion, or rather species of irreligion, being so well calculated to please and sooth the irregular appetites and vicious dispositions of most of the *Moslems*, many of them readily embraced it, and amongst these even *Al Hâkem* himself. He asked *Al Hâdi* many questions concerning the number, manners, and qualities of his adherents; and, notwithstanding the shocking tenets he maintained, greatly cared for him. He likewise abstained from the discharge of all the duties of his function, viz. public prayer and preaching in the mosque on *Fridays*, and the observance of the fast of *Ramadân*, as well as of the two *Beirâms*, or principal annual feasts. He also abolished for several years the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and performed one himself to *Al Thalabiya* in its room. Nor did he send the annual present of a rich piece of damask to the *Caaba*, as his predecessors had usually done. These things gave great offence to all the sober *Moslems* in his dominions, who began to imagine that *Islamism* would in a short time cease to be the established religion there. Our historian

<sup>1</sup> EBN SHOHNAB, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. cap. XLII, XLIII. p. 34, 35. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 400. & 407. <sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 264.



adds, that the sect of the *Dararites*, or *Dararians*, grew very numerous at *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Berytus*, or *Bayreut*, and the neighbouring districts. M. D'Herbelot, from some oriental writers, asserts, that *Al Darari* came out of *Persia* into *Egypt*; and that his successor, *Al Hâdi*, introduced an unlimited licentiousness and debauchery amongst the *Egyptian Moslems*. He moreover observes, that these profligate sectaries occupied a considerable part of mount *Lebanon*, and the maritime coasts of *Syria*<sup>1</sup>.

Soltân Mahmûd's exploits in India, during the year 409.

THE next year, being the 409th of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 19th, 1018, Soltân Mahmûd undertook to subjugate the northern part of *India*, and carried the war into the country of *Kisraje*, about three months journey distant from *Gazna*. All which immense tract he absolutely conquered, and brought home with him from thence riches that were almost inestimable, together with such a number of slaves, that he exposed them to sale for only six *dirhems* a piece; and yet, at this low price, he could not dispose, without great difficulty, of all of them. It seems also to appear from *Mirkbond*, that he overthrew *Gulkand*, a pagan *Rajah*, in this expedition, and put 50,000 of his men to the sword. That *Rajah* had a beautiful wife, of whom he was extremely fond; but, fearing that she would fall into the enemy's hands, he first dispatched her, and then himself. As both *Teixeira* and *D'Herbelot* have been extremely short and concise in their abridgment of *Mirkbond*'s relation of Mahmûd's achievements in this remote region, the present year, we cannot oblige our readers here with more particulars relative to them. After the conclusion of the military operations, Mahmûd returned to *Gazna*, loaded with the treasure, as well as covered with the laurels, he had acquired, this glorious campaign<sup>m</sup>.

Jaafar Ebn Yusef, the Emîr of Sicily, is deposed, and succeeded by Ahmed Ebn Yusef, his younger brother.

THE same year, according to *Al Kâdi Shakhabo'ddîn Ebn Abildâm Al Hamawî*, or, if we chuse to follow *Abu'lfeda*, the following year, the *Sicilian Moslems* besieged in his palace *Tajo'ddawla Jaafar Ebn Yusef*, their Emîr. But his father *Yusef*, who had formerly presided over them, before a stroke of the palsy had rendered him incapable of discharging the duties of his office, appearing, and promising to set over them *Ahmed Al Akbali*, his younger son, they presently dispersed, acknowledged *Ahmed* for their Emîr, and returned in peace, to their respective habitations. *Ahmed*, soon after his accession, had the title of *Tayab'ddawla*, that is, *the strength, or support, of the court*, likewise given him by the *Khalif* of *Egypt*. He continued to act in the capacity, or quality of Emîr, 'till the year of the *Hejra* 427<sup>n</sup>.

IN the 410th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *May* 8th, 1019, one of *Soltânô'ddawla*'s generals held an illicit correspondence with *Asem Ebn Bakao'ddawla*, who was possessed of part of the province of *Diyâr Becr*; which, being discovered, occasioned a war between those princes. Which of them proved superior in this war we have not been expressly told; though several actions, according to *Mirkbond*, happened in it. However, *Moshrefo'ddawla*, *Soltânô'ddawla*'s brother, who seems to have been *Asem*'s ally, by the treaty of peace concluded between the contending parties, before the close of the year in which the rupture commenced, was confirmed in the government of the *Arabian Irâk*. What was assigned *Asem*, by this treaty, that author, or rather *Teixeira*, his translator, has not said; but, as for *Soltânô'ddawla*, he was acknowledged, by virtue of it, the absolute sovereign of *Abwâz* and *Fârs*, two provinces over which he had presided before<sup>o</sup>.

Al Hâkem's death and character.

THE following year, being the 411th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 27th, 1020, *Al Hâkem*, the *Khalif* of *Syria* and *Egypt*, having reproved his sister, *Settalmâlic*, *Settalmâlîca*, or *Settalmolc*, the daughter of *Al Azîz Bi'llab*, in very reproachful and menacing terms; she prevailed upon *Ebn Dawâs*, attended by two of his servants, to assassinate him, together with two horsemen and a boy that waited upon him. The scene of this dire transaction was mount *Al Mokattem*, according to *Al Makîn*. It happened near the sepulchre of *Al Fokâ'i*, or, as other MSS. have it, *Al Kofâ'i*, towards the eastern part of *Holwân*, says *Abu'l Faraj*. In order to excite *Ebn Dawâs* to the perpetration of so horrid a fact, she promised to place him at the head of the administration, and gave the two assassins he employed 1000 *dinârs*. The body of the murdered *Khalif* which the villains brought to her, she buried in her own house, and for some time kept his death concealed. But at last, when the people began to be in a great ferment about him, she convoked the grandees and principal courtiers, and discovered it to them. After which, she caused *Ebn Dawâs* and his two domestics, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereign, and all other persons in any manner privy to the affair, to be put to death; or rather, as we find it intimated by *Al Makîn*, she slew them with her own hand. *Al Hâkem*'s violent exit happened in the month of *Shawâl*, soon after he had completed the twenty-fifth

<sup>1</sup> JOAN. CUROPALAT. in Basil. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 264. 265. AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Dararicon*, p. 287. RENAUD. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobit. p. 397. <sup>m</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 534. MIRKBOND, apud Teixeira. p. 283. <sup>n</sup> AL KADI SH. SHAHABUDDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in hist. chi tit. *Asmofy*. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. in hist. Saracenic-Sicil. p. 22. Panormi, 1720. <sup>o</sup> MIRKBOND, apud Teixeira. p. 285, 286.



a year of his reign ; being then about thirty-seven years old. With regard to his disposition, the *Arab* writers have said little in favour of him. They have represented him as fickle and inconstant in all his actions, as impetuous, cruel, capricious, and void of all religion. He was, however, on some occasions, munificent, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. As he knew his subjects had sufficient reason to dislike him, he frequently walked in the night-time disguised, to know their sentiments of his conduct. He also employed certain old women, as spies and informers, to enter people's houses, observe what passed therein, and communicate to him the result of their observations. He was very severe upon the female part of his subjects, and destroyed several of them: Nay, he would not permit any of them to come out of their houses, or even to go up to the top of them. Nor would he suffer them to wear any shoes, imagining that this would effectually hinder them from making excursions into the streets, or any other public places ; but issued an edict forbidding such a practice. The *Egyptians*, therefore, during his reign, groaned under the severest pressures of tyranny that could be conceived. This excited several of them to write anonymous letters to him ; wherein they made bitter complaints of his oppressive conduct, and added to these complaints the most dreadful imprecations. Some went farther still, and placed in the highway a statue resembling a woman, with a girdle and shoes on, holding a sealed-up libel, or paper, in her hand. Soon after which, *Al Hâkem* himself, coming to the spot where the image had been erected, read the paper held out to him ; the contents whereof gave him such offence, that he commanded the city of *Mesr* to be reduced to ashes, and all the people therein to be put to the sword. The latter of these orders, however, he found not so easy to be executed, the citizens defending themselves with uncommon bravery, and repulsing those sent to massacre them with the utmost vigour. But, notwithstanding this, he found means to set the city on fire in several places, and plunder many of its inhabitants, during the time of the conflagration ; though he pretended to be ignorant both of the author and the cause of those public calamities, and even to be greatly concerned for them. When the flames had raged three days, the principal citizens assembled in the great cathedral church, which probably had been converted into a mosque, with copies of the *Korân* in their hands, imploring the divine assistance with many tears and lamentations, and sent a petition to *Al Hâkem*, subscribed by them all, and conceived in the following terms : “ We are all your servants, and *Mesr* is your city : and our wives and children are in it. We are not conscious to ourselves of any crime, that merits so heavy a punishment. If it is your will that we should abandon the place, we are ready to do it. But if this disaster has happened without your knowledge or permission, give us leave to drive the instruments of it immediately out of the city.” *Al Hâkem* returned for answer, “ That he had neither permitted nor commanded any incendiaries to burn the city.” Notwithstanding which, he dispatched private orders to the infamous actors of this tragedy to continue and even extend the flames, and massacre all the people that should fall in their way. A fourth part of the city being now consumed, and the citizens thoroughly pillaged, they came to a resolution to retire to *Al Kâbirah*. This so intimidated *Al Hâkem*, that he revoked the orders he had lately given ; which saved the remainder of the houses, that had escaped the fury of the conflagration, and repressed the insolence of the incendiaries, who had committed many disorders. For, they had not only pillaged and massacred a vast number of the *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Moslems*, without regard to either age or sex, that inhabited *Mesr*, but they had likewise ravished several married women, and forced their husbands afterwards to redeem them with large sums of money. Other women had also laid violent hands on themselves, in order to avoid being violated by these most infamous and shocking barbarians. In the mean time, the *Dararians*, and a considerable part of the mob, were so infatuated, that, when they saw *Al Hâkem*, who rode upon an ass about the streets, whilst this scene of villainy remained, they cried out, “ O our God, who art the author of life and death!” which cannot but imprint in our minds a very lively idea of the madness and impiety of the most corrupt and abandoned state, at which the *Egyptian* rabble, or mob, were now arrived <sup>p</sup>.

THAT this monster of cruelty and folly should persecute both the *Christians* and the *Jews*, *Some farther* in the manner related by various authors, seems not at all surprising, after the preceding *particulars relating to him*. delineation of his character ; though he appears to have been prompted to this rather by his innate cruelty, than any zeal for his religion. For, notwithstanding he sufficiently favoured the professors of *Islamism* until the 400th year of the *Hejra*, yet he then began to alter his conduct ; and was afterwards seized with such an irreligious frenzy, that he seemed to have a total disregard for all religions. Nor can we well account upon any other prin-

<sup>p</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 258, 259, 260, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 411. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. 335, 336. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKRIZI, AL KODAI, EBN AL SABI, &c. Vide etiam RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 397.



ciple for his atrocious attempt to burn *Mesr*, and massacre all the inhabitants of that city. He a demolished the church of the resurrection at *Jerusalem*, at the instigation of the *Jews*, and above 30000 others, in *Syria* and *Egypt*, between the 403d and 405th years of the *Hejra*, as we learn from *Al Makrizi*, a *Mohammedan* writer. All the rich furniture, sacred vessels, ornaments, revenues, and possessions, belonging to them, he either confiscated himself, or suffered his *Mohammedan* subjects to seize upon, and carry off. He likewise obliged all *Christian* and *Jewish* strangers either to wear such a habit as should distinguish them from all other people, or to embrace *Islamism*, or lastly to quit his dominions. By these and other hardships, he so harrassed and distressed both *Christians* and *Jews*, that many of them became *Mohammedans*. However, not long before his death, he permitted the *Christians* to b rebuild their churches, and restored to them those that had not been thrown down. After which, they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and had all their former privileges confirmed to them, in their utmost extent. This induced many, who had been *Mohammedan* converts, to return to the *Christian* faith; nor did the *Khalif* entertain the worse opinion of them for it. All sorts of necessaries and provisions, that had been usually sold in the market-place, he commanded the men to carry about the streets, and to supply the women with them at home. This silencing a clamour that had been raised against his edict, relative to the women's confinement; if any one of them afterwards presumed to come out of her house, in contempt of that edict, he punished her with death. *Settalmalc*, *Settalmole*, or *Settalmolca*, *Al Hâkem's* sister, caused *Abul Hasan Ali*, his son, to be saluted c *Khalif* of *Syria* and *Egypt*. This happened on the last day of *Shawâl*, about eighteen days after the assassination of his father. The young prince was born at *Al Kâbirah*, on Wednesday, the 14th of *Ramadân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 395, as we learn from *Al Makin*. He received the surname of *Al Thâber Leezâz-dinillab*, immediately after his accession. His aunt *Settalmolca* took upon her the government of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and survived her brother *Al Hâkem* about four years. At this time, there were no less than 16000 *Dararians*, who acknowledged *Al Hâkem* for their divinity, in *Egypt*, according to *Al Makin* <sup>1</sup>.

Mosbrefo'd-  
dawla defects  
Soltâno'd-  
dawla's forces.

NOTWITHSTANDING it had been formerly agreed, that *Soltâno'ddawla* should remain possessed of *Abwâz* and *Fârs*, and *Mosbrefo'ddawla Ebn Babao'ddawla*, his brother, should continue in the government of the *Arabian Irâk*; *Soltâno'ddawla* sent *Ebn Sâleb*, with a d powerful army, to drive *Mosbrefo'ddawla* out of his province. The latter of these princes met his brother's forces in the field, with an army much inferior in number; but as it consisted intirely of veterans, he easily routed *Ebn Sâleb*, and forced him to shut himself up in a fortress of considerable strength. Here he straitly besieged him, and at last obliged him to surrender at discretion; so that both he and his garison were made prisoners of war. This victory, which was gained in the year of the *Hejra* 411, so elevated *Mosbrefo'ddawla*, that he assumed the title of *Shâhinsbâh*, or *Shâhensbâh*, that is, *king of kings*. The success that had attended his arms secured to him the possession of his territories, though it did not immediately produce a peace <sup>1</sup>.

THE next year, being the 412th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 16th, 1021, *Mosbrefo'ddawla* put out *Ebn Sâleb's* eyes; but the motive to this cruelty we have not been told. He also entered into an alliance with *Jalâlo'ddawla*, one of his brothers, and joined him with all his forces. This measure was pursued by both of them, as necessary for their mutual support. It seems to have paved the way to the accommodation effected between *Mosbrefo'ddawla* and *Soltâno'ddawla*, the following year <sup>2</sup>.

Al Kasem Ebn  
Hamûda loses,  
and recovers,  
the Khalifat  
of Spain.

AL KASEM EBN HAMUDA, the *Khalif* of *Andalusia*, having been deposed by the people of *Corduba*, *Tabya*, one of his nephews, by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems* there, in 412, ascended the throne. He was courteous and munificent, and for a short time greatly pleased all his subjects. But, taking it into his head to go to *Malaga*, he gave *Al Kasem*, who was then at *Seville*, an opportunity of posting away with the utmost celerity to *Corduba*, and recovering the crown. By which it appears, that nothing could be more imbroiled than was the state of the *Moslems*, the present year, in *Spain* <sup>3</sup>.

Al Kasem Ebn  
Hamûda is  
deposed.

IN the 413th year of the *Hejra*, which began April 6th, 1022, *Al Kasem Ebn Hamûda*, who had taken the surname of *Al Kayem*, not being able to repress the insolence of the *Barbarians*, or *African Moslems*, who supported him, and committed great ravages and disorders both in the city and territory of *Corduba*, was deposed by the citizens of that capital; who assembled in a body, and expelled from thence both him and the *Africans* adhering to him, many of whom were put to the sword. Being expelled *Corduba*, he went to *Seville*, where his sons then resided, and commanded the people there to fit up 1500 of the best houses in the city, for the reception of the *African* troops that attended him. This so incensed the inhabitants, that they shut their gates against him, sent his sons with g

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. et alib.

<sup>2</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> RODERIC;

TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. XLIV. p. 35.



- a a few of their adherents to his camp, and elected *Al Kâdi Mohammed Ebn Habeth* to preside over them in his room. *Al Kasem* afterwards, for a fixed time, strolled about the country; being destitute of a fixed habitation; and was at last taken by his nephew *Yahya*, who reigned a little while at *Corduba*, and loaded with irons. In the mean time, after the expulsion of *Al Kasem*, the people of *Corduba* had set over them *Abd'abrahman*, cousin-german to *Mohammed*, one of their former princes, of the house of *Quraysh*, who sat not long upon the throne. For, though he had pardoned many of the principal citizens, who a little before his accession had consented to the election of *Soliman Al Mortada*, and afterwards delivered him up into his hands, he violated his promise, and sent them all to prison. The people of *Corduba*, being justly exasperated at this perfidious conduct, broke
- b open the prison doors, released the prisoners, killed *Abd'abrahman*, whom they found hid in a bath, and buried him in a house belonging to one of the suburbs of the city. He reigned only one month, and seventeen days; and was cut off, according to *Roderic*, in the year we are now upon "

- THE same year, *Kayed Abu Shajâ' (U)*, who had assumed the surname, or title, of *Abu Shajâ' Azîzo'ddawla*, was assassinated in the citadel of *Aleppo*, by *Bîrâz*, an *Indian* slave. He was <sup>is assassinated at Aleppo.</sup> sent by *Al Hâkem* to *Aleppo*, as his governor of that city, in the year of the *Hejra* 407, as has been already observed. He arrived at *Aleppo*, in the month of *Ramadân*; and soon after, probably the following year, set up for himself in that city. He was no sooner dead, than *Abu'l Manajem Bedr*, who had been servant to *Al Manjûbekîn*, the *Turk*, one of *Al*
- c *Azîz's* *Mamlîks*, or purchased slaves, seized upon the sovereignty of *Aleppo*, and ruled there, as did his predecessor, independently on the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*. *Azîzo'ddawla* had reposed great confidence in him, and appointed him to command in the citadel; which enabled him, upon that usurper's exit, to make himself master of the city. After he had obliged the citizens to recognize his authority, as *Sâkeb*, or prince, of *Aleppo*, he took the surname of *Wâli'ddawla*, and made the proper dispositions for his defence. However, having received advice, that *Al Thâher*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, had sent a numerous army against him, under the command of *Safio'ddawla Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Jaasar Ebn Balâb Al Catâmi*, and finding himself not in a condition to make head against the *Khalîf's* forces, he came to a resolution to surrender the place to that general. He, therefore, delivered
- d up the keys both of the castle and the city to *Al Catâmi*, as soon as he presented himself before the town. Upon which, *Al Catâmi*, in obedience to the *Khalîf's* order, made *Sa'âda*, surnamed *Yamîno'ddawla*, the commandant of the citadel, and took upon himself the government of the town. We must not forget to observe, that a treaty of peace was concluded between *Mosbrefo'ddawla* and *Soltâno'ddawla*, *Bahao'ddawla's* sons, who had been at variance between two and three years, before the close of the present year "

- THE following year, being the 414th of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 26th, 1023, *Mohammed*, who succeeded *Abd'abrahman* in the *Khalîfat* of *Andalusia*, was destroyed by his own servants, who thirsted after the pearls, jewels, and immense riches, he was supposed to have amassed, after he had reigned one year, and four months. He visited the
- e frontiers of his kingdom, and was attended by a considerable retinue, formed of people who believed that he carried all his treasures along with him; which, as *Roderic* seems to intimate, occasioned his being poisoned, before he had finished his intended progress. The inhabitants of *Corduba*, having received advice of his death, placed *Yahya Ebn Ali* upon the throne; who, after he had presided over them three months, and twenty days, went to *Malaga*, where he formerly used to reside. This gave the *Sâkeb*, or *Emîr*, of *Granada* an opportunity of sending two persons of his family to *Corduba*; of which the people of that city being apprized, upon their arrival, they admitted them into the town, killed 1000 of the *Africans* then quartered amongst them, and obliged all *Yahya's* relations to fly to him at *Malaga*, where they were kindly received. Soon after this new revolution, *Ismael Ebn*
- f *Habeth* assassinated *Yahya*, and sent his head to *Heshâm*, who had fixed his residence at *Seville*. *Idris*, the governor of *Ceuta*, having been informed of the commotions and civil dissensions in *Spain*, crossed the sea, and came to *Malaga*, where he was joined by the *Emîr* of *Granada*, and others, who acknowledged him for their sovereign. Being at the head

" *RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. p. 35, 36. apud Te xeir. p. 286.*

" *AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 260, 261. MIRKHOND,*

(U) This word has been written by *Erpenius Abusug-jinus*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makin*; but as the proper name *Abu Shajâ'* not seldom occurs in the *Arabic* writers, and as the diacritical points are frequently omitted in the MS he followed; we make not the least doubt, but the letter exhibited as *Sin*, in the place re-

ferred to, was originally *Shîn*. Nor do we remember ever to have met with the proper name *Abusaja* (written corruptly for *Abusaja'*) in any other eastern author. To which we may add, that *Soltâno'ddawla* himself has the agnomen of *Abu Shajâ'* given him both by *Abu'lfeza* and *Abu'l Faraj* (28).

(28) *Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 257. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 334. Ism. Abu'lfez. in chron. ad ann. Hij. 403.*



of a large body of troops, he advanced first to *Seville*, and afterwards to *Almeria*, and a forced the inhabitants of both those cities to make their submission to him. In the mean time, the two persons sent to *Corduba* by the *Emîr* of *Granada*, after their admission into the town, became jealous and afraid of each other; so that both of them soon disappeared, and were never afterwards seen. The citizens of *Corduba*, therefore, pitched upon one *Heshâm* for their *Khalîf*; who, according to *Roderic*, reigned at *Corduba* two years, and four days, and in *Frontaria*, perhaps the modern *Fronteira*, two years, seven months, and eight days. His *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, who was his prime minister, and governed with an absolute sway, excited the hatred of all the *Moslems* over whom he presided, by his wicked and oppressive administration. As his tyranny knew no bounds, he at last fell a sacrifice to the fury of those who had been the objects of it, and his master *Heshâm* was deposed. But this, b from a farther account of his infamous conduct, and the final consequences of it, will hereafter more fully appear \*.

Sâleh Ebn  
Mardâs takes  
Aleppo.

THE same year, *Al Thâber*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, deprived *Safio'ddawla Al Catâmi* of the government of *Aleppo*, and appointed *Abu Mohammed Al Hasan Ebn Mohammed Ebn Tha'bân Al Catâmi*, surnamed *Sanado'ddawla*, to succeed him in that post. This we learn from *Al Makîn*. But *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Sanado'ddawla*, whom he calls *Ebn Tha'bân*, was sent by the *Khalîf* of *Egypt* to govern the town; and that *Mawsfîf*, an eunuch, was constituted by that prince the commandant of the castle. Be that, however, as it will, both those authors agree, that *Sâleh Mardâs*, the *Emîr* of the *Kelabite Arabs*, of whom we have spoken above, marched with a powerful army to *Aleppo*, the present year. They likewise add, that, the c *Egyptian* yoke being grown intolerable, the inhabitants of that city opened their gates to *Sâleh*, and admitted his troops into the town; which obliged *Sanado'ddawla Al Catâmi* to retire into the castle, where *Mawsfîf* commanded a pretty numerous garison. The *Egyptian* troops, however, after having sustained a siege, were forced to surrender the place, by capitulation, to *Abu'l Mansûr Solimân Ebn Tawf*, *Sâleh's* secretary, for want of provisions. As soon as *Sâleh* had possessed himself of the city of *Aleppo*, he made this *Abu'l Mansûr Solimân Ebn Tawf* the governor of it, left with him a body of troops to lay siege to the castle, and marched with the rest of his army to reduce *Baalbec*; which, after some resistance, he took by storm, and put a great number of people therein to the sword. *Sâleh* having d dispatched an express to his master with the news of the surrender of the citadel, *Sâleh* returned to *Aleppo*, put a garison in the castle, and cut off *Mawsfîf's* head. He has been represented as a just and equitable prince by *Al Makîn*; who likewise informs us, that, after the above-mentioned conquests had been made, he assumed the title, or surname, of *Safado'ddawla*, and ruled the people of *Aleppo* about six years. By the reduction of the castle there, and the city of *Baalbec*, his territories extended from the latter of those places to *Ana*, and the frontiers of *Irâk* (W) \*.

Other events  
of the year  
414.

ALAO'DDAWLA ABU JAAFAR EBN CACAWIYA also occupied *Hamadân*, a city of the *Belâd Al Jebâl*, supposed by *Goliûs* to be the ancient *Ecbatana*, and erected it into a sort of principality, the present year. About the same time, died *Ali Ebn Helâl*, commonly called *Ali Ebn Bowâb*, who brought the beautiful character now used by the *Arabs* to great per- e fection, and whose name is yet famous amongst them, on that account. About this time, the *Christians*, likewise, in consequence of the edict that *Al Hâkem* had issued in favour of them, were suffered to repair their old churches, and build new ones, throughout the whole *Khalîfat* of *Egypt*, even at *Haidab*, a port upon the *Red Sea*, and at *Jodda*, a maritime town of *Hejâz*, at a small distance from *Mecca*, where they never were permitted to set their foot before \*.

Abu Shajâ'  
Soltâno'd-  
dawla dies, in  
the year 415.

THE next year, being the 415th of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 15th, 1024, *Abu Shajâ' Soltâno'ddawla*, of the house of *Bûiyâ*, departed this life, in the month of *Shawâl*, at *Shîrâz*. He succeeded *Bakao'ddawla*, his father, in the post of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, as well as in the f sovereignty of *Persia* and *Irâk*, and reigned about twelve years. We have already given our readers the account of the wars carried on between him and his brothers handed down to us by *Mirkbond*; to which we shall now beg leave to add that preserved by *Khondemîr*,

\* RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xlv, xlvi. p. 36, 37. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 414. & ad ann. Hej. 402. EBN KHALECAN, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 220. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 399.

Y AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 261, 262. ISM.

Z GREC. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 336.

(W) In *Erpenius's* MS. copy of *Al Makîn*, this local name is *Irka*; whereas that it ought to have been *Irâk*, will admit of no dispute. For, we meet with no place, at least in the neighbourhood of *Ana*, denominated *Irka*; and that town is seated upon the *Euphrates*, at a

small distance from *Hella* (29), a city (30) of the *Babylonian* or *Arabian Irâk*. This emendation, therefore, of the text of *Al Makîn*, we doubt not, will be readily admitted by all our learned and intelligent readers.

(29) *Sule's map of Arabia*, prefixed to his preliminary discourse. (30) *D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Hellab*, p. 446.



a another celebrated *Persian* historian. After *Soltāno'ddawla*, according to this author, had mounted the throne of *Persia*, in order to content his brothers, he sent *Abu Thāber Jalālo'ddawla*, one of them, to command on his part at *Basra*, and in all the *Babylonian* or *Arabian Irāk*, and on *Mosbrefo'ddawla*, the other, he conferred the government of the province of *Kermān*. But the latter of these soon after withdrawing his allegiance from *Soltāno'ddawla*, that prince was obliged to reduce him to reason by force of arms. The rupture, that happened between the two brothers, on this occasion, was terminated by a treaty of peace, concluded, in the year of the *Hejra* 409. The principal articles of which were, that *Mosbrefo'ddawla* should retain in full sovereignty part of *Kermān*, and pay his brother homage for the other territories he held of him. This peace, however advantageous to *Mosbrefo'ddawla* it might be, continued only two years; another rupture commencing between him and *Soltāno'ddawla*, in the year 411. This war was soon followed by a peace, the chief conditions of which were, that *Mosbrefo'ddawla* should be declared *Soltāno'ddawla's* lieutenant of the *Arabian Irāk*, that he should neither directly nor indirectly concern himself in the affairs of *Persia* and *Abwāz*, and that neither of the two *Soltāns* should ever employ as *Wazīr Ebn Sabelan*, who had set them at variance, and fomented the differences between them. But this new treaty being soon after violated by *Soltāno'ddawla*, who, upon his arrival at *Tuster*, or *Tostar*, the capital of *Khūzistān*, advanced *Ebn Sabelan* to the office of *Wazīr*; *Mosbrefo'ddawla* was so irritated at this perfidy, that he immediately took up arms, made himself master of the *Arabian Irāk*, and obliged his brother to cede to him all his dominions, except the provinces of *Kermān* and *Fārs*. Some of the copies of the *Lebtārīkh* make *Soltāno'ddawla* to have died, in the year of the *Hejra* 416; and others, in the 414th year of that æra. But the author of this chronicon is greatly imbroiled, and particularly in the dynasty of the princes of the house of *Būiya*; which may, perhaps, have arisen from the diversity of lections in different copies. According to the *Arab* writers, *Abu Cālījār*, *Soltāno'ddawla's* son, ascended the throne of *Kermān* and *Fārs*, after his father's decease. *Mirkbond* writes, that *Soltāno'ddawla's* son, then at *Abwāz*, whom he calls *Abu'l Ganjar*, having received advice of his father's death, immediately made the proper dispositions for repairing to *Shīrāz*; an escorte having been sent him by *Abu Mokarram*, one of *Soltāno'ddawla's* generals, to conduct him to that city. In the mean time, continues he, the *Turks*, or *Turkmāns*, settled at *Shīrāz*, declared for *Abu'l Fawāres*, one of *Soltāno'ddawla's* brothers, in *Kermān*; who arrived at *Shīrāz*, before *Abu'l Ganjar* had left *Abwāz*, and caused *Abu Mokarram* to be put under arrest. However, being informed, that *Abu'l Kasem*, *Abu Mokaream's* son, was marching with a large body of troops towards *Shīrāz*, and followed by *Abu'l Ganjar* himself at the head of a powerful army, he thought fit to abandon that city; which thereupon fell into the hands of *Abu'l Ganjar*, who was proclaimed *Soltān* of *Kermān* and *Fārs*. But a new revolution in a short time happening, that prince found himself obliged to cede those provinces by treaty to *Abu'l Fawāres*, who assigned him in lieu thereof the sovereignty of *Abwāz*. *Abu'l Ganjar's* friends, being by no means pleased with a treaty so dishonourable to him, excited him to assert his right to the territories he had been constrained to relinquish to his uncle. He, therefore, raised an army in the district of *Abwāz*, which was soon reinforced by his adherents, who flocked to him out of *Fārs*, defeated *Abu'l Fawāres*, and possessed himself a second time of *Shīrāz*. His competitor's orders were nevertheless obeyed in *Kermān*, 'till the day of his death. This is the relation of the troubles immediately consequential to *Soltāno'ddawla's* decease extracted from *Mirkbond*. Other authors affirm, that *Soltāno'ddawla* was not succeeded by his son, but by *Abu Thāber Jalālo'ddawla*, his brother. From whence it appears, that, both with regard to the principal transactions of *Soltāno'ddawla's* reign and the person who succeeded him, the eastern writers are far from being perfectly agreed. It may not, however, be improper to remark, that the prince denominated *Mosbrefo'ddawla* and *Abu'l Fawāres*, by *Mirkbond*, is called *Ali Sharfo'ddawla* by *Al Makīn*, and *Abu Ali Mosbrefo'ddawla* and *Sharfo'ddawla Ebn Bahao'ddawla* by *Abu'l Faraj*; and that the *Abu'l Ganjar* of the first is the *Abu Cālānjār* and the *Abu Cālījār* of the two latter of those historians. Which observations will help a little to disimbroil, if not intirely to reconcile, those authors, in some parts of their histories relative to the period we are now upon. *Soltāno'ddawla* is said to have died, when he was about thirty-two lunar years old. *Set Al Malc*, or *Settabmolc*, *Al Hākem's* sister, who had placed herself at the head of the administration in *Egypt*, likewise departed this life, before the close of the present year<sup>a</sup>.

In the 416th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 4th, 1025, *Ali Sharfo'ddawla*, The principal *Abu'l Fawāres*, *Mosbrefo'ddawla*, or *Abu Ali Mosbrefo'ddawla*, for he went by all those names, <sup>events of the</sup> died at *Baghdād*. He commanded in the quality of *Emīr Al Omrā* there, according to *Mir*-<sup>year 416.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 262. GREG ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 335, 336, 337. KHONDEMIR, LOBB AL TAWARIKH, MIRKOND, apud Teixeira. p. 286, 287, 288. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Soltānaldawlat*, p. 826.



*khond*, five years, and twenty-five days; and had not completed the 24th year of his age, at the time of his decease. He was no sooner dead, than the nobles and grandees of the court sent to *Abu Thâher Jalâlo'ddawla*, his brother, then at *Basra*, to come, and take the government upon him. But his arrival at *Baghdâd* having been by some accident retarded, another person was vested with the authority of *Emîr Al Omrâ* by the *Khalîf*. This so exasperated *Jalâlo'ddawla*, that he advanced at the head of a formidable army to the gates of *Baghdâd*. The *Khalîf Al Kâder Bi'llah* endeavouring in vain to appease him, a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of that city. This terminated in the intire defeat of *Jalâlo'ddawla*; who lost all his baggage, had a great number of his men killed upon the spot, and fled with the utmost precipitation to *Basra*. However, he met with better success, as we shall presently see, the following year. About the same time, *Soltân Mahmûd* undertook another expedition into *India*, penetrated into the southern parts of that vast region, and entered the kingdom of *Sûmenat*, or *Sowmenat*; which, after many victories gained over the natives, he made himself master of. Some historians say, that *Sûmenat* was the name of an idol, which the inhabitants of this country adored; and that this name was communicated to the whole tract, wherein that idol was worshipped. But *Ferido'ddîn Atbur* was of another opinion, when he affirmed, that *Mahmûd's* troops found in the country of *Sûmenat* an idol named *Lât*, or *Al Lât*. *Mirkhond* reports, that in the temple of this idol there were fifty-six pillars of massy gold, all covered with rubies and other precious stones. The idol itself was made of one intire stone, and had fifty cubits in length; but did not seem to be above three cubits high, the other forty-seven being buried in the earth. This idol *Mahmûd* broke to pieces with his own hands, and caused above 50,000 of its idolatrous votaries in a short time to be sacrificed. He also took out of the temple and the royal treasury of the king, whose territories he had conquered, above 5,000,000 pounds sterling, exclusive of the booty carried off by his troops, the quantity of which was likewise immense. The idol *Lât*, or *Al Lât*, was worshipped by the antient *Arabs*, as well as the *Indians* now subdued by *Mahmûd*, particularly the tribe of *Thakîf* who dwelt at *Tayef*. *Nasîro'ddawla Ebn Merwân*, the *Sâbeb*, or lord, of *Diyâr Becr*, took possession, this year, of the city of *Al Rohâ*, or *Edeffa*; which the inhabitants, justly displeased with the foolish and iniquitous conduct of *Atîrâ*, one of the *Nomeirite*, or *Nomerite Arabs*, who before presided over them, delivered up into his hands. As soon as the people offered to make their submission to him, *Nasîro'ddawla* sent *Zenc* or *Zeng*, the governor of *Amed*, to *Al Rohâ*; who, upon his arrival there, cut off *Atîrâ's* head, and caused his master to be proclaimed sovereign of the place. For the better understanding of that part of the *Moslem* history we are now upon, it will be requisite to observe, that the *Sâbeb* of *Diyâr Becr* mentioned here, is denominated by *Abu'l-feda Abu Nafr Ahmed Ebn Merwân*, and *Nasîro'ddawla Ebn Merwân* by *Abu'l Faraj*.

What happened, in the year 417.

THE 417th year of the *Hejra*, which began Feb. 21st, 1026, seems not to have been rendered very remarkable by any great number of memorable events. However, a numerous army of *Turks*, in some part of it, according to *Mirkhond*, laid siege to the city of *Baghdâd*; and took it, after a feeble defence. They were no sooner masters of this capital, than they plundered and set fire to it; by which means the people were reduced to extreme poverty, and the best part of the city was consumed. After which, not thinking themselves secure in the possession of their new conquest, on account of the incursions of the *Arabs* and *Curds*, they put themselves under the protection of *Jalâlo'ddawla*, then at *Basra*; who, having received advice of this unexpected revolution, immediately repaired to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival there, he went to the *Khalîf's* palace, was received by that prince with the utmost affability and condescension, and permitted to kiss his foot. After which, he had the sublime post of *Emîr Al Omrâ* conferred upon him, and continued at the head of the administration, or rather exercised sovereign power, at *Baghdâd*, 'till the day of his death. Hence, therefore, it appears, if we chuse to pay any regard to the authority of *Mirkhond*, that *Jalâlo'ddawla* was not vested with the supreme authority in the capital of the *Moslem* empire, though the contrary is plainly intimated both by *Al Makîn* and *Abu'l Faraj*, before the present year.

The chief transactions of the year 418.

THE following year, being the 418th of the *Hejra*, commencing Feb. 10th, 1027, *Jalâlo'ddawla* firmly secured to himself the charge of *Emîr Al Omrâ* at *Baghdâd*, and satisfied the demands of the soldiers in such a manner that he kept them within the bounds of their duty. About this time, as it should seem from *Mirkhond*, *Soltân Mahmûd* undertook another expedition into *Industân*, overthrew *Gipal* and *Tandebal*, two very powerful *Rajabs*, with exceeding great slaughter, and acquired an immense quantity of spoil. But for the parti-

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 337. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 288. FERIDO'DDÎN ATTHAR, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 534. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 131. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 380. AL KOR. MOHAM. sur. v. liii. SALE's prelim. discours. p. 17, 18. <sup>c</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. AL MAKÎN, & GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup.



a culars of this expedition, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to that historian. After *Mahmūd* had reduced *India*, or at least the most considerable part of that vast region, to his obedience, he established in one of the conquered provinces a tributary prince, or *Rajah*, of the house of *Dabshelim*, a most antient and puissant king of the *Indies*, cotemporary with *Husheng*, the third *Persian* king of the race of *Pisbdād*; of which our readers may expect a more distinct account, extracted from the oriental writers, in a future part of this work. The affairs of the *Moslems* in *Spain* remained still in the utmost disorder and confusion. Either towards the close of this or the beginning of the next year, *Heshām*, the king, or *Khalīf*, of *Corduba*, was deposed, and his *Hājeb*, or chamberlain, who acted as his *Wazīr*, murdered by the people of that city. This minister, who was of mean extraction, and discovered the lowness of his birth on all occasions, had, by his infamous and iniquitous conduct, excited the inhabitants of that capital to a revolt. He squandered away the citizens money and most valuable effects upon the *Africans*, or *Barbarians*, that supported him, quarrelled with all the grandees of the court, punished the innocent, and was guilty of the most criminal excesses, through the whole course of his administration. The people therefore, fleeced and oppressed in so flagrant a manner, laid violent hands upon him, and drove his master from the throne. *Heshām*, however, after his expulsion, was permitted to retire to a castle, or fortress, in the mountainous part of the district of *Corduba*, and his family to remain in the town. But, repenting afterwards of their lenity to him, the *Moslems* he formerly governed attacked the fortress in which he had shut himself up, seized upon his person, and put him under arrest. He had not been long in a state of confinement, before he found an opportunity of flying by night to *Solimān*, the *Emīr* of *Saragossa*; who assigned him a castle, named by *Roderic Alzubela*, for the place of his residence, where, according to that author, he continued 'till the day of his death. The deposition of *Heshām* gave the finishing stroke to the *Moslem* kingdom of *Corduba*, or *Khalīfat* of *Andalusia*, and to the domination of the house of *Ommiyah* in *Spain*; the governors, or *Emīrs*, setting up for themselves, after that event, in most of the principal cities there. The inhabitants of *Corduba* nevertheless still coined money with *Heshām*'s name impressed upon it, as he had not been yet succeeded by any other prince. Nor was there, if we will believe *Roderic*, any regular government firmly settled amongst them, before the arrival of the *Al Moradeta*, or *Molathemiyah*, called *Al Moravides* by the *Spanish* writers, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter; which introduced a new dynasty of *Moslem* princes into *Andalusia*, and the other neighbouring provinces of *Spain*<sup>a</sup>.

IN the 419th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Jan.* 30th, 1028, the *Turkish* troops muti- The Turkish  
nied for their pay, plundered the palace of *Abu Ali*, *Jalālo'ddawla*'s *Wazīr*, and committed troops mutiny  
many disorders in the city of *Baghdād*. As the treasure and effects found in the *Wazīr*'s at *Baghdād*.  
palace, amounted to the value of many thousand *dinārs*, they grew still more insolent upon  
this success; and even at last seized upon the person of *Jalālo'ddawla* himself, when he  
attempted to bring them back to a sense of their duty. Nor would they permit him to  
stir out of the house in which they had confined him, before the *Khalīf* had promised to  
e satisfy their demands; which he afterwards did, having parted with all the ready money  
he had by him, and sold all the valuable furniture of his palace, in order to raise the sum  
he had engaged to pay<sup>c</sup>.

ABOUT this time, *Abu Cālījār* having received advice that *Soltān Mahmūd*'s troops were in Other memo-  
motion, and had begun their march for *Al Ray*, he wrote to *Jalālo'ddawla*, his uncle, and rable events  
proposed to him a defensive alliance for the safety of their respective dominions. But so of the year  
far was *Jalālo'ddawla* from entertaining any thoughts of this kind, that he in an hostile 419.  
manner entered *Abwāz*, pillaged it, and carried off with him a considerable sum of money,  
which he found in *Abu Cālījār*'s treasury there. The *Turks* and the *Deylamites* coming to an  
open rupture at *Basra*, *Al Mālec Azīz Ebn Abu Mansūr*, *Jalālo'ddawla*'s grandson, favoured  
f the *Turks* at this juncture; which greatly disgusted the *Deylamites*, and protracted the trou-  
bles there. This gave *Abu Cālījār*, who after *Jalālo'ddawla*'s departure had moved at the  
head of a powerful army into the district of *Abwāz*, an opportunity of making himself  
master of *Basra*. From thence he advanced to *Wāset*, and took it; upon which, all *Jalā-  
lo'ddawla*'s wealth, together with his family and relations, fell into his hands. As for *Jalā-  
lo'ddawla* himself, he was obliged to continue in a state of inaction; his troops refusing to  
follow him, for want of their pay. As he had not by him a sum of money sufficient to  
enable him to satisfy their demands, on this emergency, he attempted to borrow one of  
the richest inhabitants of *Baghdād*; which drew upon him the general dislike of the people  
of that metropolis, *Hammad*, or *Hamet*, *Ebn Yusef Belkīn Ebn Zeir Al Sanbāji*, who founded

<sup>a</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 282, 283, 288, 13. KHONDEMIR, AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR  
AL KAZWINI, in *Nighirist*. RODERIC TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xlvī, xlvii. p. 137. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.  
p. 280, 534. <sup>c</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 288, 289.



the kingdom or dynasty of the *Hammadites*, in the *African* province of *Bajayah*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, died, and was succeeded by his son, *Al Kayed*, the present year. About the time we are now upon, *Soltân Mahmûd* began to break; his health being apparently, to the great concern of all about him, in a very declining condition. However, he sent one of his generals, with a formidable army, to reduce *Al Ray*, *Esfahân*, and the whole *Persian Irâk*; the success of whose arms will, in a short time, more fully appear<sup>f</sup>.

*The principal transactions of Soltân Mahmûd, after his return from the last Indian expedition to Gazna, according to Mir-khond, the year 420.* THE following year, being the 420th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Jan. 20th, 1029*, *khond*, erected there a stately mosque, as an instance of his gratitude to God for the many victories he had obtained. Soon after, he made himself master of *Majdo'ddawla Ebn Fakhr'oddawla's* kingdom. This he did, by one of his generals, who penetrated into *Al Jebâl*, then possessed by that prince, and seized upon *Esfahân* and *Al Ray*, the two principal cities of that province. As *Majdo'ddawla Abu Tâleb Rostam Ebn Fakhr'oddawla* was a very pusillanimous and indolent prince, he made not the least attempt to oppose the *Soltân's* forces, but submitted, without striking a stroke; imagining that by such conduct he should so ingratiate himself with *Mahmûd*, that his territories would not be taken from him. But, in this, he found himself greatly mistaken. For, as soon as *Mahmûd* was informed, that both he and his son were taken prisoners, he immediately repaired to the city of *Al Ray*, where *Majdo'ddawla* and his family then resided, and first examined his treasury. Here he found 1,000,000 *dinârs* in ready money, and jewels that amounted to the value of 500,000 more. He likewise met with a vast quantity of gold and silver plate, and many other very valuable effects. Afterwards he ordered *Majdo'ddawla* to be brought before him, and asked him, "Whether he had read the chronicle of the kings?" To which he replied, "He had." *Mahmûd* then demanded of him, "Whether he could play at chess?" He answered, "He could." "Did you ever then, continued *Mahmûd*, read in the book, that "two kings reigned in one kingdom? Or did you ever see at chess two kings upon the "same checker?" *Majdo'ddawla* answering in the negative, he rebuked him for entertaining so weak and simple a notion as that of being re-instated in the government of his dominions. He then sent him, together with his son and *Wazîr*, under an escorte, to *Gazna*. He also ordered the noble library found at *Ray*, or *Al Ray*, to be transported to his residence in *Khorasân*; and, soon after, went thither himself. In the mean time, he left his son *Mas'ûd* at *Al Ray*, to preside over the people he had subjugated, this campaign<sup>g</sup>.

*Another account of this expedition.* THE circumstances attending this expedition of *Soltân Mahmûd's* troops into the *Persian Irâk*, and the reduction of that large province, having been differently related by other eastern writers, our curious readers will not be displeased to find inserted here the following abstract of that relation. In the 420th year of the *Hejra*, *Soltân Mahmûd* (X) undertook the conquest of the *Persian Irâk*, where *Abu Tâleb Rostam Majdo'ddawla Ebn Fakhr'oddawla*, the last prince of this country of the house of *Bûiya*, at that time, reigned. When this prince's father died, *Seyda*, *Scida*, or *Seydat*, his mother, was appointed regent of the kingdom; which she governed with great prudence and moderation, during the minority of her son. As soon as *Majdo'ddawla* came to be of age, he deprived his mother of the government, and conferred it upon *Abu Ali Ebn Sînâ*, or *Avicenna*, his *Wâzîr*. *Seyda*, by this event, becoming imbroiled with her son, fled to the castle of *Tabarek*, in *Laristân*, or the kingdom of *Lar*, which extends itself along the eastern coast of the *Persian Gulf*; where she met with a very favourable reception from *Padarîn*, surnamed *Hafnûliya*, who commanded there. Being assisted by that commandant with a strong body of troops, she advanced into the neighbourhood of *Al Ray*, overthrew *Majdo'ddawla*, who offered her battle, took him prisoner, made herself mistress of *Al Ray*, his capital, and remounted the throne. In this sublime situation she continued to give her subjects marks of her justice and wisdom, after she had most clearly demonstrated her courage and constancy in adversity. She granted audiences to her own ministers, behind a curtain made of transparent stuff; but to the ambassadors of great princes, with her face uncovered. She

<sup>f</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 289, 283, 284. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. & ad ann. Hej. 419. <sup>g</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 284, 285.

(X) We are told by *Mirkhond*, that *Manûjabar Ebn Kâbûs Ebn Wâshmakîn* joined *Mahmûd's* forces at *Mazanderân*, in order to facilitate the reduction of the *Persian Irâk*; but that afterwards, believing *Mahmûd* might prove too powerful a neighbour by the acquisition of so large a province, he withdrew privately from the camp, and returned into his own dominions. However, as he apprehended he might by such a step have incurred the *Soltân's* displeasure; he endeavoured to ob-

viate the ill effects of that prince's resentment, by sending him many presents of great value, a vast quantity of provisions for the use of his troops, and 400,000 *dinârs* in ready money. The same author seems a little inconsistent with himself, when he positively affirms this expedition to have been undertaken in the year of the *Hejra* 420, and yet a little after seems to place the conquest of the *Persian Irâk* in the preceding year (30).

(30) *Mirkhond* apud Teixeira. p. 266, 267, 283, 284.



a soon forgave her son, put the crown again upon his head, and only assisted at his councils. As long as she lived, his reign was prosperous and happy; but immediately after her death, which happened in the year we are now upon, *Soltân Mahmûd*, who was a very powerful neighbour, attacked the *Persian Irâk* on the side of *Mazenderân*, and approached the city of *Al Ray*, with an intention to besiege it. Before he entered the province he gave his generals orders to get *Soltân Majdo'ddawla* alive, if possible, into their hands. They found it an easy matter enough to execute their master's orders. For, *Majdo'ddawla*, through simplicity, came and surrendered himself a prisoner to them. Of which *Mahmûd* being informed, he caused him to be brought into his presence, and then asked him, "Whether he had ever read the *Shâb-Nameh*, i. e. the history of the kings of *Persia*, composed by b " *Ferdîst*, or the *Târîkh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*?" To which *Majdo'ddawla* replied, "He had." The other then demanded of him, "Whether he understood the game of chess?" To this question he likewise answered in the affirmative. "Did you ever," said *Mahmûd*, read in either of those books, or observe in that game, that two kings could be together in the same place with an equality of power?" No," returned *Majdo'ddawla*. "How came you then, subjoined *Mahmûd*, to be so imprudent as to put your- self into my hands, and by that means to make me master both of your person and c " dominion?" This dialogue was soon followed by an order from *Mahmûd* to conduct *Majdo'ddawla* a prisoner, under an escorte, to *Gazna*; where he in a short time ended his days, after his life had been one continued scene of debauchery, and he had almost completed the thirty-third year of his reign. It was no sooner known, that *Majdo'ddawla* had met with so hard a fate, than the cities of *Esfabân*, *Kazwîn*, and others, as well as *Al Ray*, submitted to the victor. In consequence of which, his authority was recognized throughout the *Persian Irâk*, where the house of *Bûiya* had ruled, with an absolute sway, so many years. The people of this province, however, grew weary of their new sovereign, and discovered an inclination to revolt, almost the very moment after they had so unanimously submitted to him. But *Mahmûd* treated with such severity those who refused to bear the yoke he had so lately imposed upon them, that he put to death at once four thousand of the principal inhabitants of *Esfabân*, and a very considerable number of those of *Kazwîn*, who had broke out into an open rebellion against him. By which means having appeased all com- d " motions in this part of his dominions, and settled his son *Mas'ûd* in the government of the *Persian Irâk*, he returned into *Khorasân*; and departed from thence, after he had made some stay in that province, to *Gazna*. As for *Mas'ûd*, he fixed his residence at *Al Ray*, the capital of the territories over which he was left to preside, as has been already observed<sup>a</sup>.

THE same year, *Soltân Mahmûd Yamîno'ddawla* overthrew a large body of *Gaz*, or *Gazan*, *The Gazan* *Turks*, commanded by *Arslân Ebn Seljûk*, and drove them out of *Khorasân*, where they had *Turks are de-* committed dreadful ravages and depredations. This we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*; who like- *feated by Mah-* wise informs us, that a great number of them were taken prisoners on this occasion, and *mûd*. that as many of them as occupied 2000 tents retired to *Esfabân*. In the mean time, *Togrol Bek*, *Dawd*, and their brother *Bîgû*, all of them sons of *Micâyyel*, *Mikhâyyel*, or *Mikaël*, c " *Ebn Seljûk Ebn Yakâk*, remained with a considerable force of the same nation in *Mawarâ'l-nabr*. A corps also of these *Gazan Turks*, or *Turkmâns*, that had escaped out of *Khorasân*, penetrated into *Adherbijân*, advanced to *Marâga*, entered that city, and laid the temple in ashes there. At the same time, they put a vast number of the inhabitants to the sword; amongst whom were many of the *Hadhbâniyan*, or *Harâyyan*, *Curds*. They likewise afterwards, according to the same authors, made themselves masters of *Al Ray* and *Hamadân*, and even seized upon *Al Mawfel*; though he seems to intimate, that the inhabitants of the last of these cities very strenuously opposed them, if they did not oblige them to abandon that place. The *Gazan Turks*, if we will believe some of the eastern writers followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, acknowledged for their great ancestor *Gaz*, the tenth son of *Japheth*, whom f " they also name *Tzbesmgaz* and *Tamgaz*, and are the lowest and most contemptible of all the *Turkmâns*. Since, therefore, these *Turks* obeyed the orders of *Arslân Ebn Seljûk*, or *Alp Arslân*, as he is called by *Ebn Shobnah*, it seems from thence to appear, that both *Arslân* and his father *Seljûk* belonged originally to this tribe, and consequently that they were not of such noble extraction as some authors pretend. The father of *Seljûk* is denominated *Takâk* by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Dakâk* by *Al Makîn*, and by *Ebn Shobnah Dokûk*, or *Dokmâk*; which in *Turkish* signifies a *hammer*, and is at present pronounced *Tokmâk*. M. *D'Herbelot* informs us, that *Gaz* had two sons, *Bolgâr* and *Barthas*, or *Parthas*; and that *Parthas's* descendants ravaged the extensive province of *Khorasân*, and were driven from thence by *Mahmûd Gazna*, in the year of the *Hejra* 426. But this last observation must undoubtedly be a g " mistake; as *Mahmûd* departed this life at *Gazni*, about five years before. The irruption,

<sup>a</sup> KHONDEMIR, AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarij*. aliique scriptor. orient. apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 527, 534, 535. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.



therefore, of *Alp Arslân*, hinted at by M. D'Herbelot (Y), into *Khorasân*, has been rightly placed in the year we are now upon by *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>i</sup>.

Sâleh Ebn  
Mardâs is  
killed this  
year.

THIS year proved fatal to *Sâleh Ebn Mardâs*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Aleppo*, according to *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makîn*. The *Khalîf* of *Egypt* sent an army, under the command of *Bûsakîn Al Darîrî*, to besiege *Aleppo*; which came up with *Sâleh Asado'ddawla's* forces in the district of *Tiberias*, near the *Jordan*, defeated him there, and put *Sâleh*, together with his youngest son, to the sword. This battle was fought in the former *Jomâda*, as we learn from *Al Makîn*. In order to make head against *Bûsakîn*, *Sâleh* had joined *Al Hasan*, the *Emîr* of the *Arabs* of the tribe of *Tay*, who had possessed himself of *Al Ramla*, and waited for the *Egyptians* upon the banks of the *Jordan*, with a full intention to give them battle. After the end of the action, *Bûsakîn*, or *Anûstekîn*, as *Abu'lfeda* calls him, sent the heads of *Sâleh Ebn Mardâs* and his sons to *Al Thâber*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, then at *Mesr*. But *Nasr Abu Câmel Shablo'ddawla* and *Bamâl Abu Alwân Moezzo'ddawla*, his two other sons, made their escape to *Aleppo*, and conjunctly took the government of that city upon them. This is the account handed down to us by *Al Makîn*. But, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, *Abu Câmel* only survived his father, and assumed the sovereignty of *Aleppo*, after that prince's violent death <sup>k</sup>.

Mahmûd  
Gazni dies.

THE next year, being the 421st of the *Hejra*, beginning *Jan. 9th*, 1030, *Soltân Mahmûd Yamîno'ddawla Ebn Sabektekin*, that great conqueror, died at *Gazna*, after he had reigned thirty-one years. He is said to have been about sixty-one years old at the time of his decease. Some authors, however, affirm him then to have been in the sixty-third year of his age. He was a prince endued with heroic virtues, and extremely zealous for the propagation of his religion; which he extended over a very considerable part of the *Indies*, exterminated an infinite number of idolaters, and demolished most of the *Pagods* (Z), or pagan temples, there. It has been remarked, that *Mahmûd* had only one vice, and that was too eager a desire of amassing treasures, of which he has been represented as guilty by several historians. It is true, no prince had ever a better opportunity of gratifying this passion; as he met with such riches in the *Indies* as could not elsewhere be found, and such as seemed sufficient to satisfy even the most insatiable avidity of gold and silver that it was possible for a man to have. He had for his *Wazîr Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan*, surnamed *Al Meimendi*, from the city of *Meimend*, one of the dependencies of *Gazna*, where he was born; but, being displeased with his conduct, the *Soltân* at last dismissed him, and substituted the *Emîr Jenk Menkal* in his room. As *Al Meimendi* had an uncommon regard for learned men, he took under his protection *Al Hasan Ebn Sbarsfshah*, surnamed *Ferdûsi*, the famous *Persian* poet, who, at *Mahmûd's* command, wrote the annals of the *Persian* kings in verse, *Abu Riban*, and others, that made a shining figure in the republic of letters; all of whom frequented *Mahmûd's* court, whilst *Al Meimendi* remained at the head of the administration. The *Soltân's* mother was daughter to the prince of *Zâblestân*, or *Zâbelestân*, whence it came to pass, that he sometimes went under the denomination of *Al Zâbeli*, or the *Zâbelian*, and particularly in a tetraſtich, or quatrain, of verses, made upon him by the poet *Ferdûsi*. He was the first proper monarch of the family of *Gazni*, his father *Sabektekin* having rather been a governor or viceroy than an absolute prince. With regard to his person, we find little more remarked of it by the eastern writers, than that he had a very ugly face. This, as he was viewing himself one day in a glass, gave him so much uneasiness, that he could not forbear repeating four verses to the following effect. "I have caused the glass of my  
" mirror to be repolished; and having had it presented to my eyes, I find so many defects  
" in my own person, that I can easily overlook those of others." The moral of which quatrain is plainly this, the knowledge of ourselves employs us enough upon our own imperfections, and disposes us readily to excuse those of other men. His first *Wazîr* having once observed an unusual melancholy in his countenance, took the liberty to ask him the reason of it. *Mahmûd* replied, "I have always heard it said, that the face of a prince ought to

<sup>i</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 337. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 267, 268. EBN SHOUNAH, LOBB AL TAWARIKH, MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Gaz, p. 361. <sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 262, 263. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402, & ad ann. Hej. 420.

(Y) M. D'Herbelot has been misled in this particular by *Erpenius's* MS. of *Al Makîn*, wherein *Soltân Mahmûd* is said to have returned from *India*, and to have found upon his return that the *Gaz Turks*, or *Turkmâns*, had made an irruption into his dominions, in the year of the *Hejra* 426. But that either two or three words have been omitted in this MS. and perhaps others of the same piece, through the carelessness and inattention of transcribers, we shall demonstrate hereafter, when we give

a brief and concise relation of the principal events of that year (31).

(Z) We are informed by M. D'Herbelot, that the word PAGOD comes from the *Persic* *FORGHODA*, or *POKHODA*, which signifies either a temple of idols, or the idol itself adored therein as a god. But how far this etymon may be agreeable to truth, we must leave to the determination of our learned and curious readers (32).

(31) *Al Makîn*, ubi sup. p. 266.

(32) *D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 534.*



- a "rejoice the sight of his subjects: I am surprized that mine, which is so deformed, does not offend the eyes of my people." The *Wazîr* immediately returned, "The excellency of a man does not consist in a good aspect, or a handsome mien. Virtue and the amiable qualities of the mind are the true sources of beauty, according to the sentiments of philosophers. Not one in a thousand of your subjects ever sees your visage, but your manners and your virtues are beheld by them all. It is by these that you must gain their hearts, and become the object of their affection." *Nerkeffi*, the celebrated poet, very well says, "When our manners are not more deformed than your face, there will be no reason for any complaints." *Mahmûd* profited so well by the advice of this wise *Wazîr*, that he became a pattern to all other princes, by his probity, his prudence, and his valour<sup>1</sup>.
- b THE following article, extracted from the *Nighiaristân*, affords us so singular an instance of this great monarch's inflexible attachment to sentiments of justice, that it would be unpardonable in us to omit an insertion of it here. A *Turk*, in *Mahmûd*'s service, entered a poor man's house at midnight by force, and so tormented him, that he was obliged to quit his habitation, to abandon his wife and children, and to repair directly to the palace, in order to carry his complaints to the *Soltân*. *Mahmûd* was up, when the poor man came, and heard him so favourably, that he had reason enough to be filled with consolation. In fine, he said to him, "If this *Turk* should ever trouble you again, let me know it without delay." The *Turk* failed not to return three days after; of which the *Soltân* being apprized, he instantly, with a few attendants, went to the poor man's house, ordered the light to be put out, and immediately cut the insolent *Turk* to pieces. After this execution, he commanded a flambeau to be lighted, and then looked upon the face of the criminal he had dispatched; which was no sooner done, than he prostrated himself, returned God thanks, and asked for something to eat. The man, who lived in extreme poverty, had nothing to give him but some barley-bread, and a little wine that was turned. The *Soltân*, however, contented himself with his refection, and seemed well enough pleased with what had been set before him. When he was upon the point of returning to the palace, the poor man, who had had such signal justice done him, threw himself down at his feet, and most humbly begged that he would be so good as to inform him why he ordered the light to be put out at his first entering into his house, why he prostrated himself after the death of the *Turk*, and lastly how he could take up with so bad a repast? The *Soltân* answered him very courteously in the following terms. "After you had brought your complaint to me, I always suspected that no one could be hardy enough to commit such unparalleled insolence, but one of my own sons; and therefore, as I was resolved to punish it with the utmost severity, and would not be diverted from my resolution by a sight of the offender, I ordered the light to be put out. But finding afterwards that it was not one of my sons, I praised God in the manner you saw. And lastly, with regard to the repast, it is no wonder I should be satisfied with it; since the outrage upon you, which the *Turk* had been guilty of, so chagrined me, that it deprived me both of my appetite and repose for the last three days<sup>m</sup>.
- c NOT long before his death, *Soltân Mahmûd* appointed his eldest son *Mohammed* to succeed him in the sovereignty of all his vast dominions, except that of the *Persian Irâk*, which he had given to his youngest son *Mas'ûd*. After this, he asked *Mas'ûd* upon what terms he intended to live with his brother *Mohammed* after his death? "Upon the same, replied *Mas'ûd*, that you did with your brother *Ismael*." This answer touched *Mahmûd* to the quick. For after *Ismael* had formerly fallen into his hands, and he had pardoned him, he demanded of that prince how he would have treated him, if God had given him the victory? "I would, said *Ismael*, have shut you up in prison, and kept you there confined 'till the day of your death." This impertinent answer so irritated *Mahmûd*, that he sent him to one of his castles in *Forjân*, and ordered the governor to detain him there as long as he lived. He nevertheless supplied him plentifully with provisions, and all the other necessaries of life. By the answer *Mas'ûd* gave him, *Mahmûd* plainly perceived, that his two sons would not continue long in peace; and therefore he endeavoured to oblige *Mas'ûd* to take an oath never to molest his brother. But this he could not do, before *Mohammed* had sworn, that all their father's immense treasures should be divided between them, after his decease<sup>n</sup>.
- f THE distemper that carried this great prince off, according to some of the oriental historians, was a slow or hectic fever, occasioned by an ulcer in his lungs. Two days before his death, according to *Mirkhond*, he commanded every thing that was most valuable in his treasures to be brought before him; and at the sight of it, if we will believe that author,

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 338. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 283. IEM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 421. KHONDEMIR, FERDUSI, NERKESSI, apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mahmoud fils de Selâdjîn*, p. 534, 535. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

<sup>m</sup> ARMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJA'AFAR AL KAZAGINI in *Nighiarist* <sup>n</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 290. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL BLAKI, ubi sup. p. 268. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 534.



he could not refrain from shedding of tears. As he assigned no reason for this expression a of sorrow, the motive to it is not certainly known. But, because he ordered every thing to be put up again in its proper place, he seems to have been shocked at the thoughts of leaving treasures of such inestimable value, which he had amassed with so much anxiety and fatigue. In the 400th year of the *Hejra*, one single fortress, seated in the midst of a deep and extensive lake, and therefore deemed impregnable, where the *Indians* had deposited all the wealth of the *Pagods*, or idol temples, of the whole neighbouring tract, supplied him with no less than 7,000,000 *dinârs*, a large number of ingots of gold, and a vast quantity of pearls and precious stones. He also, as we are assured by *Mirkbond*, not long after laid siege to *Baghdâd*, and forced the *Khalif Al Kâder*, then incapable of making any tolerable defence, not only to surrender the city to him, but likewise to pay him the sum of 5,000,000 b *dirhems*. Besides all the other branches of his prodigious revenues, *Manîjahar Ebn Kâbûs* likewise remitted him annually, by way of tribute, for a considerable term, 50,000 *dinârs*. But of the state of his finances we may probably hereafter give a more particular account. In consequence of the dispositions with regard to the succession that in his life time had been made, his eldest son *Mohammed* succeeded him; but his brother *Mas'ûd* drove him from the throne, and put out his eyes the following year °.

Shablo'ddaw-  
la expels his  
brother from  
Aleppo.

BEFORE we conclude our relation of the principal events that happened in the year we are now upon, it may not be improper to remark, that *Nasr Abu Câmel Shablo'ddawla* expelled *Ramâl Abu Alwân Moazzô'dawla*, his brother, from *Aleppo*, and took the govern- c ment of that city solely upon himself, in some part of it, according to *Al Makin*. About the same time, *Abu Câlijâr*, who after *Abû'l Fawâris*'s death had been called to the govern- ment of *Kermân* by the nobles of that province, advanced at the head of a considerable army towards *Baghdâd*, in order to drive *Jalâlo'ddawla* from that capital, and occupy the post of *Emîr Al Omrà* there. But his arms were not attended in this expedition with the desired success, as will soon more fully appear °.

Al Kâder's  
death and  
character.

THE *Khalif Al Kâder Bîllah* departed this life, in the 422d year of the *Hejra*, which com- menced Dec. 29th, 1030, at *Baghdâd*. He expired in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, after he had sat forty-one years, three months, and twenty-three days, upon the *Moslem* throne. He was eighty-six lunar years, and ten months, old, at the time of his decease. With regard d to his disposition, he is said to have been just, sincere, religious, devout, and extremely addicted to the giving of alms. But he was only a nominal prince; the whole authority of the *Khalifat* being then vested in the house of *Bûiya*. Notwithstanding which, as he was mild, munificent, and lived a very austere life, frequently visiting in the habit of a plebeian the tombs of the *Moslem* saints, both the *Turks* and *Deylamites* were touched with reverence of his person; and, out of regard to his sanctity and amiable disposition, treated him with the most profound respect. In the 393d year of the *Hejra*, when *Al Kâder* reigned at *Baghdâd*, *Abuna Zaccariâ*, or *Zakbariâs*, was constituted patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alex- andria*, and continued in that see twenty-eight years; during seven of which, he remained in a state of persecution, according to *Al Makin*. It appears, however, from some good e authors, that the church over which he presided, for the first seven years of his patriarchate, enjoyed a profound calm; though afterwards a storm arose, occasioned chiefly by the insatiable avarice of the *Egyptian* bishops, who, without any regard either to the fear of God, or the sacred canons, ordained the most scandalous wretches for money, and rejected those, when this was not produced, that were the most proper candidates for holy orders. Hence it came to pass, that the laity were soon immersed in ignorance and vice; so that they neither had the word of God preached to them, nor expressed any concern for the salvation of their souls. Some writers affirm, that the above-mentioned persecution raged nine years. The patriarch himself, during this interval, was treated with great barbarity. Nay, by *Al Hâkem*'s order, he was thrown into a den of lions, together with *Saw- fana*, the *Nubian*; but those fierce and ravenous animals, though extremely hungry, would f touch neither of them, if we will believe *Al Makin*. He was buried at *Al Kâbirab*, in the church of *Bani Al Wail*; but was afterwards carried to the monastery of St. George, called by the *Moslems Dair Al Habash* (A), or *Habesh*, the convent of the *Ethiopians*. Which name

° MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 277, 280, 281, 283. in *Nighiarist*. D'HERUEL. ubi sup. p. 536. Teixeira. p. 290.

AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, P AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 263. MIRKHOND, apud

(A) Hence it plainly appears, that *Erpenius* ought to have translated the words *Wadufn Ji Al Habash*, in the passage of *Al Makin*, here referred to, *ac sepultus fuit in monasterio Abyssinorum*, and he was buried in the monastery of the *Abyssinians*, or *Ethiopians*, and not *ac sepultus fuit in Æthiopia*, and he was buried in *Ethiopia*; which

contains in it an assertion that is repugnant to the faith of history, and even manifestly absurd. This observation, which is supported by some of the best oriental authors, will enable us to emend several other passages, not so intelligible without it, in *Al Makin* (33).

(33) *Al Makin*, ubi sup. p. 264. Vide etiam Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 401.



- a it received from a small district, or territory, in the neighbourhood of *Mesr*; where the *Nestorians* had formerly a church and convent, that was afterwards occupied by the *Jacobites*. As *Zacarîâ*, or *Zakkarîâs*, had, in his life time, desired to be buried amongst the *Christians* of *Al Kâbirab*, or *Mesr*, whose faith and constancy, during the heat of the persecution, he vastly admired; his corpse was transferred from *Al Kâbirab* to the burying-place of the *Jacobites* belonging to that convent, and there interred. He was succeeded by *Samutius*, who sat in the patriarchal see twenty-five years. He has been represented as a great lover of money, and guilty of simony, by *Al Makin*; who likewise relates, that the see remained vacant one year, and five months, after his death. But, for the full and ample account of both these patriarchs, as well as a genuine description of their characters, we must beg leave
- b to refer our curious readers to *Renaudot*. The first day of *Al Kâder's* reign, wherein *Al Darari* sounded his impious sect (B), was *Friday*, and the last *Monday*. We must not forget to observe, that this prince declared *Abu Jaafar Abd'allah*, his son, with the approbation of the *Emir Al Omrà*, his successor, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, the preceding year<sup>1</sup>.

- THE poet *Ferdûsi*, whom we have already had occasion to mention, was near being the *remarkable* cause of a war between the *Khalif Al Kâder* and *Mahmûd Gazni*, if the authority of a certain *story of him*. eastern writer in this point may be depended upon. That poet, notwithstanding the great favours that had been conferred upon him by the *Soltân*, left his court, upon some discontent, in disgust, and retired to *Baghdâd*, where he put himself under the protection of the *Khalif*. *Mahmûd*, having been apprized of this, wrote a letter to that prince, and insisted
- c upon *Ferdûsi's* being sent back to *Gazna*; threatening, in case of refusal, to make an irruption into the territory of *Baghdâd*. *Al Kâder*, who was a person of great wisdom and moderation, returned no other answer to his insolent letter than the following words, in the beginning of the 105th *Sûra*, or chapter, of the *Korân*. "Hast thou not seen how thy
- d "LORD dealt with the masters of the elephant?" This *Sûra* is intitled THE ELEPHANT, and speaks of the miraculous defeat of the forces of *Abraba*, the king of *Ethiopia*, who entered *Arabia* with a powerful army, and a vast number of elephants, in order to destroy the city and temple of *Mecca*. The *Khalif*, therefore, thought, that nothing could be more *à propos* than this passage; as *Mahmûd*, who was king of the *Indies*, had a prodigious number of elephants in his army; and as he was only to be overcome by GOD, who had overthrown with stones, darted upon them from heaven by flocks of birds, the numerous troops of *Abraba*, the *Ethiopian*.

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 263, 264. AL MAKRIZI, ABUSELAH ARMEN. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej 422. GREG. ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 338, 342. EUSEB. RENAUD. hist. patriarchar. Alexandrinor Jacobitar. p. 386—418. Aut. NAWAD. Al KOR. MOHAM. sur. cv. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLAL. ISM. ABU'LFED. in hist. hist. gen. &c. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 12, 225.

(B) M. *Renaudot* affirms, that the true name of this sect, which attributed divinity to *Al Hekem*, was *Durazians*, *Druzians*, or *Druzians*, and not *Dararians*, as we find them stiled in *Erpenius's* MS. of *Al Makin*. Hence he seems to infer, that this sect is the same with that of the *Druses*, seated in the hilly tract extending from *Sidon* to the *Casravan* mountains, called *Druzi*, *Druzi*, and *Duruzi*, by the *Arab* writers. But, as he offers nothing in support of this notion, and seems to depend only upon the affinity between the forms of *Ra* and *Za* in the *Arabic* alphabet, and the bare supposition of *Erpenius's* copy of *Al Makin's* being faulty in this particular, we are not very strongly inclined to come into his opinion. Besides, however wicked and absurd the religious tenets of the *Druses* may appear to be, if any credit is to be given to the best and latest authors who have favoured the world with an account of them, they bear not the least resemblance to the distinguishing principle, or

characteristic, of the *Dararians*, who deified *Al Hekem*, the *Fatimite Khalif* of *Egypt*. Farther, if the *Druses*, who at present maintain a kind of sovereignty all over the *Casravan* mountains, be the *Druses*, or *Druzians*, of *Herodotus*, who supplied the *Persian* kings with recruits for their armies, as there is all the reason in the world to believe, they must have been a much more ancient people than M. *Renaudot's* supposition, or rather conjecture, will allow them to be. As we intend hereafter to present our readers with as good a history of the *Druses* as can be collected out of the authentic writers who have treated of, or rather touched upon, them, we shall take no farther notice of them here. It may, however, not be improper to remark, that the Rev. Dr. *Shaw* brought with him two manuscripts out of the *Levant*, which are said to contain the liturgy, or public service, of the *Druses*, and are deposited in the *Bodleian library* at *Oxford* (34).

(34) Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 402. Hyd. hist. relig. vet. Pers. append. p. 491, 492. Pec. observat. on Syr. p. 92, 93, 94. Herodot. lib. i. c. 125. Shaw's physical observat. in Syria, Pheenice, p. 376, 377. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. p. 303.

## S E C T. XLVII.

- a ABU JAAFAR ABD'ALLAH EBN AL KADER was created *Khalif*, under the title, or sur- *Al Kayem* name, of *Al Kayem Beamri'llan*, on *Monday*, the 22th of *Dhu'l-hajje*, in the year of *Beamri'llah* the *Hijra* 422, being the day on which his father died. A little before his accession, *Abu* <sup>is saluted</sup> *Calîfar Ebn Sultân'âdawla*, who had meditated the reduction of *Baghdâd*, penetrated into *Irak*; but was defeated by *Jalâl'âdawla Ebn Babao'ddawla*, whom the new *Khalif* afterwards confirmed in the post of *Emir Al Omrà*, and forced to fly with the utmost precipitation to
- MOD. HIST. VOL. I. 7 Z *Abbas*.



*Abu'iz.* When *Al Kayem* put on *Jalalo'ddawla* the imperial robe, he gave him the title of *a*  
*Shahenshah*, or *Shahinshah*, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the public prayers, as  
 his father before had done. About the same time, the *Greeks* took *Al Rikâ*, or *Edeffa*,  
 which then belonged to *Abu Nasr Ahmed Ebn Merwân*, called *Nasro'ddawla Ebn Merwân* by  
*Abu'l Faraj*; and *Soltân Mas'ûd Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn*, the sovereign of the *Persian*  
*Irâk*, extinguished a rebellion that broke out in the city of *Esfahân*. Those who had been  
 the most active in the revolt he punished, left a strong garrison in the place, and then  
 moved at the head of a body of troops towards the frontiers of *Khorasân*; intending, as he  
 gave out, only to pay *Soltân Miskammed*, his brother, a friendly visit. *Mohammed*, having  
 received advice of *Mas'ûd's* march, refused to make him any proposals for an accommo-  
 dation, as some of his courtiers would have persuaded him to do, and detached *Yusef Ebn* *b*  
*Sabektekîn*, his uncle, to observe *Mas'ûd's* motions. In the mean time, that prince pursued  
 his march with great celerity, advanced to *Tangerabat*, where *Mohammed* was then keeping  
 the fast of *Ramadân*, and formed the siege of that place. As for *Yusef Ebn Sabektekîn*,  
 who had been sent by *Soltân Mohammed* to reconnoitre the enemy, and *Emir Ali*, another of  
 his generals, they both went over to *Mas'ûd*, and even at last found means to deliver up  
*Mohammed* into his hands. However, they met with the reward due to their perfidy and  
 treason; the former of them having been thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and  
 the latter hanged, by *Mas'ûd's* order. *Mohammed* had his eyes put out, and was conducted  
 as a prisoner to *Gazna*, which *Mas'ûd* possessed himself of without opposition, and obliged  
 the noblesse, the courtiers, and the inhabitants of that capital, to take the oath of allegiance *c*  
 to him. Having now assumed the sovereignty of all his father's vast dominions, he con-  
 ferred upon *Abu Salem Al Hamadîni* the government of the *Persian Irâk*, and constituted  
*Alâo'ddawla Abu Ja'far Ebn Cîcarwiyah*, who had founded a kind of principality at *Hamadân*,  
 in the year of the *Hijra* 414, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, the commandant of *Esfahân*. *Ahmed*  
*Ebn Al Hasan* he advanced to the post of *Wazîr*, and commanded *Abu Salem Al Hamadîni*  
 and *Alâo'ddawla Abu Ja'far Ebn Cîcarwiyah* to act in concert on all occasions. The last of  
 these was of the house of *Bâiyâ*, and nearly related to *Majlo'ddawla*, of whom we have  
 spoken above. He had been deprived of his territories by *Malumid Gazni*, but was restored  
 to them by *Soltân Mas'ûd*. The latter of those princes, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj*, reduced  
 to his obedience the province of *Kermân*, before the close of the present year *d*.

The principal  
 events of the  
 year 423.

In the 423d year of the *Hijra*, which began *Dec.* 18th, 1031, *Ali Takîn*, according  
 to *Mirkhond*, rebelled against *Soltân Mas'ûd*, and made himself master of the cities of *Bok-*  
*hira* and *Samarhand*. *Mas'ûd*, receiving advice of this rebellion, sent a powerful army,  
 under the command of *Altûn Tash*, the governor of *Khorârazm*, to attack the rebels,  
 before they became too formidable to his subjects. *Altûn Tash*, in pursuance of his orders,  
 advanced with all possible expedition to *Samarhand*, where *Ali Takîn* at the head of his  
 troops waited for him. The two armies had no sooner faced each other, than a general  
 action ensued. As *Altûn Tash* was drawn into an ambuscade, his men gave way in the begin-  
 ning of the engagement; but he presently rallied them, led them on again to the charge,  
 and at last entirely defeated the rebels. However, as he was mortally wounded in the *e*  
 action, he granted *Ali Takîn* such terms as he thought it his interest to accept, and died,  
 to the great regret of *Soltân Mas'ûd*, the next day. After his death, that prince conferred  
 upon his son, *Harûn Ebn Altûn Tash*, the government of *Khorârazm*, and consequently  
 the command of all the forces kept on foot in that vast province *f*.

Al-Meimendi,  
 Ma'ûd's  
 Wazîr, &c.

THE following year, being the 424th of the *Hijra*, commencing *Dec.* 7th, 1032, *Ahmed*  
*Ebn Al Hasan*, surnamed *Al Meimendi*, *Soltân Mas'ûd's* *Wazîr*, who had been deprived  
 by his father *Mahmûd* of the high dignity of presiding over his councils, departed this life.  
 The person who succeeded him, in his sublime post, is named by *Mirkhond* *Abu Nasr*  
*Ahmed*, and *Ahmed Ebn Ab'elfamed* by *M. D'Herbelot*. He had been, if we will believe the  
 former of those writers, *Wazîr* to *Altûn Tash* in *Khorârazm*, where he at this time was. It *f*  
 seems to appear from the author of the *Lebtârîk* and *Khondemîr*, who have been followed  
 by *M. D'Herbelot*, that *Altûn Tash*, the governor of *Khorârazm*, was not killed, whatever  
 may have been advanced to the contrary by *Mirkhond*, before the present year. That great  
 captain, according to those historians, having made an irruption into the country beyond  
 the *Jihân*, was slain by an arrow, that pierced one of his eyes, when he was upon the point  
 of engaging the enemy; upon which both armies thought fit to retire, without coming to a  
 battle. *Altûn Tash*, continue they, died, the next day, of the wound he had received,  
 and his son *Harûn* took upon him the government of the province of *Khorârazm*, in his  
 room *g*.

<sup>g</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 342. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 266. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 290, 291, 292. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Cazim Benrillah*, p. 240. & art. *Mas'ûd fils de Mahmoud*, &c. p. 562. <sup>h</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 292. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 562. <sup>i</sup> Ibidem.

ibid. KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN AED'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebb Al-Tawârîk*, &c.



a THE same year, the *Seljuks*, or *Seljukian Turks*, who had already made a great noise <sup>Th. Seljuks</sup> in *Persia*, passed the *Amu*, or *Jihân*, took up their quarters in *Khawârazm*, near the cities <sup>make an irrup-</sup> of *Neja*, or rather *Nesef*, and *Abiwerd*. Here they settled themselves, and in a short <sup>tion into Kho-</sup> time began to make incursions into, and pillage the neighbouring provinces. Several of the cities in *India*, reduced by *Soltân Mahmûd*, rebelled against *Mas'ûd*, as did also *Al Ray* and other places in the *Persian Irâk*, before the end of this year \*.

THE next year, being the 425th of the *Hejra*, beginning Nov. 26th, 1033, a bloody <sup>The most me-</sup> war broke out between *Nâro'ddawla Debais* and his brother *Abu Karâm Thâbet*, which was <sup>morable transf-</sup> soon followed by a peace. *Al Basârîrî*, *Thâbet's* ally, having received advice of the conclu- <sup>action of the</sup> sion of this treaty, returned to *Baghdâd*. These three commanders were *Emîrs* of the *Arabs*, <sup>year 425.</sup>

b going under the denomination of *Bani Asad* and *Bani Khafâjab*. The same year, *Romanus*, the *Græc* emperor, departed this life, according to *Abu'l Ferej* \*.

IN the 426th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Nov. 16th, 1034, *Soltân Mas'ûd*, <sup>Mas'ûd car-</sup> having proposed not only to recover, but even to extend, his father's conquests in *India*, <sup>ries his arms</sup> carried his arms into that country, where they were attended with the usual success. This <sup>into India;</sup> project was, however, carried into execution at this juncture, contrary to the sentiments of <sup>which gives</sup> the wisest part of his ministers, who advised him to drive the *Seljuks* out of his dominions, <sup>the Seljuks an</sup> before he undertook the *Indian* expedition. But he refusing to listen to such salutary advice, <sup>opportunity of</sup> *Mohammed* and *Dawûd*, the grandsons of *Seljuk*, known afterwards by the names of *Togrol*, <sup>conquering a</sup> *Bek* and *Jasfer Bek*, began to make inroads through *Khorasân*, and, before *Mas'ûd*, <sup>great part of</sup> returned out of *India*, in the year 428, had conquered a great part of that province, <sup>Khorasân, and</sup> together with the *Persian Irâk*, and driven both *Alâo'ddawla Abu Jasfer Ebn Cîcawiyab* and *Abu Salem Al Hamadânî* from their governments. According to *Erpenius's* MS. of *Al Makîn*, a letter was received, this year, from *Soltân Mahmûd* in *India*; where he gave an account of his having killed 50000 infidels, taken 70000 prisoners, and acquired a booty amounting to above 1000000 *dinârs*. But, as *Soltân Mahmûd* died, in the year of the *Hejra* 421, this must be a mistake. In the room, therefore, of *Al Soltân Yamîno'ddawla Mahmûd Ebn Sabektêkin*, we ought to substitute *Al Soltân Mas'ûd Ebn Yamîno'ddawla Mahmûd Ebn Sabektêkin*; which, as it renders the passage consistent with what has been delivered on this head by the other eastern historians, was undoubtedly the original read-

c ing. The *Seljuks*, that made an irruption into *Mas'ûd's* territories, this campaign, are called *Al Gaz*, or *Al Ghez*, by *Al Makîn*; which, in conjunction with what we have formerly observed from *Abu'l Faraj*, seems to imply, that *Seljuk* himself was of meaner extraction than some writers have thought fit to allow. Be that as it will, the author of the *Nigharijân* treats the *Seljukians* with great contempt; and seems to intimate that the *Gaz Turks*, or *Turkmâns*, from whom they were descended, had always been looked upon as a low and despicable tribe. It appears both from *Mirkhond* and *Al Makîn*, that *Mas'ûd* reduced to his obedience *Ferjân* and *Tabrejsân*, which had been subdued by his father *Mahmûd*, and therefore probably revolted against him some time before, the present year \*.

e THE *Sicilian Muslims*, according to *Al Kâdi Shakhaboddîn Ebn Abildam Al Hamawî*, being displeased with *Ahmed Ebn Tufef Al Akbali Tayedo'ddawla's* administration, sent a depu- <sup>The transac-</sup> tation to the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, to complain of his oppressive and tyrannical conduct, in the <sup>tions in</sup> year we are now upon. That prince, continues this author, excited thereto by their just <sup>Sicily, during</sup> complaints, sent an army into *Sicily*, to oblige the *Emîr* to redress all their grievances, and rule them for the future in a more equitable manner. *Al Akbali*, being besieged by the *Khalîf's* forces in the castle of *Al Kbalza* at *Palermo*, for some time defended himself with sufficient bravery; but being at last killed, those troops imagined themselves to have executed their master's orders. The *Sicilians*, however, who enabled them to carry their point, soon after attacked the *Africans*, put above 800 of them to the sword, and forced <sup>the year 426.</sup> the rest to abandon the island with the utmost precipitation. They then proceeded to the election of a new *Emîr*, and unanimously pitched upon *Al Hasan Samfîno'ddawla*, the brother of the last *Emîr*, to preside over the *Muslim* conquests in *Sicily*, during whose government, those territories were so harrassed by civil dissensions, that a way was thereby paved in a short time to the reduction of the whole island by the *Franks*. This we learn from *Abu Mohammed Abd'alazîz Ebn Sheddîd Tammî Al Sanhâjî*, the author of the *Akblâr Kairwân*, or the history of *Kairwân*; though, if *Abu'lfeaa*, who cites him, may be depended upon, he seems to have placed the events here mentioned in the following year. It appears from some of the *Christian* writers, that the emperor *Michael Pappalagon* sent an ambassador to this *Emîr* to make proposals for an accommodation to him, and that a

\* MIRKHOOND & D'HERBEEL. ubi sup. NASSIR AL TUFI & UNGER BEK, ubi sup.

\* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. MIRKHOOND, apud TEIGER. p. 292, 293. D'HERBEEL. ubi sup. & p. 300. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 266. AHMED BEN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJASER AL KARWÎN. in *Nigharijân*.



treaty of peace was concluded between these princes to their mutual satisfaction; which, as the *Emir* in all points conformed himself to the will of the emperor, so exasperated the *Sicilian Moslems*, especially the lower class of people, that they came to a resolution to depose him. His brother *Abu Caab*, taking advantage of the ferment occasioned by this disposition, endeavoured to seize upon the post of *Emir*. But being overthrown in a general action, to which *Samsamo'ddawla* had brought him, he applied to the *Khalif* of *Egypt* for assistance; which having obtained, he reduced his brother to such straits, that he found himself obliged to quit the island, and fly to *Constantinople*, in order to implore the protection of the emperor. That prince, who imagined himself to have now a fine prospect of recovering *Sicily*, treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and promised to support him in all his pretensions, against both his *African* and *Sicilian* enemies, to the utmost of his power <sup>a</sup>.

The principal events of the year 427.

THE 427th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Nov.* 5th, 1035, produced several memorable events; which we shall here beg leave just to touch upon. The *Seljuks* continued their progress in the reduction of the provinces of *Khorasän* and the *Persian Irak*, whilst *Soltän Mas'üd* was employed in the *Indian* war. The emperor *Michael* not being expeditious enough in supplying *Al Hasän Samsamo'ddawla* with a body of troops to reinstate him in the government of the *Moslem* part of *Sicily*, *Leo Opus*, the prefect of *Italy*, with a view of driving the infidels out of that island, attended him thither with all the forces he could in a short time assemble; and, being joined by *Al Hasän's* adherents, overthrew *Abu Caab* with very great slaughter. This obliged that *Emir* to fly into *Egypt*, and solicit succours of the *Fatimite Khalif*; who, being apprehensive that the civil dissensions in *Sicily* might prove fatal to the *Moslem* interest there, by his interposition, brought about a reconciliation between the two contending brothers. This obliged *Leo* to abandon the island, and retire to the continent of *Italy*. Soon after which, the emperor sent a large fleet, under the conduct of *Stephen*, his admiral, with a strong body of land forces on board, commanded by *George Maniaces*, to the coast of *Italy*, in order to invade *Sicily*. *Maniaces*, who had rendered himself famous by the victories he had gained over the infidels in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and was one of the greatest captains of the age, being joined by *Ducianus*, *Leo's* successor, resolved, notwithstanding what had lately happened, to make a descent in that island. Having, therefore, been reinforced by the *Lombard* and *Norman* troops then in the service of the princes of *Campania*, and a select corps under the command of *Michael* the patrician, surnamed *Sphronylus*, he set sail for *Sicily*, and arrived there about the time we are now upon. At first he met with an uninterrupted course of success in this expedition, took *Messina* and *Syracuse*, chiefly by the bravery of the *Norman* troops, and gave the infidels a most signal defeat in which they lost so many men, that the water of the *Renata*, near the banks of which river the battle was fought, was dyed red with the blood of the slain. But the *Normans* and *Lombards*, who were the flower of the *Christian* forces, having been afterwards disgusted by *Maniaces*, things took an unexpected turn. However, this victory put no less than thirteen places of strength into the conqueror's hands, and would have been followed by the surrender of all the other towns, had not the divisions in the *Christian* army hindered the production of so salutary an effect. This year, in the month of *Shaabän*, died at *Al Kabirah Al Thäher*, the *Säkeb*, or lord, of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and the fourth of the *Fatimite Khalifs*, after he had reigned fifteen years, and several months. He was succeeded by *Abu Tamim Ma'bed*, his son, who assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Asfarer Billah*, and sat on the *Fatimite* throne about sixty years. He was born at *Al Kabirah*, the 24th of *Dhu'l-kajja*, in the year of the *Hejra* 420, and consequently was not seven years old, at the time of his father's death, according to *Al Makin*. Some authors, however, make him to have been near nine years old, when that event happened. Be that as it will, he has been represented as a prince who had a taste for poetry, who governed his subjects with uncommon prudence and moderation, and who was enabled by his sagacity and address to detect many conspiracies that had been formed against him <sup>a</sup>.

The chief transactions of the year 428.

THE following year, being the 428th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Oct.* 25th, 1036, *Soltän Mas'üd* returned from his *Indian* expedition to *Gazna*, but found the *Seljuks* grown so powerful by the acquisition of *Khorasän* and the *Persian Irak*, that he had reason to repent his not having listened to the advice given him by the wisest of his ministers, before he

<sup>a</sup> AL KADI SHAHABU'DDIN BEN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in lib. *Asmodf.* ubi sup. JOAN. CUROPALAT. & GEORG. CEDREN. in Mich. Paph. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 336. & ad ann. Hej. 426. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. Saracenicar. rer. epit. p. 106, 107. Panormi, 1720. <sup>a</sup> MIREHODD, apud Teixeira. p. 292, 293. KHONDEMIR, LOBB AL TAWARIKH, CUROPALAT. & CEDREN. ubi sup. D'HARBEEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 562, 633. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. 107, 108. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 266, 267. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. 2d ann. Hej. 427. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL MAERIZI, EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 417, 418.



- a. undertook that expedition. He was therefore, obliged to set on foot a considerable army, in order to march against these *Turks*, who were now become formidable to him. About the same time the *Norman* and *Lombard* troops in *Sicily* having been refused their share of the spoil, which fell into the hands of the *Christians*, after the late victory gained over the infidels near the banks of the *Remata*, by *Maniaces*, the imperial general, they deputed *Aldoinus*, a *Lombard* officer, to carry their complaints to that general. But no regard being paid to these complaints, they desired leave to retire; which being granted them, they returned to the continent of *Italy*, seized upon *Melfi*, or *Amalfi*, and several of the neighbouring provinces. Not content with this, they ravaged the country they had occupied in a dreadful manner; which *Maniaces* having received advice, he crossed the straits
- b of *Reggio* with a select body of his forces, to chastise the deserters, as he called these injured troops, and make them pay dear for their temerity and presumption. But, contrary to his expectation, he met with a defeat; which obliged him to leave them in possession of all the territory they had conquered, and make the best of his way to *Sicily*, to prevent the *Moslems*, who had received a reinforcement from *Africa*, from over-running that whole island. We must not forget to remark, that great confusion at this time reigned amongst the *Moslems*, who still were agitated by civil dissensions, in *Spain*. *Mirkhond* writes, that *Abu'l Ganjar*, or *Abu Câlîjâr*, reduced to his obedience the large province of *Tabrestân*, which had so lately been subdued by *Soltân Mas'ûd*, the present year <sup>b</sup>.

- THE same year, died at *Hamadân* in the *Persian Irâk*, the famous *Abu Ali Al Hosein* The famous Ebn Sinâ, or
- c *Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Sinâ* called generally by the *Moslems* *Ebn Sinâ*, by the *Arabizing Jews* Ebn Sinâ, or *Aben Sina*, and by the *Christians* corruptly *Avicenna*. This most celebrated physician and Avicenna, dies, in the year of the Hejra 428. philosopher was born in the city of *Bokbâra*, or rather the village of *Afsbana*, at a small distance from that place, in the year of the *Hejra* 370; though his father, according to his own relation, was a native of *Balkh*. By that time he was ten years old, he had learned the *Korân* by heart, made a great progress in the *belles lettres*, and studied *Euclid* and *Ptolemy's Almagest*. After he had completed his tenth year, his father sent him to a gardener, or seller of herbs, to learn arithmetic, according to the *Indian* method of computing; the *Indian* figures, or arithmetical characters, beginning at this time to be in vogue amongst the *Arabs*. He was afterwards instructed in the rudiments of logic at *Bokbâra*,
- d by *Abu Abd'allah Al Nâbeli*, whom his father took into his house for that purpose. He then applied himself to the study of physic, and soon attained to a surprizing skill in it; insomuch that he had read many physical writers, and performed a vast number of cures, when he was but sixteen years of age. The next year and half he spent intirely in reading. When any abstruse and intricate point, that puzzled him, occurred, he went directly to the mosque, and never ceased offering up his prayers to God there, 'till this was cleared up to him. He both read and wrote much in the night time, with a lamp before him, and when his spirits began to flag, he drank a glass of wine; which greatly revived him. Many problems that had posed him in his waking hours, were solved to him in his dreams. When he had in a manner finished his studies in physic, logic, natural philosophy, and
- e mathematics, he proceeded to metaphysics and theology. In the former of which sciences he pursued, with great attention, one of the best authors then extant; but found him absolutely unintelligible, before some light was thrown upon him by an excellent piece of the famous *Abu Nasr Al Firâbi*, whose writings he vastly admired. In fine, this prodigy of learning had made himself master of every branch of useful literature, every noble science, cultivated in that age, when he entered upon his nineteenth year. His father then dying, he travelled into *Jorjân* and *Dabestân*; in the latter of which provinces, he had a severe fit of sickness. After his recovery, he returned to *Jorjân*, and composed there, according to *Abu Obeidah Al Jûzjâni*, the first book of his *Al Kânûn*, his abridgment of the *Almagest*, and other pieces held in good esteem. From thence he went to *Kazwîn*, and afterwards to
- f *Hamadân*; where *Codbanawiya*, or *Corbanawiya*, the *Sâheb*, or prince, of that city, advanced him to the dignity of *Wazîr*. But the soldiery, being afraid of him, at last plundered his palace, dragged him to prison, and endeavoured to prevail upon *Shamsô'ddawla* to put him to death. He was, however, afterwards reinstated in the office of *Wazîr*; though he declined accepting of that sublime post, when it was offered to him by *Shamsô'ddawla's* son. He then shut himself up in the house of one *Abu Gâleb*, an apothecary, where he finished the system of metaphysics and natural philosophy contained in the *Kitâb Al Shefâ*, except the two books treating of vegetables and animals. After this, he wrote privately to *Shamsô'ddawla*, and desired he might be permitted to live with him; which being discovered, he was conducted, as a prisoner, to the castle of *Berdawân*, under an escorte. Here he remained, in a state of confinement, about four months, after the expiration of which term, he was brought back to *Hamadân*; from whence he found means to escape to *Esfa-*

<sup>b</sup> MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL, & CARUS. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. cap. XLVII. p. 57. MOL. HIST. VOL. I



*hân*, in the habit of a *Sîfi*. Here he met with a reception from *Alâo'ddawla* worthy of a his superior merit, and put the last hand to several of his learned works. He had naturally an excellent constitution; but impaired it by wine and venery, to which he was extremely addicted. Having a most acute fit of the cholic, in order to accelerate the cure of it, he had eight clysters injected into his bowels in one day; which occasioned an exulceration of the intestines, from whence proceeded an excoriation, that was followed by an epilepsy. This, which is pretty frequently an attendant of the cholic, so weakened him, that for some time he could not rise; though at last, by the application of medicines, which he ordered for himself, he was able to walk. However, he was never afterwards thoroughly well. Not long after this attack, he accompanied *Alâo'ddawla* to *Hamadân*; but was seized upon the road with the same distemper, and continued very ill till he arrived at that city. There he languished several days, during which he took no physic, finding his strength not sufficient to struggle with the disease, and then expired. Both *Ebn Sînâ* and *Al Fârâbi*, his master, having been accused by *Al Ghazâlî* of falling into impiety; as they paid a higher regard to the sentiments of the philosophers, than to the principles and decisions of the *Korân*. Nevertheless, if we will believe *Ebn Shohnah*, many of the *Moslem* doctors maintained, that *Ebn Sînâ* was sensible of his error, and returned into the right way, a little before his death. The author of the *Nighbâristân* relates, that *Soltân Mahmûd Gazni*, having been informed, that the court of *Mâmûn*, king of *Khowârazm*, was adorned with a large number of learned men, who had distinguished themselves by their knowledge in the sciences, amongst whom was *Ebn Sînâ*, had the curiosity to desire to see them. He, therefore, dispatched several couriers to *Mâmûn*, to beg that he would give them leave to come to his residence in *Khorasân*. Most of these doctors, by *Mâmûn*'s permission, resolved to wait upon *Soltân Mahmûd*; but *Ebn Sînâ* constantly refused to accompany them. However, being obliged to leave the court of *Khowârazm*, instead of taking the route of *Khorasân*, he made the best of his way to *Jorjân*; which so exasperated *Soltân Mahmûd*, that he sent portraits of him into all parts, in order to have him known and put under arrest; but without effect. For, he escaped to *Jorjân*, where he performed many wonderful cures. He had not been long there, before *Kâbus*, king of the country, having heard of his fame, ordered him to attend a nephew of his, who was afflicted with a malady which none of the court physicians could make any thing of. *Ebn Sînâ* had no sooner felt his pulse and examined his urine, than he judged his disorder to proceed from love, and to be the effect of a violent passion for some lady which he had concealed from the king, his uncle. In order to be satisfied in this point, he desired to see the keeper of the palace; and begged, that, whilst he was studying the pulse of his patient, he would name to him all the rooms and apartments of that fine house. The keeper readily complied with this request, and amongst others named one particular apartment, the mention of which occasioned an extraordinary emotion of the disorder. This being perceived by *Ebn Sînâ*, he asked the names of the persons who lodged there; and, when that of one of them, who was a lady, came to be mentioned, observed the pulse he was feeling to beat so violently, that he entertained not the least doubt, but the love of that amiable object had reduced his patient to the extremity in which he found him. He then publicly declared, that there was no other cure for him, than the possession of the person he so tenderly loved. *Kâbus*, having been informed of this discovery, had the curiosity to see his nephew's physician; and, as he had by him one of the portraits dispersed by *Mahmûd* over all the neighbouring provinces, he presently knew him to be the celebrated *Ebn Sînâ*. He then greatly caressed him, made him many valuable presents, and by no means obliged him to go to *Soltân Mahmûd*'s court. The same writer has likewise told us, that the learned men of the city of *Shîràz*, in the province of *Fârs*, having read *Ebn Sînâ*'s logical and metaphysical work, intitled, *Kitâb Al Mantihaki*, with the utmost attention, drew up a list of the objections they had to offer to the doctrine therein maintained and sent it by *Abu'l Kasem Al Kermâni* to *Esfahân*, where *Ebn Sînâ* chose then to reside. *Al Kermâni* having spent the best part of the night in conversation with *Ebn Sînâ*, upon his arrival at *Esfahân*, retired; and *Ebn Sînâ*, instead of going to bed, went into his study, and set about an answer to those objections with so much application, that he finished it, and put it into the hands of *Al Kermâni*, very early the next morning, who immediately posted away with it to *Shîràz*. The doctors there were so charmed with this answer, and so surprized at *Ebn Sînâ*'s wonderful diligence, and unparalleled quickness of parts, that their former high idea of his transcendent merit was thereby greatly heightened, and they now adored him even much more than they had ever done before. This answer is not to be found in the compilation of *Ebn Sînâ*'s works printed at *Rome*; nor is the treatise of logic in that collection any thing more than an abridgment of a larger work, which he had composed. He is said to have written his own life; though this has been done in a much more ample and copious manner by *Abu Obeidab Al Jûzjâni*, whom we have already had occasion to cite.

He



- a He observes, that *Ebn Sînâ* was first physician, and afterwards *Wazîr* to *Majdô'ddawla*, a *Soltân* of the house of *Bûiyya*; but that he was dispossessed of his office, on account of his attachment to wine and women. He was very unfortunate, according to this author, in the latter part his life; having been frequently obliged to change the place of his abode, for the safety of his person. He laboured under a complication of distempers, and particularly the cholic, as we have before remarked; which induced a certain poet, who made his epitaph, to say, that neither his books wisdom, or philosophy, could teach him morality, nor his treatises in physic the art of preserving his own health. One of his learned cotemporaries was *Abu'l Rikân Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Bîrûni*, an excellent astronomer and mathematician, who was extremely well versed in most kinds of literature, b cultivated both by the *Indians* and the *Greeks*. He lived many years in *India*, conversed much with the philosophers there, learned the sciences in the highest esteem among them, and taught them the method of philosophizing amongst the *Greeks*. He wrote many pieces, full of profound erudition; though he shone most in astronomy, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The principal of *Ebn Sînâ's* works was his *Al Kânûn*, which has been abridged and explained by *Sa'id Ebn Hebetallah*, by *Râzi*, and by another *Arab* author. His tutor, or instructor, in the art of physic was *Abu Sabl*, a *Christian*, famous for a treatise, or system, he published, intituled, *Me'yab-Kitâb*, that is *an hundred books*. He was extremely well versed in logic, as well as physic, and every other branch of antient literature. He was held in the highest veneration amongst the people of *Khorasân*; and died, when c he was about forty years of age. To what has been said, in relation to *Ebn Sînâ*, we shall only add, that he had also a taste for poetry, and wrote a poem, during his confinement in the castle of *Berdawân*; a distich of which, as well as some short memoirs of his life, said to be penned by himself, has been preserved by *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>c</sup>.

- In the 429th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Oâ. 14th, 1037, *Soltân Mas'ûd* marched at the head of a powerful army against the *Seljuks*, who had possessed themselves of so considerable a part of his dominions. *Mikâyyel*, *Mikbâyyel*, or *Mikaïl*, *Ebn Seljûk*, the prince, or leader, of these *Turks*, dying a little before the year we are now upon, they put themselves under the command of his son, *Abu Tâleb Mohammed*, surnamed *Togrol Beg*, or *Togrûl Bek*, the *Tangrolipax*, or rather *Tangrolipex*, of the *Greek* writers. This prince receiving advice of *Mas'ûd's* approach, led his troops against the *Soltân*, in order to give him battle; and, at last coming d up with him, attacked him with so much bravery that he intirely defeated him, and pursued him to *Tûs*. He then laid siege to that place, and took it. *Tûs* being the first city that fell into the hands of the *Seljuks*, *Togrol Bek* assembled all his forces there, and fortified it. After this, he advanced to *Nisâbûr*, about twelve parasangs from *Tûs*, a place, according to *Hamdalla*, of great antiquity, and one of the principal cities of *Khorasân*; which, as no enemy appeared to oppose him, he easily made himself master of. This blow obliged *Soltân Mas'ûd*, who has the prænomen of *Abu Sa'id* given him by *Al Makîn*, to retire to *Gazna*, and abandon the most considerable part of *Khorasân* to the *Seljukian Turks*; who thereupon proclaimed *Togrol Bek* sovereign of the tract he had conquered, at *Nisâbûr*. However, he seems not to have been inaugurated in form, at least this must be allowed, if we pay e any regard to the authority of *Al Makîn*, before the following year <sup>d</sup>.

- AFTER *Togrol Bek's* authority had been recognized at *Nisâbûr*, according to some of the eastern writers, followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, he sent his brother, *Jaafar Bek*, to subdue the city and districts of *Herât*, or *Heri*, the *Aria* of the antients, situated in a salubrious part of *Khorasân*, to the S. W. of *Balkh*; which being soon effected, *Togrol Bek* placed one of his uncles over the new conquests, in order to govern them. In the meantime, he advanced himself with another body of troops to *Merû*; which he made himself master of, and established there his royal seat. This was followed by some regulations, which suppressed all the disorders that had for a long time reigned in *Khorasân*. We must not forget to remark, that *Togrol Beg* is called *Rucno'ddin*, or *Rocno'ddin*, *Abu Tâleb* f *Togrol Bek Mohammed Ebn Mikâyyel Ebn Seljûk* by *Abu'l Faraj*. The districts, or prefectures, of *Herât*, as we are informed by *Abu'lfeda*, were the towns of *Carûkh*, or *Crokh*, *Mâlin*, *Kharjerd*, and *Bûshbekh*, with their dependencies; all which were reduced to the obedience of *Togrol Beg*, or *Bek*, by his brother, *Jaafar Bek*, this campaign <sup>e</sup>.

THE same year, *Soltân Mas'ûd Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekin* assembled all his forces to drive the *Seljuks* out of his dominions; but the two brothers, *Togrol Bek* and *Jaafar* <sup>and overthrew</sup> *Mas'ûd*.

<sup>c</sup> AL JUZJANI, apud GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 352. 353. Not. MS. ad Abû'l Far. ubi sup. p. 350. apud JOAN SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxoniens. ut & ipse ABU'L FAR. ibid p. 349—355. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sina*, p. 812, 813.

<sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 267, 268. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Selgiuki*, p. 801. HAMDALLA, NICEPH. ERYEN. GEORG. CEDREN. histor. compend. p. 767, 768. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185—190.

<sup>e</sup> D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Togrul Beg*, p. 1027. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 343. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 179.



*Bek*, having also collected their troops, after an exceeding bloody battle, gained so complete a victory, that *Mas'ûd* found he had no farther business in *Köras*. It may not be improper to remark, that *Jaasar Bek* is called *Jakar Bek Dawd* by *Al Makin*; and that *Jakar* is only a corruption of *Jaasar*, arising from the identity of character of the *Fa* and the *Kif*, the different powers of the element representing them being absolutely determined by the different diacritical points <sup>f</sup>.

What hap-  
pened now in  
Sicily.

ABOUT the time that we are now upon, the *Sicilian Moslems*, having been reinforced by a body of fresh troops from *Africa*, took the field with an army of 10000 men. *Maniaces*, the imperial general, no wise terrified by their great numbers, drew up his forces in order of battle, and made the necessary dispositions for an engagement. *Omar*, an *African Emîr*, who commanded the *Moslems*, had ordered caltrops to be thrown upon the spot between the two camps, in order to annoy the enemy's horse. But *Maniaces*, by covering the horses' hoofs with iron plates, rendered abortive his design. The *Christian* and *Moslem* armies had not long been in sight of each other before a general action ensued, in which the latter, notwithstanding their vast superiority in point of numbers, were overthrown with incredible slaughter; the field of battle, and all the ground near the scene of action, being strewed with their dead bodies. In fine, this victory seemed to *Maniaces* so complete, that he looked upon himself as master of *Sicily*, and now so sure of destroying all the *Moslems* then in the island, that he had most earnestly desired *Stephen*, the imperial admiral, not to suffer any of them to escape in their ships. But, soon after, to his unspeakable grief, he received certain advice, that *Omar* the *African* general was safe on board one of his own ships, and the *Moslem* fleet stationed in a place where none of the *Christian* ships could come at them. This so incensed *Maniaces*, that he expostulated with *Stephen* in very sharp terms; which that admiral took extremely ill, and accused *Maniaces* to the emperor, to whom he was nearly related, of a design to arrogate to himself the sovereignty of the whole island he was at that time endeavouring to wrest out of the hands of the infidels. This accusation produced the desired effect; the emperor commanding *Maniaces* to be deprived of his post, put under arrest, and sent with an escorte to *Constantinople*, as a criminal. *Stephen* himself was appointed to succeed him, though he was neither famous for his bravery nor conduct. After him came one *Basilius*, an eunuch, intirely void of all military skill, but indolent, cowardly, proud, and covetous, to the last degree. At length *Michael*, the governor of *Apulia*, was sent to act at the head of the imperial forces in *Sicily* against the infidels; under whose inauspicious conduct, all *Maniaces*'s conquests were lost, except *Messina*, which bravely defended itself against the combined army of the *Sicilian Christians*, the *Sicilian Moslems*, and the *Africans*, as from our subsequent relation of the state of affairs in this part of the world will more fully appear <sup>g</sup>.

Mas'ûd is de-  
feated again  
by the Seljûks.

THE next year, being the 430th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Oct.* 3d, 1038, *Soltân Mas'ûd*, who, after his late defeat, had retired to *Gazna*, set out from thence for *Ferjân* with a body of troops that attended him. On his march, he was informed, that a highwayman, who had committed many outrages in that neighbourhood, had taken post in a castle, at a small distance from him, with an hundred men. *Mas'ûd*, finding the fortress capable of sustaining a siege, promised them a pardon, and the secure possession of all their properties and effects, if they would surrender it to him. To this proposal the gang and their leader readily listened; but *Mas'ûd*, having gotten them into his hands, ordered them all to be hanged, alleging that no faith was to be kept with such enormous and abandoned malefactors. He had not pursued his march much farther, before he was met by deputies from several towns, sent to him to complain of the tyranny of *Nûr Takîn*, the governor of *Balkh*. *Mas'ûd*, being irritated at his oppressive and iniquitous administration, moved towards him, though in a hard frost; but, when advanced about half way, turned back against *Dawd Seljûk*, or rather *Dawd Al Seljûki*, a *Turkish* commander, then on his route to *Balkh*, with considerable forces, to assist *Nûr Takîn*. Of which the latter of these generals being apprized, he led all the troops he could assemble against the *Soltân*, fell on his rear, and took most of his baggage. But, notwithstanding this, *Mas'ûd* continued his march 'till he came up with *Dawd Al Seljûki*, whom he charged with great vigour, though with very indifferent success. For, being overthrown by him, he fled to *Gazna*; where he put to death many of the *Turks*, who served under him, because they had misbehaved in the battle. After this, he set on foot another army, and gave the command of it to *Mawdûd*, his son; whom he ordered to advance on the side of *Balkh*, not only to chastise *Nûr Takîn*, but likewise to defend that frontier, which seemed to be threatened with a visit from the *Turks*. *Mawdûd* was attended by *Abu Nasr Ahmed*, *Mas'ûd*'s *Wazîr*, in this expedition. <sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. *Al Makin*, ubi sup. p. 267.  
CARUS. ubi sup. p. 108, 109.

<sup>g</sup> CUROPALAT. & CEDREN. JOAN. BAPTIST.



- a The *Soltân* having formed a plan of operations for *Mawdûd*, and settled every thing to his intire satisfaction at *Gazna*, released *Mohammed*, his brother, whom he had deprived of his sight, out of prison, and took him, as well as his whole family, with him into *India*, where he proposed to extend the conquests that had been formerly made. But; the following winter, he found himself obliged to quit that vast region, and turn off towards the city of *Balkh*, in order to defend himself against the *Seljuks*, who grew stronger and stronger every day in the neighbourhood of that place. Being arrived upon the banks of the *Sind*, called *Pang Ab* by the *Persians*, or the *Indus*, he passed that river, with his favourites, and left his equipage and treasures, together with *Mohammed*, his brother, under the direction of *Mûs Takîn*, or, as he is denominated by M. D'Herbelot, *Tusef Ebn Pûs*
- b *Takîn*, one of his generals, on the other side. *Mûs Takîn*, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity of aggrandizing himself, seized upon those treasures, and divided the better part of them amongst the troops attached to his interest. The revolvers, having committed this insolence, proclaimed *Mohammed* for their *Soltân*; upon which, *Mas'ûd* betook himself to flight, to avoid falling into their hands. But he was so closely pursued, that he found it impossible to escape. Being, therefore, made a prisoner, he was conducted to *Mohammed*; who, at his own request, confined him, together with the principal officers that could not be prevailed upon to desert him, in the fortress of *Kobra Kebir*. Thither he was sent under a strong escorte, and supplied with what necessaries he wanted. His brother, however, when this unfortunate prince took his leave of him, and desired some money
- c of him, could not be induced to give him more than 500 *dirhems*; though the person who brought him from *Mohammed* that trifling sum, commiserating his unhappy condition, made him a present, according to *Mirkbond*, of 1500 *dinârs* <sup>a</sup>.

- THE commencing of the *Seljukian* dynasty is placed by *Al Makîn* in the year we are now upon. He makes *Togrol Bek* to have been the first *Soltân* of this dynasty; though his grandfather, *Seljuk Ebn Dekâk*, was the founder of it. *Dekâk*, *Seljuk's* father, according to this author, being a person of great wisdom and valour, was consulted by the king of the *Turks* on all emergent occasions, and carried with him in the wars he waged against the *Turkish* tribes that were independent on him. He was the first of the family who embraced *Mohammedism*. *Seljuk* being of age, when his father died, the king assigned him the command of all his forces; but afterwards apprehending himself to be in danger from his crafty disposition, he resolved to kill him. This being suspected by *Seljuk*, he fled to *Harûn Sababo'ddawla*, or rather, according to the text of *Al Makîn*, *Shahabo'ddawla*, king of *Al Jâbia*, and desired assistance of him, to conquer the country of the infidel *Turks*. *Harûn*, in compliance with his request, furnished him with a numerous army, to enable him to execute his design. But, coming to a general action with those infidels, he was slain by one of them, when he was 107 years old. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that *Seljuk*, whose father's name was *Dekâk*, was chief of one of the principal families of *Turkestan*; that, being followed by a vast number of friends and relations, the king of the *Turks* grew jealous of him, and obliged him to depart his dominions; that upon this he settled; and embraced *Islamism*, at *Joud*, one of the dependencies of the city of *Bokhâra*, in *Mawarânu'n-nahr*; and from thence he continually made incursions upon the infidel *Turks*, during the whole course of his life. He also agrees with *Al Makîn*, in relation to the number of years *Seljuk* lived. *Kbondemîr* informs us, that *Seljuk* was the son of *Dekâk*, chief officer of *Bigû*, prince of those *Turkish* tribes which inhabited the plains of *Khozâr*, or *Kipchâk*, to the north of the *Caspian* sea; that *Dekâk* was so renowned, among his countrymen, for his extraordinary wisdom and valour, that they gave him the surname of *Tazialig*, which signifies a strong bow, and hard to manage; that after *Dekâk's* death, *Bigû* took care to educate *Seljuk* in a proper manner, surnamed him *Bâssâshi*, that is, chief, or captain, and heaped favours upon him; that *Seljuk*, being afterwards apprized of *Bigû's* intention to punish him for his insolence, in presuming to enter the secret apartment of the palace, in order to see *Bigû's* women and children there, retired from court, passed the *Sihûn* with all his adherents, moved towards *Samarkand*, and routed in several engagements *Belîl Khân*, governor of that city, who pretended to oppose him; and that the advantages gained by him on this occasion, particularly one he obtained by means of an ambuscade, laid the foundation of his future greatness, and enabled him to present himself before *Bokhâra*, where he was very well received. We find scarce any thing in *Mirkbond*, as translated, or rather abridged, by *Teixeira*, relating to this prince. Of his sons *Mikâyyel*, or *Mikaël*, made the principal figure, and resided, for some time, in *Mawarânu'n-nahr*, where great numbers of *Turks* resorted to him, and pitched upon him from their general, according to *Al Makîn*. When *Soltân Alimûd Ebn Sabuktêkin* crossed the *Jihûn*, with an army to assist *Warar Khân*, king of *Mawarânu'n-nahr*, *Mikaël* went to salute that conqueror; who, admiring his courage, and the submission his family paid to him, intreated him to remain about his person, and at his

<sup>a</sup> Mirkbond, apud Teixeira, p. 293, 294. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 562, 563.



return to accept the government of *Khorasân*, in order to defend it against all foreign a invaders. On *Mikaël's* declining the *Soltân's* offer, *Mahmûd*, enraged, sent him in chains to prison, and after his return to his dominions, still kept him confined. Notwithstanding which, his troops and family followed the *Soltân*, and by his appointment, settled in the plains of *Khorasân*. However, *Mahmûd* afterwards repented of this false step, and was afraid it would prove fatal to his family. Nor did he, as it should seem, conceal his apprehensions from his sons; as *Mas'ûd*, one of them, attacked *Mikaël Ebn Seljûk*, defeated him, and took a considerable number of his men prisoners. The *Seljûks* nevertheless twice overthrew *Soltân Mas'ûd*, about the time that we are now upon, if any credit in this point is to be given to *Al Makîn*. It has been already observed, that *Togrol Bek* was inaugurated, according to that writer, the present year <sup>i</sup>.

The principal occurrences in Sicily, this year.

THIS year, if we will believe *Al Kâdi Shababo'ddin Ebn Abildam Al Hamawi*, the Moslem affairs in Sicily were in the utmost confusion; some factious person or other setting up for himself, in most of the principal cities, fortresses, and towns, of the Mohammedan part of that island. Amongst these, one *Abd'allah* possessed himself of *Trapani*, and other neighbouring places. *Ali Ebn Kema* seized upon *Castro Giovanni*, or *Enna Gurgenti*, or *Agrigentum*, and other towns not very remote from them. *Ebn Al Thamâm* claimed to himself *Catana* and *Syracuse*, to which he annexed several districts, that formed a pretty considerable state. This was occasioned by the Sicilian Christians, who, being displeased with the Greek governor's administration, took up arms, and joined the Moslems, who, notwithstanding the overthrow lately mention, found means to receive a reinforcement from Africa, and enabled them to recover all the conquests of *Maniaces*, except *Messina*, or *Messana*, which was defended by *Catacalus Combustus*, posted therein with a body of Armenian troops. The Moslems, notwithstanding the intestine war, which had so lately raged amongst them, being grown superior to the Christians, laid siege to this city; which they pushed on with great vigour, during the space of four months, but without effect. For, the Armenians, and the other troops in garrison with them, destroyed abundance of their men, and at last forced them to abandon the siege. The immediate cause of which was a vigorous sally made by *Catacalus*, with 500 foot, and 300 horse; in which that brave commander penetrated to the Moslem camp, surprized the besiegers, then celebrating one of their festivals, killed *Abu'l Afar*, their general, and put a vast number of them to the sword. This so disheartened them, that they betook themselves to a shameful flight; upon which their tents, treasure, baggage, provisions, and military stores, fell into the hands of the besieged, who immediately took possession of their camp. After this unexpected blow, either by the civil dissensions that reigned amongst them, with regard to the election of a new *Emîr*, or the ambition of many of their seditious leaders, all of whom aspired at the supreme dignity, the Sicilian Moslems were split into a variety of factions; several of those leaders assuming to themselves the sovereignty of the most powerful and opulent cities, as has been just related here. The Greeks, therefore, at this juncture, had they pursued their victory, might easily have driven the Moslems out of Sicily. But *Michael Paphlagon*, or the *Paphlagonian*, dying, according to some writers, followed by *Carusius*, the very same year in which *Abu'l Afar* was killed, and being succeeded by *Michael Caiaphates*, in whose short reign, the Constantinopolitan court was hindered from undertaking any expedition, by the universal disaffection which then prevailed, and terminated in the deposition of that prince; the Moslems not only retook *Messina*, but soon after reduced the whole island to the obedience of either the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, or the Sicilian *Emîr*. However, before many years were elapsed, the Normans, under the conduct of the famous *Roger Guiscard*, styled by the European historians *Roger I.* king, or rather count, of Sicily, finally expelled them from thence, to the inexpressible regret of the whole Mohammedan world <sup>k</sup>.

Al Haithem dies.

EITHER this or the following year, *Abu Ali Ebn Al Haithem*, a celebrated geometrician of *Basra*, died at *Al Kâbirah*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. This profound mathematician pretended to have formed a scheme to render *Egypt* fruitful, in whatever state the *Nile* might be; of which *Al Hâkem*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, being informed, he sent for him to *Al Kâbirah*, and treated him with great marks of distinction there. *Ebn Al Haithem*, in order to try whether his scheme was practicable, traversed the whole land of *Egypt*, and came to a place called *Al Janadel*, beyond *Afwân*, near the cataracts of the *Nile*, and on the borders of *Ethiopia*. But, finding he could not carry his design into execution, he took upon him to personate a fool, to avoid the effects of *Al Hâkem's* resentment; which he very much dreaded, as that *Khalîf* had furnished him with every thing which he judged

<sup>i</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 267, 268. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEM'R, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârîkh*, sive *Lubb Al Tawârîkh*, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 801. <sup>k</sup> AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in lib. cui tit. *Asmo'f*. CUROPALAT. & CEDREN NILUS, apud Joan. Baptist. Carus. ubi sup. ut & ipse JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ibid. & p. 110.



- a necessary for the execution of his project. After *Al Hâkem's* death; he laid aside the part he had acted, and spent the remainder of his days in the service of Almighty God, and works of learning. He is said to have composed several pieces upon geometrical subjects, and to have transcribed three books, in a very beautiful hand, and most correct manner, every year; for each of which copies, as soon as he began writing it, a purchaser was always ready, who engaged to pay him for it, without making any words, 150 *Egyptian dinârs*. Two of his cotemporaries were *Abu Ali Isa Ebn Zara'a*, a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* sect, one of the principal logicians of *Baghdâd*, and *Mansûr Ebn Mokshbar*, called likewise *Abu'l Fetab*, or *Abu'l Fatab*, by religion a *Christian*, an *Egyptian* physician of exceeding great note. *Abu Ali Isa Ebn Zara'a* translated several authors out of *Syriac* into *Arabic*, and died, in the year of the *Hejra* 398. *Mansûr Ebn Mokshbar* was held in high esteem by *Al Aziz*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, whom he served in the capacity of physician, as appears from one of that prince's letters to him, couched in the most friendly terms, which has been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. He attended also *Al Hâkem*, *Al Aziz's* son, in the same quality; though neither he nor any other of the court physicians could cure a tumour in *Al Hâkem's* foot. This notwithstanding all their efforts to carry it off, grew every day worse and worse; till it was at last removed by a *Jewish* surgeon, who had lived in great obscurity before. For the surprizing cure he had performed, the *Khalîf* made him one of his physicians, gave him the surname of *Al Hakîr Al Nâfe'*, that is, *the useful poor man*, sent him a sumptuous robe, and made him a present of 1000 *dinârs*<sup>1</sup>.
- b It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Soltân Mas'ûd* moved at the head of his forces from *Soltân Mas'ûd* *Gazna* to *Balkh*, and expelled the *Seljuks* from *Khorasân*, the present year; though this, it must be owned, seems to run counter to what has been advanced on that head by *Al Makin*. For, it can scarce be doubted, but the expedition mentioned by the former of those authors, in the passage here referred to, must be the same with that which has a place assigned it by the latter of them amongst the principal events of the following year. We must not forget to observe, that *Sabt Ebn Wathâb Al Nomeiri*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Harrân*, commanded all his subjects to omit the name of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, and pronounce that of *Al Kayem Beamri'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, in all the mosques to which they repaired, to perform their devotions, before the close of the year we are now upon<sup>m</sup>.
- c It appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Soltân Mas'ûd* moved at the head of his forces from *Soltân Mas'ûd* *Gazna* to *Balkh*, and expelled the *Seljuks* from *Khorasân*, the present year; though this, it must be owned, seems to run counter to what has been advanced on that head by *Al Makin*. For, it can scarce be doubted, but the expedition mentioned by the former of those authors, in the passage here referred to, must be the same with that which has a place assigned it by the latter of them amongst the principal events of the following year. We must not forget to observe, that *Sabt Ebn Wathâb Al Nomeiri*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Harrân*, commanded all his subjects to omit the name of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, and pronounce that of *Al Kayem Beamri'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, in all the mosques to which they repaired, to perform their devotions, before the close of the year we are now upon<sup>m</sup>.

d In the 431st year of the *Hejra*, which began *Sept.* 22d, 1039, *Soltân Mas'ûd*, having raised a considerable army, marched against *Togrol Bek*, and put him to flight; killing a great number of his men, and taking some of them prisoners, with their arms. This we learn from *Al Makin*; so that, if his authority in the point before us is to be depended upon, notwithstanding what may seem to be intimated to the contrary by *Mirkhond*, *Mas'ûd* could not have been deposed the preceding year<sup>n</sup>.

e THE next year, being the 432d of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Sept.* 11th, 1040, *Togrol Bek* returned to *Nisâbûr*, from whence he had been driven the foregoing year, and *Soltân Mas'ûd* fled at his approach to *Gazna*; upon which, the *Seljuks* possessed themselves of the whole province of *Khorasân*. *Togrol Bek*, having now no enemy to oppose him, seems to have treated the inhabitants of that province in a cruel manner, as an incredible number of people were slain on this occasion, according to *Al Makin*<sup>o</sup>.

f ABOUT the same time, *Abu Sentakin*, an eunuch of the city of *Balkh*, engaged some of the servants of the court to secure by violence *Soltân Mas'ûd*, and replace upon the throne *Mohammed*, his brother, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*. After this revolution, *Mohammed* ordered *Mas'ûd* to be brought before him, and upon that prince's appearing in his presence, said, "Chuse what place you please for your residence, that I may send you and your family thither." Having, therefore, pitched upon the castle of *Kobra*, he was conducted to that fortress, together with his wife and children, under an escorte. This was no sooner done, than *Abmed*, *Mohammed's* son, desired his father to lend him the royal, or imperial, signet, in order to seal up with it some treasures, that he had amassed; but having obtained it, he sent his servants with it to the castle of *Kobra*, where *Mas'ûd* was confined. Upon their arrival there, they immediately produced this, and told the governor they had a particular message to deliver to *Mas'ûd*; when being admitted into his apartment, in obedience to *Abmed's* command, they assassinated that unfortunate prince. This barbarity reaching the ears of *Mawdûd*, *Mas'ûd's* son, who was then in *Khorasân*; he immediately marched with a powerful army to *Gazna*, overthrew in a great battle his uncle *Mohammed*, and took him prisoner, together with *Abmed*, his son, and *Abu Sentakin*, the eunuch of *Balkh*, who had been the principal person concerned in the deposition of his father. Having now got *Mohammed* and his whole family into his hands, as well as the

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 338—342. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 422. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 104, 105.

<sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 343. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 268.

MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 268. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 293, 294, 295.

<sup>n</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

murderers



murderers of *Mas'ūd*, he commanded them all to be executed, and without farther opposition ascended his father's throne. This account we have extracted from *Abu'l Faraj*; but *Mirkbond* relates the affair in a different manner. He informs us, that *Mohammed*, not long after his second accession, perceiving that the loss of his sight, of which he had been deprived by *Mas'ūd*, rendered him incapable of business, resigned the government to *Ahmed*, his son; who, at the instigation of two wicked persons, acted by a vindictive spirit, went to *Kobra Kebir*, the castle in which *Mas'ūd* was confined, and murdered him, the present year. His son, *Mawdūd*, then at *Balkh*, having received advice of what had happened to his father, at the head of a well-disciplined army advanced to *Gazna*, brought *Mohammed*, lately returned from *India*, to a general action, routed him, and took him prisoner. *Ahmed*, his son, and the two persons who had excited him to destroy *Mas'ūd*, not having been able to make their escape, were, together with *Mohammed*, sacrificed to the manes of *Mas'ūd* by the victor. He, however, spared one of *Mohammed's* sons, who had expressed some regard and compassion for *Mas'ūd*, when in a state of confinement; and erected a magnificent structure on the spot, where the late victory had been obtained. *Mas'ūd* has been represented as a brave (C) and generous prince, perfectly well skilled in the military art, and as one who governed his subjects with great prudence and moderation, by *Mirkbond* and *Al Makin*; the latter of which authors styles him king of *Khorasān*, *India* and *Matwarā'lnabr*, and says he was succeeded by *Mohammed*, his brother. He likewise writes, that *Mawdūd*, the son of *Sa'id*, *Mas'ūd's* nephew, having been apprized of his uncle's violent death, led an army against *Mohammed*, the new king, overthrew him, and mounted the throne; as also that the murder of *Mas'ūd*, as well as the above-mentioned occurrences immediately consequential to that event, is to be ranked amongst the transactions of the following year <sup>p</sup>.

What happened in Jorjān, Tabrestān, and Syria.

THE 433d year of the *Hejra*, beginning Aug. 31st, 1041, proved extremely fortunate to *Togrol Bek*, *Soltān* of the *Seljuks*; who before the close of it, made himself master of *Jorjān* and *Tabrestān*, and even penetrated into the *Persian Irāk*. A little before this happened, according to the author of the *Lebtārīkh*, *Mas'ūd* was overthrown by the *Seljuks*, in a great battle fought in the plains of *Zandekou*; soon after which, the *Khalīf Al Kāyem*, sent the patent, or instrument, of investiture, from *Baghdād*, to the two brothers, *Togrol Bek* and *Jaafar Bek*. The same year, *Moezzo'ddawla*, or rather, as *Abu'lfeda* calls him, *Abu Okwān Thamal Moezzo'ddawla*, took upon himself the government of *Aleppo*; the inhabitants, after the death of *Anūshtekīn*, *Anūsh Takīn*, *Al Darīri*, or *Al Dezberi*, as he is named by different authors, delivering up that city to him. This *Anūshtekīn*, having been sent by *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalīf* of *Egypt*, with a formidable army, to reduce *Aleppo*, which then obeyed the orders of *Abu Camel Nafr Shablo'ddawla*, *Sāleh Ebn Mardās's* son; he overthrew that prince with very great slaughter, in the month of *Shaabān*, and the year of the *Hejra* 429. This battle, which was fought near the banks of the *Asus*, between *Hamah*, or *Hamath*, *Casartāb*, and *Shaizar*, decided the fate of *Syria*; the victory gained on this occasion being so complete, that, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, not only the city of *Aleppo*, but the whole province of *Syria* likewise submitted to the *Fātemite Khalīf*. As for *Abu Camel Nafr Shablo'ddawla* himself, he was killed in the action, after he had presided over the people of *Aleppo* eight years, and several months according to *Al Makin*. After which, if we will believe that author, *Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Sāleh Ebn Mardās*, who had before been expelled *Aleppo* by *Shablo'ddawla*, his brother, in the year of the *Hejra* 421, repossessed himself of that capital. *Mokled Ebn Shablo'ddawla*, his nephew, he appointed to command in the castle, and then retired towards the *Euphrates*, in order to implore the assistance of the *Arab* tribes seated in the neighbourhood of that river against *Anūshtekīn*. But, before he returned, that general had seized upon *Aleppo*; which he entered triumphantly in the month of *Ramadān*. This *Anūshtekīn*, or rather *Anūsh Takīn*, denominated *Būsekīn Al Darīri* by *Al Makin*, was originally a *Turk*, brought as a *Mamlūk*, or purchased slave, by some merchants into *Syria*; where he was bought by one *Darīr*, a *Deylamite*, a person of great sway in that country, who gave him to the *Khalīf* of *Egypt*. That prince, finding him a man of vast courage and an uncommon capacity, placed him in an

<sup>p</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 343, 344. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 294, 295. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 269, 270.

(C) According to the author of the *Lebtārīkh* and *Khondemir*, *Mas'ūd* was so liberal and munificent a prince, that he won the hearts, and conciliated to himself the affections, of all the men of learning and genius of the age in which he lived. Some authors relate, that

*Tūfēs Ebn Pūs Takīn* and others went with *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed* to the castle where *Mas'ūd* was confined, when he caused that prince to be murdered there, in the year of the *Hejra* 433 (35).

(35) *Al Emīr Tūbya Ebn Abd'ollatīf Al Kazzwīnī*, in *Lebtārīkh*, *Khondemir*, *D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient.* p. 562, 563.



a honourable station, and at last raised him to the dignity of commander-in-chief of all his forces. He ruled the inhabitants of the city and district of *Aleppo*, if not those of all the other parts of *Syria*, as *Abu'lfeda* seems to intimate, to the time of his death, that is, to the 25th day of the former *Jomâda*, the present year. He acquired much wealth, and a vast reputation, by his victory over *Shablo'ddawla's* troops. He was no sooner dead, than the people of *Aleppo* called *Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Sâleb Mardâs* to the throne. He was at *Al Ramla*, when the citizens did him the honour to acknowledge him for their *Sâheb*, or prince. But he posted away with all possible celerity to *Aleppo*, as soon as he had received the news of that happy and auspicious event <sup>a</sup>.

b THE same year, *Abu'l Kasem*, who had set up for himself at *Seville* in *Andalusia*, departed <sup>The transac-  
tions in Spain.</sup> this life. He was first *Al Kâdi*, or judge, and afterwards presided several years over the people of that city in quality of *Emîr*. About the time that this usurper took upon himself the government of *Seville*, one *Yabwar Ebn Mohammed* assumed the sovereignty of *Corduba*; and was, after his death, succeeded by *Mohammed*, his son. It may not be improper to remark, that the inhabitants of *Corduba*, being in a state of anarchy, imprest the name of *Heshâm*, their last king, upon the current coin, and to all publick instruments affixed his seal, during the interval between their recognition of his successor's authority and the deposition of that prince <sup>c</sup>.

c IN the 434th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Aug. 20th, 1042*, *Ibrahim Neâl Al Seljûki* <sup>The principal  
events of the  
year 434.</sup> made an irruption into the *Persian Irâk*, and possessed himself of *Hamadân*. He was followed by *Togrol Bek*, who took *Al Ray* in that province. After this, the latter of those generals, upon a partition of the *Seljûkian* territories, had for his share all the provinces he and his brother had subdued, except *Khorasân*; which, by the mutual consent of both parties, was assigned *Jaafar Bek*. *Mirkbond* writes, that both *Persia* and *India*, after *Mas'ûd's* death, were agitated by fresh commotions; and that *Mayudûd*, *Mawdûd's* brother, projected an invasion of his dominions, but died upon his march. In the mean time, *Mawdûd*, by that prince's death, became possessed both of the *Indian* conquests and the kingdom of *Mawarâ'lnabr*. We must not forget to observe, that this *Soltân* is named *Maodud*, by *Mirkbond*, or rather *Teixeira*, in his *Spanish* abridgment of that author, and *Mawdûd* both by *Abu'l Faraj* and *Al Makîn* <sup>d</sup>.

d THE following year, being the 335th of the *Hejra*, which began *Aug. 10th, 1043*, a <sup>The Gaz  
Turks, or  
Turkmâns;  
make an ir-  
ruption into  
Mesopotamia.</sup> body of 1650 *Gaz* horse, under the conduct of *Kûkîas*, *Abu Ali Ebn Al Dabkân*, *Al Hâji Israhel*, and *Abu Mansûr*, advanced into the districts of *Amed* and *Mayyâfârakîn*, then possessed by *Al Emîr Abu Nasr Ebn Merwân*. From thence they moved to *Nasîbîn*; which they, for some time, besieged. But that city not being disposed to surrender soon, after they had cut down all the trees in the neighbourhood of it, they marched to *Al Mawfel*. *Karwâs Ebn Al Mektader*, the *Sâheb*, or prince, of the place, not finding himself in a condition to oppose them, bought his peace of them with a sum of money. Notwithstanding which, having destroyed the other cities of *Diyâr Becr* and *Al Jazîra*, they returned to *Al Mawfel*, took and pillaged it, put some of the inhabitants to the sword, and made others <sup>e</sup> of them prisoners. The *Arabs*, being apprized of what had happened, assembled on all sides, besieged them, and at last forced them to abandon the city. They afterwards defeated them in several engagements, killed a great number of them, and obliged the rest to fly to *Mayyâfârakîn*; from whence, with all the spoil they could carry off, they retired into *Adherbijân*. The *Gaz* employed in this irruption seem to have been a detachment sent by *Togrol Bek*, who had fixed his seat at *Hamadân*, out of the *Persian Irâk*, to ravage the *Arab* territories above-mentioned; but we are not told what became of them, after their arrival in *Adherbijân*; whither they were driven by the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd's* troops out of *Mesopotamia* <sup>f</sup>.

f THE same year, *Jalâlo'ddawla Ebn Babao'ddawla*, of the house of *Bûiya*, departed this <sup>Jalâlo'ddawla  
dies.</sup> life, at *Baghdâd*. He remained in the post of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, according to *Mirkbond*, seventeen years (D), and was succeeded by *Abu Câlîjâr*, *Abu Câlânjâr*, or *Abu'l Ganjâr*, *Ebn Soltânno'ddawla*, his nephew. This we find asserted both by *Mirkbond* and *Abu'l Faraj*. But *Al Azîz Abu Mansûr*, his son, was mentioned in the mosques as his successor, after his decease,

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 344. AL AMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtâr*. p. 42. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 269. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. & ad ann. Hej. 433.  
<sup>c</sup> RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xlviii. p. 37. <sup>d</sup> MIRKBOND, apud Teixeir. p. 318, 319. EBN AMBERES, 1610. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 270. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 343. <sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 361.

(D) *Khondemir* and *Mirkbond* agree, in the point here mentioned; but the authors of the *Lebtârikh* and *Nighi-* *aristân* make him to have reigned at *Baghdâd*, or been *Emîr Al Omrâ* there, twenty-five years (36).

(36) *Khondemir* & *Mirkbond*, ubi sup. *Al Emîr Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwîni*, in *Lebtâr*. *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwîni*, in *Nighiari*.



if we can depend upon *Al Makin*. Soon after *Al Kâsem*'s elevation to the *Khalifat*, the soldiers mutinied at *Baghdâd*, and plundered the palace of *Jalâlo'ddawla*'s *Wazîr*. They also sent for *Abu Câlîjâr*, and nominated him *Emîr Al Omrà*, or, in the stile of *Mirkbond*, proclaimed him king of *Baghdâd*. *Abu Câlîjâr*, being advised not to concern himself in the broils which disturbed the repose of that city, declined accepting the offer they had made him; upon which, the *Turkish* troops, who were then mutineers, submitted to *Jalâlo'ddawla*, and the public tranquillity was re-established. But they soon committed fresh violences, and even set fire to the capital in several places. In the 427th year of the *Hejra*, they openly revolted against *Jalâlo'ddawla*, and attempted to expel him the city; which they would have effected, had he not opposed them with wisdom and resolution. The next year, they mutinied again; which occasioned the commission of many disorders. But their general being killed, and a peace concluded between *Abu Câlîjâr* and *Jalâlo'ddawla*, they soon returned to a sense of their duty. The 430th year of the *Moslem* æra was rendered memorable at *Baghdâd* by a snow that fell there, and in the adjacent territory, three spans deep; which was followed by a very severe frost, the *Dijlat*, or *Tigris*, having been frozen over, for the space of twelve days. The 431st year of the same æra proved not so favourable to the turbulent and restless *Turkish* soldiery; they having been brought more under subjection by *Jalâlo'ddawla*, before the close of that year. When that *Emîr Al Omrà* died, *Al Azîz Abu Mansûr*, his son, was at *Wâset*, where there was then a pretty considerable ferment. His friends dispatched to him immediately a courier, and pressed him to hasten to *Baghdâd*, in order to fill the post which was become vacant by his father's death. But being detained at *Wâset*, by the commotions there, which were not yet appeased; *Abu Câlîjâr* was sent for, and took the government upon him; the present exigency of affairs not permitting the people of *Baghdâd* to continue any longer without a person at the helm. To what has been said of *Jalâlo'ddawla* here we shall beg leave to add, that he is sometimes stiled by the eastern writers the *Sâheb*, or prince, and at other times the king, of *Baghdâd*. It is remarkable, that no other successor to *Abu Thâber Fîrâz Jalâlo'ddawla* but *Al Azîz Abu Mansûr*, his son, whom he has dignified with the title of king, has been mentioned by *Al Makin* <sup>u</sup>.

Other occurrences of this year.

AFTER the sudden death of *Mayudûd*, which has already been taken notice of, *Soltân Mawdûd*'s authority was recognized both in the *Indian* conquests and *Mawarâlnahr*; notwithstanding which, the *Seljukian Turks* settled in the latter of those countries and *Khorasân* refused to acknowledge him for their prince. He, therefore, marched against them with a powerful army, in the year we are now upon; but was met and overthrown by *Alp Arslân*, the son of *Jaasar Bek*. On the other side, great numbers of *Turks*, who broke out of *Turkestan* into the territories of *Gomaser* and *Kandahâr*, to plunder, were routed by *Mawdûd*'s garisons. About the same time, the *Indian Rajahs*, who had been vassals to *Mawdûd*, revolted against him, united their forces, and with the combined army laid siege to *Lâhor*, or *Lahâwar*, a royal city in the province of *Penjab*. But this confederacy how formidable soever it might at first appear, was soon dissolved; the members of which it was formed, almost immediately after the commencement of the military operations, falling at variance amongst themselves. They even at last came to an open rupture, some declaring for, and others against, *Mawdûd*, though the former of these finally prevailed. For, joining a body of troops sent by that prince to the relief of the place, they fell upon the others with such bravery that they obliged them to submit to the *Soltân*, and lay down their arms. The city of *Lahâwar* has been placed in 31°. 50'. N. lat. and long. 109°. 20'. by *Nassîr Al Tûsî* and *Ulugh Beik* <sup>w</sup>.

Abu'l Faraj Al Irâkî dies.

THIS year, died *Abu'l Faraj Abd'allah Ebn Al Teyyeb Al Irâkî*, a famous physician and philosopher, who spent most of his time in reading and explaining the works of the antients, particularly those of *Galen* and *Aristotle*, which at this time were held amongst the *Arabs* in much esteem. He has been accused of prolixity by a little *Jewish* critic, who perhaps did not sufficiently understand him. But *Al Kâdi Al Acram Jamâlo'ddîn Al Koftî* has given a very advantageous character of him; informing us, that he brought to light several things which had been lost, and happily explained some passages of the authors he undertook to comment upon, which before were utterly unintelligible. Many of his scholars made a very considerable figure in the learned world. One of the principal of these was *Al Mokhtâr Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abdûn*, commonly called *Ebn Botlân*. *Ebn Al Teyyeb*, according to *Ebn Botlân*, applied himself so closely, and with so much attention, to the exposition of metaphysical subjects, in which he was engaged about twenty years, that he thereby impaired his health, and at last contracted a distemper, which put a period to his days. *Ebn Botlân*,

<sup>u</sup> MIRKOND, apud Teixeira. p. 296, 297, 298. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 344. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 270. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 335. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Gelâl-Eddoulat*, p. 373. <sup>w</sup> MIRKOND, apud Teixeira. p. 295, 296. NASSIR AL TÛSÎ & ULUGH BEIK. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 509, 510.



- a who received his education from *Ebn Al Teyyeb*, was a Christian of *Baghdâd* of an exceeding homely, or rather a deformed, countenance; but excelled in antient literature, especially physic. He first visited *Al Mawfel* and *Diyâr Becr*, and afterwards *Aleppo*; where he remained some time, and from thence departed into *Egypt*. Here he soon met with *Ebn Redwân*, an *Egyptian* physician and philosopher of no great note. As there was a rivalry, or competition, between these two doctors, both of them contending most fiercely for victory in their disputations, and the *Egyptians* sided with *Ebn Redwân*, their countryman; *Ebn Botlân* retired to *Antioch*, shut himself up in a monastery, and put on the habit of a religious there. But of these two physicians our readers will hereafter meet with a farther account. With regard to *Ebn Al Teyyeb*, we shall beg leave to add, that he was copious in
- b his explications, in order to express himself with perspicuity, and render more intelligible, even to the meanest capacities, the points he undertook to explain<sup>x</sup>.

THE next year, being the 436th of the *Hejra*, which commenced July 30th, 1044, all the troubles in *India*, occasioned by the late revolt of the *Indian Rajahs*, according to *Mirk-India are ap-*  
*bond*, seem to have been appeased. That author relates, that soon after the junction of *Soltân Mawdûd*'s forces with those of his *Indian* allies, which happened towards the close of the last campaign, the rebellious *Rajahs* were reduced to the obedience of that prince. This plainly appears to fix the final extinction of the *Indian* rebellion against *Mawdûd* in some part of the year we are now upon<sup>y</sup>.

- c IN the year of the *Hejra* 437, which began July 19th, 1045, the *Seljuks* continued strengthening themselves in *Khorasân* and the *Persian Irâk*; inſomuch that *Abu Câlîjâr Ebn Soltânô'ddawla*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ* at *Baghdâd* found himself obliged not long after to enter into an alliance with *Togrol Bek*. We hear not, however, of any incursions, that they made into the neighbouring provinces, the present year<sup>z</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 438th of the *Hejra*, commencing July 8th, 1046, has not been rendered remarkable by any memorable events, handed down to us by the historians. As the *Gaznevîds* and the *Seljuks*, who were now contending for dominion, paid little or no regard in civil affairs to the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*; so *Al Kayed*, the son of *Hammad*, *Hamed*, or *Hamet*, who had founded the kingdom of the *Hammadites* in the province of *Bajayah*, or *Bujiyah*, reigned this very year, independently on the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, in *Africa*<sup>a</sup>.

- THE 439th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 28th, 1047, produced a peace between *Abu Câlîjâr Ebn Soltânô'ddawla*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, and *Togrol Bek*. In order to strengthen the alliance entered into by these two princes, *Abu Câlîjâr*, or *Abu'l Gânjâr*, as *Teixeira* calls him, married his son to *Dawd Al Seljûki*'s daughter, the present year. This *Dawd*, or *David*, was brother to *Togrol Bek*, and the new married lady of course his niece. It appears from *Al Makrizi*, that *Christodulus*, the sixty-sixth *Alexandrian Jacobite* patriarch, was elected to preside in spiritual matters over the people of his sect, in the year we are now upon<sup>b</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 440th of the *Hejra*, beginning June 16th, 1048, *Abu Câlîjâr*, and of the the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, departed this life. He was the son of *Soltânô'ddawla*, of the house of *Bîliya*, and had reigned in *Irâk* between four and five years. He died, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, at *Baghdâd*; but, if we will believe *Mirkbond*, in the province of *Kermân*. The latter of these authors also informs us, that he left behind him five sons, *Abu Mansûr Fûlâd Sotûn*, *Khoſrû Firûz*, *Abu Thâber*, *Abu Sa'id*, and *Kay Khoſrû*. *Khoſrû Firûz*, the second of these, being at *Shîrâz*, in the province of *Fârs*, at the time of his father's demise, succeeded him, and assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mâlec Al Rabîm*, or the merciful king. From *Shîrâz* he repaired directly to *Baghdâd*, possessed himself of that capital, and took his lodging in the imperial palace there. Soon after which, *Al Kayem*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, adorned him with the collar and bracelets, and vested him with the supreme authority.
- f Notwithstanding which, *Abu Mansûr Fûlâd Sotûn*, the eldest of *Abu Câlîjâr*'s sons, made the proper dispositions for driving him out of all the territories he had seized, and took the field with a considerable force. The *Emîr Al Omrâ*, or king of *Baghdâd*, likewise assembled a body of troops; the command of which he gave to his brother *Abu Sa'id*, and ordered him to march against *Fûlâd Sotûn* with all possible expedition. He also followed him with another body of troops, joined him, and, after this junction, came up with *Fûlâd Sotûn* at *Eſtakbr*, a city of *Fârs*. But, being deserted by the greatest part of his army, which consisted chiefly of *Turks*, he retired to *Abwâz* in *Khûzestân*, and from thence to *Wâſet*; where the war continued with various success, till the year of the *Hejra* 447. We must not for-

<sup>x</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 355, 356. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 212, 714. <sup>y</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 296. <sup>z</sup> Id. ibid. p. 298. <sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. <sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 344. MIRKHOND, ubi sup. AL MAKRIZI, EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 419.



get to remark, that *Al Málec Al Rabím's* brothers; *Abu Thâber* and *Abu Sa'id*, notwithstanding the late desertion of his troops, persevered in their fidelity to him <sup>a</sup>.

*What happened, in the year 441.* THE following year, being the 441st of the *Hejra*, commencing June 5th, 1049, *Soltân Mawdûd Gazni*, stiled *Sâheb Al Hind*, or lord of India, by *Al Makîn*, being resolved to recover *Khorasân*, if possible, out of the hands of the *Seljúks*, began his march against them with a powerful army; but was carried off by a violent fit of the cholic, before he could come up with them. With regard to his successor, the eastern writers seem not to be so perfectly well agreed. His son, named *Mas'ûd*, or *Mas'ûd II.* an infant, after his death, according to *Khondemir*, mounted the throne; whereas *Abd'alraşhîd Ebn Mahmûd*, his uncle, succeeded him, if we will believe *Abu'l Faraj* and *Al Makîn*. But, if *Mirkhond* may be credited, *Ali Ebn Mas'ûd*, his brother, as soon as his death came to be known, was saluted *Soltân* by the military men. However, these seeming inconsistencies may perhaps, by a little attention to *Khondemir's* account of this matter, be tolerably well reconciled. That author relates, that the *Turks*, who ruled at the *Gaznevid* court with an absolute sway, refusing to be commanded by a child, placed *Ali Ebn Mas'ûd*, *Mawdûd's* brother, upon the throne; and that he was, in a short time, deposed by *Abd'alraşhîd Ebn Mahmûd*, or rather *Mohammed*, *Mawdûd's* uncle, who found means to make his escape out of prison, where he had been confined a great part of his days. And, in conformity to this relation, we are told by *Mirkhond*, that *Abd'alraşhîd*, having been released out of prison, was proclaimed *Soltân*, or king, upon *Mawdûd's* death, by that prince's *Wazîr*; and that *Ali Ebn Mas'ûd*, finding things in a desperate situation, abandoned the government, and laid aside all thoughts of asserting his right to the crown. *Al Basâsiri*, or *Málec Al Basâsiri*, called *Pisfasi* by *Cedrenus*, a *Turk*, who had formerly been one of *Bahao'ddawla's* slaves, advanced with a body of troops to *Al Anbâr*, a city of *Irâk*, in the territory of *Baghdâd*, and possessed himself of that place, before the close of the present year <sup>d</sup>.

*The most memorable occurrences of the year 442.* IN the 442d year of the *Hejra*, which began May 26th, 1050, *Togrol Bek*, *Soltân* of the *Seljúks*, reduced to his obedience the city of *Esfabân*, together with the district appertaining to it, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The same year, died *Karwâs*, or *Karwâsh*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Al Marwâs*; who has been represented as a prince of great bravery, and power, by *Al Makîn* <sup>e</sup>.

*No remarkable events happened, the following year.* THE 443d year of the *Hejra*, which commenced May 15th, 1051, has not been distinguished by any remarkable events; at least, scarce any thing of that kind, as happening in it, has been handed down to us by the *Moslem* historians. The war, however, was carried on, according to *Mirkhond*, between *Abu Mansûr Fûlâd Sotûn* and *Al Málec Al Rabím*, *Abu Câlîjâr Ebn Soltânô'ddawla's* sons, in *Irâk*, through the whole course of it; but with what success, we have not been told by that author. *Abd'alraşhîd* likewise, who had been placed upon the *Gaznevid* throne, discovered, about this time, marks of a capacity by no means equal to the character he had been pitched upon to sustain <sup>f</sup>.

*Ebn Botlân dies.* THE next year, being the 444th of the *Hejra*, beginning May 3d, 1052, *Ebn Botlân*, a *Christian* physician of *Baghdâd*, of whom we have already given our readers some account, died in a monastery at *Antioch*; whither he retired, after the contumelious treatment he met with from *Ebn Redwân* had obliged him to abandon *Egypt*. To what has been said of this physician above, we shall beg leave to add, that the principal of his works, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, were the treatise upon the regimen that is proper to be observed for the preservation of health, the discourse upon the privileges and rewards claimed by physicians as their due, and his epistle upon the purchasing of slaves. After his retreat from *Egypt*, he wrote a very severe letter to *Ebn Redwân*; wherein he exposed his ignorance in physic, as well as every other branch of antient literature, which he pretended to understand. He likewise took the liberty therein to exhibit to his view, in the clearest light, all the vices he was guilty of. This piece, which was penned with uncommon acrimony of sentiment, and asperity of expression, he divided into seven sections; for an account of the heads of which, we must refer our learned and curious readers to *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>e</sup>.

*The principal occurrences of the year 445;* THE following year, being the 445th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 23d, 1053, *Abd'alraşhîd*, the *Gaznevid Soltân*, was deposed and murdered by *Togrol*, one of his principal officers, who had been brought up at the court of *Soltân Mawdûd*. This *Togrol* was so great a favourite, that *Abd'alraşhîd* had not only conferred upon him the government of the province of *Sejstân*, but permitted him likewise to act in a manner as sovereign there. *Togrol* made a very improper return to his master and benefactor for so singular a favour. He even pushed his ingratitude so far as to form a design to dethrone him. In order to carry

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 270. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 271. KHONDEMIR, GREG. AB'UL FAR. ubi sup. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Maudoud. p. 567. <sup>e</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 271. <sup>f</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 296, 298. <sup>g</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 356—360. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 212, 714.



- a this into execution, he attacked *Abd'alraṣṣīd* in his capital; who, being surprized by such an unexpected attack, retired into the castle, and took all his family with him. Here *Togrol*, after he had made himself master of the city, besieged him, soon carried the citadel by assault, and massacred both the *Soltān* and all who were related to him, except *Ferokhzād* and *Anca*, the son and daughter of *Mas'ūd*. The former of these found means to make his escape, and the latter he took to wife. He also seized upon the crown, and assumed the title of *Soltān*. But his perfidy and ingratitude rendered him so odious to his new subjects, that they branded him with the appellation of *Kafernāmet*, that is, *the ingrate*, or the *ungrateful*. This disposition of the people, and the news of the strange revolution that had happened, having been communicated to *Kharkbir*, the governor of the *Indian* provinces
- b dependent on the crown of *Gazna*, he wrote in very strong terms to the grandees of that city, and particularly to the princess *Anca*, exhorting them to fall upon the tyrant; which had such an effect, that he was soon after assassinated in his palace, and even upon his very throne. *Kharkbir* then caused *Ferokhzād Ebn Mas'ūd*, with the consent of all the principal lords of *Gazna*, to be proclaimed *Soltān*. This is the account of the revolution now before us preserved by the author of the *Lebtārikh* and *Khondemīr*, from which that handed down to us by *Mirkhond* differs in several particulars. The last of these authors relates, that *Togrol*, one of *Abd'alraṣṣīd*'s commanders, observing his master's capacity to be none of the best, entertained hopes of securing to himself the vast and extensive territories of the house of *Gazna*. Excited by these hopes, he meditated the *Soltān*'s destruction; and, in order to effect this,
- c pursued him from other parts of his dominions to the city of *Gazna*, took it, and drove the poor prince, with his family, into the castle. This he laid siege to several days, and at last, by the treachery of the governor, whom he corrupted with money, was admitted into it, when the reduction of it by any other means would have been impracticable. *Abd'alraṣṣīd* himself, with many of his friends and relations, the traitor immediately put to death; married his sister, and obliged *Abd'alraṣṣīd*'s subjects to acknowledge him for their king. He had not been vested with the supreme authority many days, before ten of the noblesse approached him, sitting on his throne, to receive the compliments of the grandees, under the pretext of paying in form their submission to him; but they no sooner reached him, than they drew their scymitars, and dispatched him. Not long after this, *Kharkbir*, a *Gazna*
- d *nevid* general, arrived from *India*, took *Ferokhzād*, *Mas'ūd*'s son, out of prison, and placed him upon the throne. The war still continued between *Abu Calījār*'s sons, according to *Mirkhond*, in the neighbourhood of *Wāset*; though which of the contending parties proved superior, this year, he has not been pleased to inform us. A war likewise must have been waged by *Abu Olwān Thamāl Moezzo'ddawla*, the *Sāheb* of *Aleppo*, with the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, if *Abu'lfeḍā* in this point may be depended upon, the present year. For, the latter of those princes sent an army to reduce *Aleppo*, in the 440th year of the *Moslem* æra, and after that another; both of which were defeated by *Moezzo'ddawla*'s forces, though hostilities continued between those two powers till the year of the *Hejra* 449. The result of this war we shall relate, when we come to the transactions of that year <sup>b</sup>.
- e In the 446th year of the *Hejra*, which began *April* 12th, 1054, *Togrol Bek* made an <sup>and of the</sup> irruption with a body of his troops into *Adherbijān*, and possessed himself of that province. <sup>year 446.</sup> *Al Kāyed*, the king of the *Hammadites*, in the *African* province of *Bajayab*, or *Bujiyab*, departed this life, after he had reigned about twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by *Al Mohsen*, his son, a very rash and abandoned prince, in the month of *Rajeb*, the present year. *Al Mohsen*, by his infatuated conduct, discovering himself to be totally unfit to hold the reins of government, and treating his uncle with uncommon cruelty; *Belkīn Ebn Moham-med*, one of his relations, rebelled against him, routed his forces, slew him, and was proclaimed king in his room, when he had sat about eight months upon the throne. The troubles occasioned by *Basāsīrī*'s defection at this time, greatly disturbed the repose of the
- f city of *Baghdād* <sup>1</sup>.
- THE 447th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *April* 2d, 1055, proved very favourable to the *Sejjāks*, under the conduct of *Togrol Bek*. The distractions, occasioned by the insolence of the *Turkish* militia, still continuing at *Baghdād*; that place was, at this time, thereby rendered little better than a scene of riot and confusion. *Abu'l Hāreth Roṣlān Al Madhaffar*, a *Turk*, commonly called *Al Basāsīrī*, having had a quarrel with *Reis Al Ruṣṣā*, *Al Kāyem Beamrī'llah*'s *Wazīr*, found himself obliged to quit the city of *Baghdād*, and to put himself under the protection of *Al Moṣṭanser*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*. That prince supplying him both with money and troops, he soon became very formidable in the *Arabian*

<sup>b</sup> AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebb' Al Taṣawīrk*, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 34+. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 298, 299.



*Irak*, possessed himself of that province, and ravaged it even to the very gates of *Baghdâd*.<sup>a</sup> Finding no enemy to oppose him, he now looked upon himself as *Emîr Al Omrâ*, and ordered his own name to be mentioned in all the mosques within his jurisdiction. Nor did he leave any thing more to *Al Malec Al Rabîm*, who, after the example of his predecessors, had deprived the *Khalîf* of all power and authority, than the naked title of king of *Baghdâd*. Nay, the *Khalîf* himself was informed, that this rebel intended to advance at the head of his troops to the capital, and seize upon the imperial palace. Upon which, he immediately wrote to *Togrol Bek*, then in the district of *Al Ray*, who, according to some of the eastern writers, had lately made himself master of *Khorasân*, *Forjân*, the city and territory of *Balkh*, and the whole extensive province of *Khowârazm*, as well as the *Persian Irak*, and intreated him to come to his assistance. *Al Basâsîri*, of whom we are now speaking, was<sup>b</sup> originally *Babao'ddawla's* slave, but at last rose to be one of the principal commanders of the *Soltâns* of the house of *Bûiya*. He grew a terror, by the reduction of *Irak*, to the *Arab Emîrs* (A), and all the other neighbouring princes. The conquest of that province probably occasioned his being styled the ruler of *Babylon* by *Cedrenus*. When the *Khalîf* wrote to *Togrol Bek*, this tyrant, or usurper, was at *Wâset*. Soon after which, some of his soldiers deserted, and returned to *Baghdâd*; where they first plundered his palace, and then laid it in ashes. The surname of *Al Motaffer*, applied to this general by *Erpenius's* MS. copy of *Al Makîn*, was written *Al Modbaffer* by that author; the diacritical point, distinguishing the *Dha*, or *Tba*, from the *Ta*, having either been erased or omitted in this copy. The words *Al Modbaffer* denote the same thing as *Al Mansûr*, that is to say, *the victorious*;<sup>c</sup> and have been assumed as a surname by several great personages, who have made a very considerable figure in the *Moslem* history, as we learn both from *Abu'l Faraj*, and *M. D'Hierabelot*<sup>k</sup>.

Who arrives  
there, in the  
month of Ra-  
madân.

As soon as the *Khalîf's* letter reached him, *Togrol Bek* assembled all his forces, made the proper dispositions for a march, and arrived at *Baghdâd*, in the month of *Ramadân*. He brought with him a numerous army of *Turks*, and eighteen elephants. When he entered *Baghdâd*, *Al Basâsîri* was at *Al Rababa*, upon the *Euphrates*, from whence he wrote to *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, and begged he would take him under his protection. He also ordered prayers to be put up in his name, at *Al Rababa*, as a token of his attachment to him. Upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Togrol Bek* immediately waited upon the *Kha-*<sup>d</sup>  
*lîf*, and paid him all the honours due to his high dignity. However, the *Turks* having soon after committed several outrages there, the people rose upon them, and pelted them with stones; which so incensed *Togrol Bek*, that he commanded his troops to pillage the city. The tumult, excited against the *Turks*, being afterwards appeased, the *Soltân* of the *Seljûks* went to the *Khalîf*, and told him, that if *Al Malec Al Rabîm*, the generalissimo of armies, had not been concerned in the late sedition, he might safely come to him; upon which, *Al Malec Al Rabîm* appearing before him, he seized upon his person, sent him to prison, and ordered himself to be prayed for in the public pulpits instead of him. Thus ended the dynasty of the *Bûiyans*, which had continued 127 years; and that of the *Seljûks* began in the same city, where *Togrol Bek* took up his lodging, in the imperial castle.<sup>e</sup> Nothing can be more perplexed and confused than the history of the *Seljûks*, during this period, as we find it penned by the *Greek* writers; for which reason, as it throws no manner of light upon the *Moslem* affairs, we have not thought fit to extract any thing from them, upon that head, here. *Togrol Bek* confined *Al Malec Al Rabîm*, according to *Khen-*  
*demir*, in a castle of *Irak*, where he ended his days, and made his public entry into *Baghdâd*, the 25th of *Ramadân*, the present year. It may not be improper to remark, that *Togrol Bek*, a little before his expedition to *Baghdâd*, at the instigation of *Abu Mansûr Fîlâd Soltân*, *Al Malec Al Rabîm's* eldest brother, reduced the city of *Shîrâz*, and the greatest part of the province of *Fârs*; of which the latter of those princes having been informed, he assembled all his forces, expelled the *Soltân* of the *Seljûks* from his new conquest, and<sup>f</sup> then returned to *Wâset*. *Mirkbond* writes, that *Al Kâjem* did his utmost to screen *Al Malec*

<sup>k</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 299. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 344, 440, 497. et alib. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 769. Parisiis, 1647. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 240, 593.

(A) In the original *Arabic* it is, '*Ali Omrâ Al Arab w' Al Ajem*, that is, *to the Emîrs of the Arabs and the Barbarians*, or *to the Emîrs of the Arabs and all other nations*. The word *Ajem*, or *Al Ajem*, properly denotes in *Arabic* what *Βάρβαρος*, or *Barbarian*, did in *Greek*. For, it is applicable to every nation, besides the *Arabs*; though it sometimes signifies *Persia* in particular, and

every thing comprized under the empire of the *Persians*. The phrase *Al Arab w' Al Ajem* is, however, always to be understood of the people of the whole earth, and never only of the *Arabs* and *Persians*. According to this general signification of *Al Ajem*, the Grand Signor styles himself the *Soltân Al Arab w' Al Ajem*, that is, *the king of all the nations of the world* (1).

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Ajem*. p. 69. Vid. etiam Val. Scind. lex. pentaglot. p. 1269. Gol. lex. Arab. aliofq; lexicograph. Arab. in voc. *Ajem*.



- a *Al Rabîm*, who had taken refuge in his palace, from the fury of *Togrol Bek*; but without effect. He also relates, that the *Seljuks* destroyed the city of *Baghdâd* with fire and sword; and that they spared neither the living nor the dead. The tombs of the latter, if this author may be credited, were all opened; a suspicion being entertained, that something valuable might probably be discovered in them<sup>1</sup>.

THE next year, being the 448th of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 21st 1056, *Abu Man-*<sup>The principal</sup>  
*sûr*, having vanquished and killed in battle his brother *Abu Sa'id*, secured to himself the throne of *Fârs*. His *Wazîr*, who had served his father in the same capacity, upon some<sup>occurrences of</sup>  
 suspicion, he soon after put to death; and advanced to the honourable post thereby become vacant *Fazel Ebn Al Hasan*, called likewise, by *Mirkbond*, *Huya*. *Fazel* was no sooner set-  
 tled in his employment, than he imprisoned his master in a castle, and assumed the title of  
 king. *Malec Maverd*, a *Seljuk* commander, then in the province of *Kermân*, being informed  
 of this, marched against *Huya*; who fled to *Alp Arslân*, another *Seljuk* captain, at his  
 approach. He afterwards, if we will believe this writer, farmed *Alp Arslân's* lands; and,  
 growing very rich by that means, rebelled against him. However, he was soon taken,  
 with *Nczâm Al Molk*, or *Al Molk*, his son, and confined in the fortress of *Estakhr*, where  
 both of them died. About this time, *Al Kâsem Beamri'llab*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*, married  
*Khadîjah*, the sister of *Togrol Bek*, who gave her a dower of 100,000 *dinârs*. *Togrol Bek*,  
 having stayed thirteen months, and thirteen days, at *Baghdâd*, moved from thence towards  
*Al Mawfel*; carrying with him battering rams, and other engines of war. *Al Basîsîri*, who  
 had a little before made himself master of that city, abandoned it, on his approach. *Togrol*  
*Bek* then laid siege to *Tecrît*; at what time the people of *Cûfa*, *Wâset*, and *Âin Al Tamr*,  
 falling off from their allegiance, caused prayers to be made in the name of *Al Mostanser Bi'll-*  
*lab*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*. *Al Kâsem* seems to have dignified *Togrol Bek* with the title of  
*Rucno'ddîn*, or *Rocno'ddîn*, that is, *the pillar of the faith*, or *the religion*, either this or the  
 preceding year<sup>m</sup>.

THE following year, being the 449th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 10th, 1057, *Al*<sup>What happen-</sup>  
*Kâsem Beamri'llab*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*, honoured *Togrol Bek* with the imperial vest, and  
 crowned him king of *Baghdâd*. He likewise adorned him with the collar and bracelets;<sup>d, the follow-</sup>  
 appointed him ruler over his court, and ordered money to be coined in his name. Nor  
 durst any enemy presume to appear against him, either in the *Persian* and *Arabian* *Irâks* or  
*Khorasân*. The same year, *Tbamâl*, or *Bamâl*, *Moezzo'ddawla* surrendered the citadel of  
*Aleppo* to *Mâkîno'ddawla Al Hasan Ebn Ali Ebn Molhem*; who took possession of it, in the  
 month of *Dhu'lkaada*, for the *Khalif* of *Egypt*. After the surrender, or rather cession, of  
*Aleppo*, *Moezzo'ddawla* went to *Mesr*, and *Atiyah*, his brother, to *Al Ramla*. *Makîno'ddawla*  
 made his public entry into *Aleppo*, as the *Emîr*, prefect, or governor, of that city, the 27th  
 of *Dhu'lkaada*, the present year<sup>n</sup>.

IN the 450th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Feb.* 28th, 1058, *Al Kâsem* was deposed,<sup>The chief oc-</sup>  
 and *Al Mostanser Bi'llab*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, proclaimed at *Baghdâd*, in his room. *Togrol*<sup>success of</sup>  
*Bek* having marched to *Al Mawfel*, and from thence to *Nasûîn*, with a design to subdue  
 those places, was attended by his brother, *Ibrahim Nial*, or *Neal*, *Al Seljûki*, in this expedition.  
 Some time after *Togrol Bek* had begun his march, *Al Basîsîri*, by his emissaries, excited  
*Ibrahim* to a revolt; giving him hopes of a kingdom, and promising his assistance. *Ibrahim*,  
 therefore, having prevailed upon the soldiers to take an oath of fidelity to him, advanced  
 at the head of a great army to *Al Ray*, and rebelled against his brother. He afterwards,  
 according to one of the eastern writers followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, took *Hamadân*; upon  
 which, *Togrol Bek* moved towards that city with a powerful army, in order to drive him from  
 thence. This gave *Al Basîsîri*, continues that author, an opportunity of making himself  
 master of *Baghdâd*, and seizing upon the *Khalif's* person. The last particular, however,  
 seems not so consonant to what has been delivered by *Al Makî*; who relates, that *Al Kâsem*  
 made his escape to the eastern part of the city. *Al Basîsîri*, if this author may be credited,  
 entered *Baghdâd*, on *Sunday*, the 8th of *Dhu'lkaada*, with the *Egyptian* standards, exhibit-  
 ing the following words inscribed upon them, *Al Imâm Al Mostanser Bi'llab Emîr Al Mûne-*  
*nîn Abu Tamîm Ma'bad*. *The Imâm Abu Tamîm Ma'bad Al Mostanser Bi'llab*, the commander, or  
 emperor, of the faithful; and on *Friday*, the 13th of the same month, prayers were put up  
 in the cathedral church, or great mosque, there in his name. Then, ordering a bridge to be  
 thrown over the *Tigris*, he passed that river with his forces, and took post in the eastern part  
 of the city, called *Al Rusâfa*, where he caused the same ceremony to be performed. After  
 this, he commanded *Ebn Al Mostema*, *Al Kâsem's Wazîr*, to be fettered; and carried on a

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 344. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 298, 299.  
 KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Caïem Benrillab*, p. 240.

<sup>m</sup> MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 299, 300. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 271, 272. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Togrol Bek*,  
 p. 1027.

<sup>n</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 272. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. & ad ann.  
 Hej. 449.



camel through the streets of *Baghdâd*, dressed in a woollen gown, with a high red bonnet, and a leathern collar about his neck; a man lashing him all the way behind. Then, being sewed up in a fresh bull's hide, with the horns placed over his head, he was hung up on hooks, and beaten without ceasing till he died. In the mean time, the *Khalîf* arrived at the camp, where a tent was set up for him, on the east side of the city. Upon his retreat, the mob plundered the imperial palace of things to an inestimable value. On *Friday*, the fourth of *Dbu'lhajja*, there was no divine service in the *Khalîf's* mosque; but in all the others prayers were made, that day, in the name of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Egypt*. The *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, *Al Kâjem Beamri'llah*, was afterwards conveyed to *Hadîtha*, and left in chains there with *Mabrâs*, the governor of the town. Some of the *Persian* writers ascribe this confinement of the *Khalîf* to *Al Basâsîri*; who, according to them, had secured his person before. They also remark, that he was detained in custody not at *Hadîtha*, but at *Baghdâd*. Neither of which particulars, though they have both been copied by *M. D'Herbelot*, can be evinced from *Al Makîn* °.

*Al Kâjem is re-instated in the Khalifat by Togrol Bek.*

THE next year, being the 451st of the *Hejra*, commencing *Feb.* 17th, 1059, *Togrol Bek* marched against *Ibrahim Neal Al Seljûki*, his brother, defeated him, took him prisoner, and ordered him to be strangled with a bow-string. He also put many of the *Turkmâns*, who had joined him, to the sword. In the mean time, *Al Basâsîri*, who still maintained himself in *Baghdâd*, sent for the *Kâdi* of *Kâdis*, or the supreme judge, *Abu Abî'llah Ebn Al Dâma'ani* (E), with the preachers and princes of the house of *Hâshem*, required from them a recognition of the authority of *Al Mostanser*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, and obliged them to take the oath of allegiance to that prince. Notwithstanding which, *Togrol Bek*, after the defeat of *Ibrahim*, advanced to *Baghdâd*; which *Al Basâsîri*, who had been apprized of his march, abandoned at his approach. When he drew near that capital, he was met by *Mabrâs*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Hadîtha*, on the 11th of *Dbu'lkaada*, who brought *Al Kâjem Beamri'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, with him. That prince had already received, as presents, from *Togrol Bek*, several things of great value, besides many rich garments, and 5000 *dinârs*; as also sixty-five suits of cloaths for his wife. As soon as *Togrol Bek* entered the city, his troops plundered it, especially that part called *Al Carkeb*. They likewise collected a vast number of tents, chariots, and other moveables; all which they sent to the *Khalîf*, with *Abd'almâlec Al Canderi*, his *Wazîr*, and *Abu Becr Al Astâd*. The *Khalîf* then went into a tent, that had been set up for him, where he continued two days. After which, on the 25th of *Dbu'lkaada*, he made his public entry into *Baghdâd*, from whence he had been absent a whole year, accompanied by *Togrol Bek*, who held the bridle of his mule till he had passed through the stone gate. It must here be remarked, that *Togrol Bek*, who deduced his origin from a province of the *Upper Turkestan*, denominated by some authors *Desht*, or *Desht Kapjâk*, was a zealous *Sunnite*, had an utter aversion to the *Fâtemite Khalîfs*, whom he looked upon as hereticks, and the highest regard for those of the house of *Al Abbâs*. No wonder then that, in consequence of this disposition, he should abolish the spiritual authority of the former, and establish that of the latter, wherever his arms prevailed; and that he should treat *Al Kâjem*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, on this occasion, with such uncommon marks of reverence and distinction as those mentioned both by *Khondemir* and *Al Makîn* °.

*Al Basâsîri is killed.*

BEFORE *Togrol Bek's* arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Al Basâsîri* thought fit to retire to *Wâset*; and having collected a large quantity of corn, he put it on board some vessels then in the river there. But receiving advice of the new revolution at *Baghdâd*, he advanced to *Al Nomâniâ*, a place at no great distance from that city. The *Soltân* sent against him part of his army, under the command of *Hemâr Makîn*, and other generals; following himself, with the rest of his forces, towards the end of *Dbu'lkaada*. A battle hereupon ensued, which was fought between *Wâset* and *Cûfa*, and ended in the defeat of *Al Basâsîri*. That usurper was either killed in the action, as we find asserted by *Al Makîn*, or by some of *Togrol Bek's* soldiers, in the pursuit, as *Khondemir* writes, not far from *Cûfa*. His head being brought to *Togrol Bek*, he ordered it to be carried on a pike through the streets of *Baghdâd*. *Al Basâsîri's* death has been placed in the 450th year of the *Hejra* by *Abu'l Faraj*; who relates, that *Togrol Bek's* troops carried off all the women and camels belonging to him and *Nûro'ddawla Dobais*, who attended him in his retreat. It cannot well be

° *AL MAKÎN*, ubi sup. p. 272, 273. *KHONDEMIR*, D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 240, 1027. *P AL MAKÎN*, ubi sup. p. 273, 274. *KHONDEMIR*, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 241, 293. *EUSEB. RENAUD.* ubi sup. p. 439, 440, 441.

(E) Our orthography, in this proper name, exactly answers to the original *Arabic*; whereas that of *Erpenius*, who writes it *Damian*, or *Damiân*, is widely different from it (37).

(37) Vide *Georg. Elmacin. hist. Saracen. &c. Latine reddit. oper. & stud. Thom. Erpen. p. 273. Lugduni Batavorum, 1625.*



a doubted, but *Al Basāsiri*'s name *Roslân* is a corruption of *Arslân*; the latter of these being a true and genuine *Turkish* proper name, whereas the former was scarce ever heard of before it appeared in *Erpenius*'s depraved MS. copy of *Al Makîn*. M. D'Herbelot, in one passage, gives us to understand that *Al Kâjem* conferred the title of *Rucno'ddîn* upon *Togrol Bek*, either in the year of the *Hejra* 447, or 448; and, in another, he ranks that event amongst the transactions of the year we are now upon. Our readers will, however, upon a perusal of those passages, adhere to the former notion. The first of *Togrol Bek*'s expeditions to *Baghdâd* seems to have been confounded with the other, undertaken the present year, by M. Renaudot<sup>1</sup>.

b THE following year, being the 452d of the *Hejra*, which began February 6th, 1060, *Mah-* The principal  
mûd *Azzo'ddawla Ebn Nafr Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mardâs* possessed himself of *Aleppo*; the junior part events of the  
of the citizens rebelling against the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, and driving *Makîno'ddawla*, his gover- year 452;  
nor, into the castle. After this, they delivered up the town to *Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla*, in the beginning of the latter *Jomâda*; who, thereupon, laid siege to the citadel. In the mean time, *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, receiving advice of what had happened, sent *Abu Ali Al Hasan Nâsero'ddawla*, of the house of *Hamdân*, with a powerful army, to the relief of the place. *Mahmûd*, being informed of his approach, led his forces against him, engaged him not far from *Kinnisrîn*, and intirely defeated him. *Nâsero'ddawla* himself was taken prisoner in the action; but being released by *Mahmûd*, he repaired directly to *Mesr*. Of which *Makîno'ddawla* being apprized, he put both the city and castle of *Aleppo* into the hands of *Atiyah Afado'ddawla Ebn Sâlah*; who entered the town the 10th of *Shaabân*. The next day, however, he was obliged to abandon it; and, on the 12th, *Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla* took possession both of the town and the citadel. About the same time, *Nûro'ddawla Dobais Ebn Mozîd* made his submission to *Togrol Bek*, and was honourably received by him. This year, the *Soltân* returned from *Wâset* to *Baghdâd*, after he had appeased some commotions in the former of those places; and, upon his return, had presents made him by the *Khalîf*, from whom he met with a most gracious reception. He then appointed *Abd'almâlec Al Canderî*, his *Wazîr*, to preside over the city of *Baghdâd*, whilst he pacified some troubles that had disturbed the repose of *Al Jebâl*, or the mountainous part of the *Persian Irâk*. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Kâjem* declared his grandson *Abd'allah* successor to the *Khalîfat*  
d of *Baghdâd*, and surnamed him *Al Moktadi*, before the close of the year we are now upon<sup>2</sup>.

In the 453d year of the *Hejra*, commencing Jan. 26th, 1061, *Moezzo'ddawla Al Mar-* and of the  
dâfi made himself master of *Aleppo*, which had been a short time occupied by *Mahmûd* year 453-  
*Azzo'ddawla*, as has been already observed. The town he took in the former *Rabî*, and the citadel soon after surrendered to him. About the same time, *Jaafar Bek*, *Togrol*'s brother, died in *Khorasân*, and left for his successor *Alp Arslân*, his son, called *Alb Arslân* by the *Arab* writers. This year, *Togrol Bek* demanded *Al Kâjem*'s daughter in marriage; but was refused her, by the *Khalîf*. This occasioned many messages and threatenings, on the part of the *Soltân*; the particulars of which it would be too tedious to relate. *Al Canderi*, *Togrol*'s *Wazîr*, who, by his address afterwards obtained this princess for him, is denominated *Amîd Al Molc* by *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian<sup>3</sup>.

c THE next year, being the 454th of the *Hejra*, beginning Jan. 15th, 1062, *Al Kâjem* still The most me-  
persisting in his refusal to give *Seîda*, or *Seîdat*, his daughter, in marriage to *Togrol Bek*, as morable trans-  
thinking this too great an honour for a *Turk*, *Amîd Al Molc*, *Togrol*'s *Wazîr*, advised his actions of the  
master to retrench by degrees the *Khalîf*'s revenues. The *Soltân* hereupon forbade *Al Kâjem*'s year 454.  
officers to touch the public money. This reduced the *Khalîf* to such straits, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to let *Togrol* take the princess, though sore against his will, according to *Al Makîn*. The *Soltân*, having thus carried his point, revoked the order he had given for seizing the *Khalîf*'s treasures, and, being highly pleased with that prince's compliance, sent him very rich presents. The same year, on the 25th of *Dhu'lkaada*, *Moezzo'd-*  
f dawla *Al Mardâfi*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Aleppo*, departed this life, and was buried in the citadel there. A tomb was erected for him, which remained to the days of *Al Mâlec* (or king) *Redwân*, who levelled it with the ground, and destroyed all traces of it. With regard to *Moezzo'ddawla*'s disposition, he is reported to have been a just, merciful, and generous prince. A servant having once by accident beat out one of his foreteeth, he said "this happened by the providence and power of God," and would not punish him for it; which has been produced as an instance of his superior goodness and clemency by *Al Makîn*. After his death, *Atiyah Abu Dawâba Afado'ddawla Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mardâs*, his brother, who

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 274. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 1027. 241. EUSEB. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 440. <sup>2</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 274, 275. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. & ad ann. Hej. 452. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in Lobb Al Tawarikh, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 241. <sup>3</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 275, 276. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 345. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. & ad ann. Hej. 453. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 1028.



retired to *Al Ramla*, in *Palestine*, when *Thamâl*, or *Bamâl*, repaired to *Mesî*, mounted the throne; but was soon driven from thence by *Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla Ebn Nasr*, who, after his late expulsion from *Aleppo*, retired to *Harrân*. *Atiyah*, finding himself not able to make head against *Mahmûd*'s forces, departed first to *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, and afterwards to *Constantinople*, where he ended his days. This year, likewise, died *Belkîn Ebn Mohammed*, the king of the *Hammadites*, in the *African* province of *Bajayah*, or *Bujiyah*; having been cut off by the treachery of *Al Nasr Ebn Alnas Ebn Hammad*, who succeeded him, after he had swayed the sceptre there about seven years<sup>1</sup>.

Togrol Bek's  
marriage,

THE following year, being the 455th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Jan. 4th*, 1063, *Seïda*, the *Khalîf*'s daughter, was conducted by *Amîd Al Molc*, *Togrol Bek*'s *Wazîr*, to *Tauris*, where that prince then was, and attended by a considerable retinue. *Togrol* received the princess with great demonstrations of joy, and bestowed gifts on all the *Khalîf*'s servants that accompanied her. Soon after her arrival at *Tauris*, the marriage between her and the *Soltân* was concluded, and the contract signed. *Togrol* from thence repaired to *Al Ray*, his royal seat, then the capital of the *Persian Irâk*, where the nuptials and consummation of the marriage were to be performed. At this time, *Soltân Ibrahim*, the son of *Mas'ûd II.* according to *Ebn Shohnab*, reigned at *Gazna*; though his empire, as he had been almost intirely dispossessed by the *Seljûks* of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'lnahr*, was scarce the shadow of what it had formerly been<sup>2</sup>.

and death.

*TOGROL BEK* having made the proper dispositions for receiving *Seïda* at *Al Ray*, with the utmost splendor and magnificence, and finding the heats there at that time excessive, he retired to *Rudbâr*, a most delicious place, where he had a very beautiful palace. Here he proposed to take some refreshment, in that hot and sultry season; but was attacked by a bloody flux, which carried him off in a few days. He died on *Friday*, the 23d of *Ramadân*, a little above six months after the conclusion of his marriage with *Seïda*, the *Khalîf*'s daughter. He has been represented as a merciful and prudent prince, extremely well versed in the art of government, by *Al Makîn*. He was about seventy lunar years old, at the time of his death, and reigned either twenty-five or twenty-six years. *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, however, relates, that the length of his reign did not exceed sixteen years; and that he presided over *Khorasân*, *Deylam*, and *Mawarâ'lnahr*. All the neighbouring princes exceedingly feared him, and wrote in a submissive manner to him. The best oriental authors agree, that he departed this life at *Al Ray*; and that he was a zealous *Moslem*, according to the principles, or tenets, of the *Sonnites*. *Abu'l Kasem Al Kermâni* and *Amîd Al Molc* were successively his *Wazîrs*. As he left no issue behind him, *Alp Arslân*, or *Abu Shajâ' Mohammed*, his nephew, succeeded him, not only in the sovereignty of his extensive dominions, but likewise in the post of *Emîr Al Omrà* at *Baghdâd*. It has been already observed, that *Togrol Bek* was the *Tangrolipax*, the *Tangrolipix*, or rather the *Tangrolipex*, of the *Greek* writers. His nephew, *Alp Arslân*, who succeeded him, is called *Axan*, the son of *Tangrolipex*, by those writers, *Alb Arslân Ebn Dawd Jagri Beik* by *Abu'l Faraj*, and *Al Soltân Adado'ddawla Alb Arslân Mohammed Ebn Dawd Ebn Mîkâyyel Ebn Seljûk* by *Al Makîn*<sup>3</sup>.

The princess  
Seïda returns  
to Baghdâd.

THE princess *Seïda* finding *Togrol* dead, upon her arrival at *Al Ray*, returned as she came to *Baghdâd*. *Kemel Ismael*, a *Persian* poet, composed a distich, in his own tongue, upon the place where *Togrol* died. Those verses, according to *M. D'Herbelot*, were to the following effect. "The country of *Al Ray* is an enemy to strangers; and if its air did not occasion his death, the hour of his departure was come." We must not forget to remark, that *Mahmûd Ebn Shablo'ddawla* drove *Asado'ddawla Abu Dawâba Atiyah Ebn Sâleb Ebn Mardâs* to *Al Rakka*, and possessed himself of *Aleppo*, in the month of *Ramadân*, the present year<sup>4</sup>.

The chief  
events of the  
year 456.

IN the 456th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Dec. 24th*, 1063, *Alp Arslân*, after the *Khalîf* had conferred the post of *Emîr Al Omrà* upon him, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the public prayers at *Baghdâd*, made war upon *Kotolmîsh*, or *Kûtûlmîsh*, *Ebn Israel*, his cousin-german, who had rebelled against him in the province of *Dâmegân*, or *Kûmes*, called *Karws* by *Nasîr Al Tûsî* and *Ulugh Beik*. *Kûtûlmîsh* advancing, at the head of a fine

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 275, 276. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarišt*. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. ad ann. Hej. 387. & ad ann. Hej. 454. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Thogrol-Beg*, p. 1028.

<sup>2</sup> AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarišt*. ubi sup. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 276. EBN SHOHNAH, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 301. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Gaznaviâh*, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, & AL MAKÎN, EBN SHOHNAH, EBN KHALECAN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 345. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikb*, p. 42. KHONDEMIR, JOAN. CUROPALAT. GEORG. CEDREN. NICEPH. BRYEN. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 1028. THO. HYDE, in hist. rel. vet. Persar. p. 212. OXON. 1700. EUSER. RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 440, 441.

<sup>4</sup> KHONDEMIR, KEMAL ISMAEL, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. & ad ann. Hej. 455.



- a body of troops, against the *Soltân*, to give him battle, his horse on a sudden fell under him, threw his rider, and broke his neck; upon which, his army submitted, and were pardoned. This *Kûtûlmîsh*, of whom we shall give a fuller account, in our history of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*, is denominated by the *Greek* writers, and particularly *Cedrenus*, *Kutlumas*, not *Kutlu Moses*, or *Muses*; which by no means corresponds with the *Greek*, ΚΟΥΤΛΟΥΜΟΥΣ. The manner in which this rebellion was extinguished has been related at large in the *Wassaiya*, which contains many more historical facts relating to the prince at this time sitting upon the *Seljûk* throne. That piece was written by the famous *Nadbâm Al Molc Al Tawâsi*, *Alp Arslân's Wazîr*. The *Soltân*, soon after his accession, imprisoned *Al Canderi*, surnamed *Amîd Al Molc*, *Togrol's Wazîr*, for abusing his master's authority, in the preceding reign.
- b He afterwards put that minister to death, for the iniquitous conduct he had been guilty of in his administration; and raised to the charge of *Wazîr Nadbâm Al Molc Al Tawâsi*, the most celebrated politician of his time. As *Alp Arslân* was the sole and absolute monarch of all the vast tract lying between the *Amû* and the *Dijlat*, or the *Oxus* and the *Tigris*, comprehending *Persia*, or *Irân*, in its largest extent, which he had acquired partly by right of succession, and partly by his own valour; he was justly esteemed, by all his neighbours, as one of the most puissant potentates of the East. The *Khalîf*, therefore, on account of his own power and merit, as well as that of his predecessor, honoured him with the title of *Adado'dâin*, not *Adbadeddin*, or *Adbadoddin*, as we find intimated by *M. D'Herbelot*, which denotes, *the protector of the faith, or the religion*. *Kûtûlmîsh* was no sooner dead, than *Kara*
- c *Arslân* set up for himself in *Kermân* and *Fârs*. But he was soon reduced to the obedience of the *Soltân* by *Fadlûiyab*, one of his most valiant commanders; who, for the important service done his master on this occasion, was rewarded by him with the government of the latter of those provinces. *Fadlûiyab* afterwards, renouncing his allegiance to the *Soltân*, shut himself up, with a body of select troops, in a castle, which was deemed impregnable. However, *Nadbâm Al Molc*, by his master's order, presented himself with an army before the place. But, having for some time continued his attacks without any hopes of success, and being a person of exemplary piety, he resolved to leave the issue of the affair intirely to the conduct of providence. He, nevertheless, comforted himself with some of those salutary maxims that he had formerly taught others; one of which was to the following effect. "The
- d "man who afflicts himself with the apprehensions of future evils, which may either happen "or not happen to him, only anticipates and enhances the misery they will produce, should "they certainly happen, by his present chagrin; and that, without receiving the least "advantage therefrom." The pious disposition of the *Wazîr*, and the justice of the *Soltân's* cause, adds the *Mohammedan* author now in view, soon procured from the great Arbiter of events a miracle, in favour of *Adado'ddawla's* arms. For, if this writer may be credited, one morning, at break of day, after the *Wazîr* had spent in great inquietude and agitation of mind the preceding night, he was agreeably surprized to hear the garison beat the chamade, and that *Fadlûiyab* offered to surrender the place; which, as one of the besieged afterwards informed him, was owing to the springs and cisterns, then very numerous in the
- e fortrefs, drying up all at once. A similar miracle was wrought for the *Soltân's* forces in the vast desert of *Nûbandijân*, which separates *Kermân* from *Khorasân*, and is destitute of all things necessary to support an army, where, as the same author will have it, they were supplied with a sufficient quantity both of corn and water in a supernatural manner. *Ibrahim*, the son of *Mas'ûd* II, king of *Gazna*, was employed about this time in building mosques, oratories, and hospitals; and in making irruptions into *Hindostân*, or *Indostân*. He gained so many victories, in that country, that he was styled *Al Modhaffer* and *Al Mansûr*, that is, *the conqueror* and *the triumphant*. Notwithstanding the wars he was engaged in, he bore the character of a very charitable, just, and religious prince.

- f THE next year, being the 457th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Dec. 13th, 1064, *Alp Arslân* led an army into *Khowârazm*, to chastise the insolence of *Khazan*, who had asserted his independency there. Having routed his forces, consisting of 30,000 men, most of whom were put to the sword, he conferred the government of that province upon *Mâlec Shâh*, his eldest son. In his return from this expedition through *Khorasân*, he visited the sepulchre of *Ali Ebn* (B) *Mûsa Al Riza*, *Al Radi*, or *Al Redâ*, as he is called by the *Arabs* (not

Y AL MAKIN, ubi sup. NADHAM AL MOLC, in *Wassaiya*, NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 191, 192. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 769. AL EMIR YAYHA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, p. 42. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 102, 103, 480, &c. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, AL MAKRIZI, EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 441.

(B) It may not be improper to remark here, that *Riza*, or *Al Riza*, is the *Persian* surname of this *Imâm*; *Al Redâ* that which occurs in Dr. Pocock's MSS. of *Abu'l Faraj*; and *Al Radi*, which has been preferred to the

other *Arabic* one by *Golius*, that assigned him by *Erpenius's* manuscript of *Al Makin*. The two *Arab* writers exhibit *Dâd*, or *D*, as the second letter of this surname; and the *Persians* their *Zâd*, or *Z*, which answers to the *Arabic*



(not *Ali Ridha*, or *Ali Redha*, as M. D'Herbelot names him), the eighth *Imâm*, who was buried at *Tûs*. After this, he took the road of *Radekân*, and encamped there in a most delightful place. From thence he dispatched couriers through all the provinces of his empire, to convoke the governors and great lords to a general assembly of the states. Being met, he declared *Mâlec Sbâb* for his successor, and only heir to his dominions. This done, he commanded his son to sit on a throne of gold, prepared for that purpose, and obliged all the officers of the empire to take an oath of fidelity to him. The good understanding still subsisted between *Alp Arslân* and *Soltân Ibrahim*, who reigned at *Gazna*; both the *Seljuks* and the *Gaznevids* keeping within their own frontiers, in conformity to the principal article of the last concluded treaty. The latter of those princes spent a great part of the night in prayer, and much of his other time in works of piety and devotion. This we learn from the authors of the *Lebtârîkh*; who likewise relates, that he fasted three months every year, viz. *Rajeb*, *Shaabân*, and *Ramadân*<sup>2</sup>.

and of the  
year 458.

THE following year, being the 458th of the *Hejra*, beginning Dec. 3d, 1065, the *Seljuks*, according to some of the *Greeks* writers, made an irruption into *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, destroying all the country through which they moved with fire and sword. They afterwards possessed themselves of *Neocæsarea* and *Aleppo*, and retired from the former of those cities with a very rich booty. But *Romanus Diogenes*, the emperor, following them, at the head of a chosen body of light-armed horse, came up with them the third day, killed a great number of them, and recovered the spoil. He then pursued his march to *Aleppo*, which he retook, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a strong castle. This expedition, however, seems to have been placed in the 462d year of the *Moslem æra* by *Al Makîn*. About this time, *Alp Arslân* acquainted all the chiefs and generals of his armies, that he designed to attempt the conquest of *Turkestan*, from whence he deduced his origin, and commanded his forces to hold themselves in readiness to advance to the *Amû*, and pass that river, in order to enter the vast region he intended to subdue, which was inhabited by the warlike nations of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*. But the invasion of that country, which proved fatal to him, was not undertaken before the year of the *Hejra* 465. A young woman was delivered of a boy with two heads, two faces, two necks, four hands, and only one body, near the gate *Al Azaj*, at *Baghdâd*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, the present year<sup>3</sup>.

The most ma-  
terial occur-  
rences of the  
year 459.

In the 459th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Nov. 22d, 1066, a dreadful earthquake laid in ruins *Al Ramla*, *Tanis*, and many other cities. About this time, the *Turkish* troops, under the command of *Abu Ali Al Hasan Nâsero'ddawla Ebn Hamdûn*, who began now to rebel against the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, committed horrible devastations in that country; destroying all the places, to which they approached, with fire and sword. The havock made by the above-mentioned earthquake was so great, that 25,000 men, women, and children, perished at *Al Ramla* only; vast numbers also meeting with the same unhappy fate, in many of the neighbouring cities. A grievous famine likewise raged in *Egypt*, the present year; insomuch that an *Artaba*, or three *Roman* bushels and an half, of flower was sold for 80 *dinârs*. A dog was not to be bought for less than five *dinârs*, nor a cat for less than three. *Abu'l Mokarim*, *Al Mostanser's Wazîr*, came one day to the imperial palace, attended by a single servant, the few others that remained alive being so feeble for want of food that they could not walk, and left his horse at the gate. But he had scarce entered the palace, when three men carried off the beast, and killed him, that they might feed upon his flesh. The *Wazîr* complaining of this insult to the *Khalîf*, they were immediately executed, and their bodies affixed to a gibbet, erected for that purpose. The next day, however, nothing was to be seen of them but the bones; the flesh being all greedily devoured by the miserable wretches, inhabiting the spot where the gibbet stood. For, the *Egyptians* did not only eat the carcases of all kinds of beasts, but likewise the bodies of men, women, and children; many of the latter of which they boiled, and sold publickly for food. Before the beginning of this dire calamity, the *Khalîf* had about 10,200 horses, mules, and camels, f

<sup>2</sup> AL EMIR YAYHA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârîkh*, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> JOAN. CUROPALAT. & GEORG. CEDREN. p. 824. Parisiis, 1647. JOAN. ZONAR. Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 604. Lond. 1742. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Alp Arslân*, p. 102.

*Arabic Dâd*. The *Persian Zâl*, whose power is but little different from that of *Zâd*, in figure likewise agrees with the *Arabic Dhâl*, which has the force of *th*, in the *English* words *them*, *than*, *that*, &c. though this character does not appear either in *Riza*, *Redâ*, or *Radi*, when presented to our view by any of either the *Arab* or *Per-*

*sian* authors. The surname of *Riza*, we doubt not, is sometimes assumed by persons of distinction in *Persia* at this very day; a *Persian* ambassador, called *Mehemet Riza Beg*, having resided at *Paris*, several months, in the year 1715 (1).

(1) GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 244. *Al Makîn*, ubi sup. p. 134. Golii not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 187. *Johan. Graw. Element. ling. Persic.* p. 2. *The present State of Europe, or, the Historic. and Politic. Monthly Merc. for the months of January, February, March, and April, 1715.*



- a in his stables ; but, at the end of it, he had only three horses left. Nay, that prince himself was obliged to part with all his plate, tapestry, sumptuous garments, treasures, jewels, and valuable furniture, for sustenance. Not only all the money amassed by his predecessors, the *Fâtemite Khalîfs*, but likewise all the rich moveables belonging to the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, which *Al Basâsiri* had sent to *Mesr*, after he had taken and plundered the city of *Baghdâd*, were intirely dissipated, on this melancholy occasion. Some authors moreover relate, that 80,000 costly vests, 20,000 coats of mail, 20,000 beautiful swords, most richly ornamented, and even all the splendid furniture of the seraglio, were distributed amongst the troops, instead of money and provisions, to keep them in good humour, and prevent a mutiny, whilst the famine raged. Several *Black*, or *Nigritian*,  
b soldiers in the *Khalîf's* guards fed upon the bodies of certain women, whom they had secretly killed ; but they were at last discovered by a fat woman, they had taken, who, after she had lost half of her posteriors, which they had cut off, and began most voraciously to eat, made her escape. The *Wazîr*, being informed of the affair, ordered them all to be put to death. The people of *Egypt* were also visited by a plague or pestilence, this year, which swept away the greatest part of the inhabitants of that country. These calamities, we are told, were presaged by comets, that appeared a little before they happened, and other prodigies, which have been taken notice of by the *Egyptian* writers. Some authors pretend, that both *Syria* and *Irâk* were scenes of blood, ravages, and confusion, through the whole course of the year we are now upon ; but this, as we apprehend, cannot be certainly  
c inferred from any of the most celebrated oriental historians <sup>b</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 460th of the *Hejra*, which began *November 11th, 1067*, *Abu and of the following year.*  
*Ali Al' Hasan Nâsero'ddawla Ebn Hamdân*, whose troops had been in motion the preceding year, with a body of 5000 *Turks* and *Curds*, besieged *Al Mostanser Bi'llab*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, in his palace. That prince, not being in a condition to make head against the rebels, found himself obliged to put all the money he had left, and every thing valuable belonging to him, into their hands. They afterwards ravaged the tract called *Al Rîf*, or *The Lower Egypt*, extending from *Al Kâbirab* to the sea, and from *Al Asçandariyah*, or *Alexandria*, to *Al Hawf*, and the desert of *Al Kolzom* ; killing great numbers of the inhabitants, and pillaging many of the rest. *Christodulus*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, being  
d seized by these barbarians, was tortured by them in a cruel manner. But he was at last dismissed, upon his engaging to pay them for his liberty 3000 *dinârs*. The third part of this sum was raised by *Abu'l Taib*, *Nâsero'ddawla's* secretary, himself ; who likewise passed his word for the payment of the remainder. The rebels are named *Lowanians* by a certain author of considerable note, but *Curds* and *Turks* by others. Several officers of rank joined *Nâsero'ddawla* in his defection, according to *Al Makîn* <sup>c</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 461st of the *Hejra*, commencing *October 31st, 1068*, *What happened in the year 461 ;*  
a civil war broke out in the city of *Damascus* ; some of the inhabitants declaring for the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, and others for *Alp Arslân* and the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*. In this interval of confusion, the church there was set on fire ; by which all its ornaments, together with the  
e most beautiful part of the fabrick, were reduced to ashes. The preceding year, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, died *Ebn Redwân*, an *Egyptian* physician, who was at first one of the lowest kind of astrologers, or rather a common fortune-teller, but afterwards made some little progress both in logic and physic. He had several scholars, and was held amongst his countrymen in some esteem. He wrote a few books, extracted from a variety of authors ; there being scarce any thing of his own in them. He taught both logic and physic, almost to the day of his death. One of the most famous of his cotemporaries was *Cotaisât*, a *Christian*, who was physician to *Al Basâsiri*, and extremely eminent for his skill in his profession, as well as for the success that attended his practice. For a farther account of *Ebn Redwân*, our learned readers may have recourse to *Abu'l Faraj*. The *Lowanians* still continued in arms,  
f and ravaged several districts of the *Lower Egypt*, the present year <sup>d</sup>.

IN the 462d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *Oct. 20th, 1069*, *Al Emîr Azzo'ddawla Mab- and in the year 462.*  
*mûd Ebn Nafr*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Aleppo*, ordered prayers to be put up in that city, and all its dependencies, for *Al Kâyem Beamri'llab*, the emperor, or commander, of the faithful, and *Alp Arslân Adado'ddawla*, the *Emîr Al Omrà*, or king of *Baghdâd*. He had before prayed for *Al Mostanser Bi'llab*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt* ; but *Soltân Adado'ddawla* having laid siege to *Aleppo*, he was reduced to such straits, that he found himself obliged to recognize the spiritual authority of the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*. He likewise acknowledged *Alp Arslân* for his sovereign and prince ; upon which, the *Soltân* made him some valuable presents, treated him

<sup>b</sup> AL MAKRIZI, *TARIKH MESR*, EUSEB. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 433, 434, 435, 442. <sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 276, 277. AL MAKRIZI, *ISM. ABU'LFED. in descript. Diyâr Mesr.* D'HERBEI. *Eiblioth. orient. art. Rîf*, p. 716. *TARIKH MESR*, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 434. <sup>d</sup> GREG. ABU'LFAR ubi sup. p. 356—360. AL MAKRIZI, *TARIKH MESR*, *ISM. ABU'LFED. in descript. Diyâr Mesr.* RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 442, 443.



with great marks of distinction, and then departed with his forces to *Irâk*. The same year, *Romanus Diogenes*, the Greek emperor, undertook an expedition into *Syria*, advanced to *Manbij*, and besieged that city for sixteen days. He also put to flight a body of *Moslem* troops, that pretended to oppose him, killed some of them, and took several prisoners; but provisions failing in his camp, the greatest part of his army perished, and with the rest he returned to *Constantinople*. In his way back he was met by a numerous body of *Turks*, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigour, that he routed them at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it adviseable to pursue them. After this, the *Turks* abandoned some considerable towns at his approach. But the autumn being far advanced, he retired into *Cilicia*, and from thence to his capital. This year, *Bedr Al Jemâl*, who was afterwards *Al Mostanser Bi'llab's Wazîr*, a cruel, flagitious, and abandoned person, and a professed enemy of all learned men, ordered the *Sbarîf Heidara*, a man famed for his superior knowledge, to be flay'd alive, on account of a secret grudge that he bore him. The rebellion still continued in the *Lower Egypt*, which remained a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion, the present year<sup>e</sup>.

Alp Arslân  
overthrows  
the Greeks.

THE next year, being the 463d of the *Hejra*, which commenced Oct. 9th, 1070, *Alp Arslân* advanced to *Akblât* in *Armenia*, with a body of 40000 horse, in order to attack the *Greeks*; whose formidable army he overthrew, took their general, who was a nobleman, prisoner, and cut off his nose. The emperor *Romanus Diogenes* himself afterwards moved to *Akblât*, and from thence to *Malâzjerd*, or *Malâzkerd*, called by the Greek writers *Maze-kerta*, at the head of 100000 men, with an intention to give the enemy battle. The *Soltân*, who was then at *Khûnaj*, in the province of *Adherbijân*, receiving advice of the emperor's motions, marched against him with the utmost expedition; though he could not assemble, at that time, when he was at too great a distance from the center of his dominions, above 15000 horse. Being arrived at *Al Zabra*, where *Romanus* had taken post with all his forces, the *Soltân* sent to the emperor to desire peace; but that prince returned for answer, that he would not even grant him a truce, unless he would deliver up the city of *Al Ray*, then the capital of the *Seljukian* empire, into his hands. The *Soltân*, provoked at this, and finding that the dispute must be left to the decision of the sword, on Friday in the afternoon, implored the divine assistance with prayers and tears; the troops, excited thereto by their monarch's example, themselves likewise shedding tears in great abundance. At last the *Greeks*, after a most bloody battle, which was fought on Friday, the 26th of *Dbu'lkaada*, were put to flight; and lost in the engagement, and the pursuit, which, according to *Al Makîn*, continued all the following night, an incredible number of men. The emperor himself was taken prisoner in the action; though with regard to the person into whose hands he fell, the eastern authors are not perfectly agreed. However, the *Soltân* soon set him at liberty, on condition that he paid a stipulated sum, released all the *Mohammedan* prisoners in his empire, and remitted to *Al Ray* an annual tribute. The first money, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, was to amount to 1000000 *dinârs*; though the *Soltân* insisted upon receiving 1500000 *dinârs*, if we may credit *Al Makîn*. The tribute is fixed by the latter of these authors at 360000 *dinârs*, but the *Lebtârikh* swells it to ten millions of those pieces. *Romanus*, after he had been dismissed by the *Soltân* with the highest marks of honour, finding it impossible to collect above 200000 *dinârs*, sent that sum to *Alp Arslân*, together with a jewel worth 90000 *dinârs*; solemnly protesting, that it was not in his power to do any more. The *Mohammedan* writers differ, as to the number of men the *Soltân* commanded at the battle of *Zabra*. Some pretend, that he had but very few troops with him; and others, that such a prodigious number of *Greek* deserters flocked to him, that, by their assistance, he found it no difficult matter to give *Romanus* the above-mentioned defeat. One author relates, that *Alp Arslân* had an army of 600000 horse, besides a body of infantry; and that he laid siege to *Orsa*, or *Edeffa*, then defended by 8000 *Armenians*, 20000 *Syrians*, 6000 *Greeks*, and 1000 *Franks*. To which he adds, that the *Soltân*, upon receiving advice of *Romanus's* irruption into *Armenia*, and being disheartened by the gallant defence of the garrison, thought fit to raise the siege. This, however, seems not to be sufficiently supported by other writers. But, for a full and ample account of the victory gained by *Alp Arslân* over the *Greeks* at *Zabra*, together with the principal circumstances immediately preceding and following that event, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the history of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, a subsequent part of this work, to which it will more properly belong<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 277. CUROPALAT. & CEDREN. ubi sup. AL MAKRIZI, TARIKH MESR, RENAUD. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 277, 278. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 345, 346, 347. KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, CUROPALAT. NICEPH. BRYEN, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 463. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 441.



<sup>a</sup> THE following year, being the 464th of the *Hejra*, which began Sept. 29th, 1071, *Alp Arslân* conquered the province of *Gurjestân*, or *Georgia*, deprived the grandees of their liberty, and obliged them to wear iron rings in their ears, as a mark of their slavery; to avoid which ignominy, many of them made an exterior profession of *Mohammedism*. However, the *Soltân* could not so thoroughly subdue the people of this country, who were extremely attached to the *Christian* religion, though in appearance *Mohammedans*, and their own natural prince, but that they were still possessed of a great number of strong holds in the mountains, which required much time to reduce. As the *Soltân*, therefore, was called away by other affairs, he left his son, *Mâlec Shâh*, to continue the war. That prince, in order to complete the conquest which his father had begun, had the fortresses of *Caucasus* to make himself master of. The principal of these was a place called, in the *Persian* tongue, *Mirîâm Nishin*, that is, *the place, or dwelling, of Mary*; on account of a monastery and church dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, situated in the middle of a lake. This *Mâlec* carried by assault, and ruined the monastery; which seems to have put an end to the operations of the campaign. That the reduction of *Gurjestân* happened in the year we are now upon, *Al Makîn* and the author of the *Lebtârikh* leave us no manner of room to doubt. For, the former of those writers affirms, that the battle of *Zabra* was fought on *Friday*, the 26th of *Dbul'kaada*, not many days before the close of the preceding year; and the latter of them gives us sufficiently to understand, that this decisive action was soon followed by the conquest of *Gurjestân*. Either in the 463d or the 464th year of the *Hejra*, according to the *Kharajian* supputation of time, the *Lowanians* retired into *Al Sa'id*, or the *Upper Egypt*, plundered many monasteries there, put a great number of monks to the sword, and obliged all the rest to fly into the *Lower Egypt*. The outrages they had committed, which had well-near depopulated several of the provinces of *Egypt*, excited *Al Mostanser Bi'llah* to send an army against them, under the command of his *Wazîr*; who drove them out of *Al Rif*, and obliged them to enter *Al Sa'id*. However, the troubles in *Egypt* were intirely appeased, not long after the death of *Nâsero'ddawla*, the *Lowanian* general, as will soon more fully appear<sup>2</sup>.

IN the 465th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced Sept. 17th, 1072, *Alp Arslân* set out from *Baghdâd*, in order to subdue *Turkestân*, with an army of 200,000 men, towards *Mawarâ'lnabr*. Having advanced to the *Jibûn*, he threw a bridge over that river, for the passage of his numerous forces, in the month of *Safar*. This, however, took him up no less than twenty days. Here he staid to possess himself of certain castles, which might, if not reduced, have incommoded his passage. The first that he attacked, was that of *Berzem*, *Barzam*, or *Barza*, in which *Yusef Kotbwâl*, an intrepid *Khowârazmian*, commanded. This governor defended the place vigorously for several days; but being at last made a prisoner of war, the *Soltân* commanded him to be brought into his presence, and gave him very injurious language, for his temerity in daring to resist so long such a formidable army. *Yusef*, who rather expected to be praised by the *Soltân* for his bravery, being provoked at such outrageous treatment, answered with a great deal of fire, and even at last lost all respect. Whereupon *Alp Arslân* ordered his hands and feet to be tied to four posts, that he might be put to a cruel death. *Yusef*, hearing his sentence pronounced, took out a knife, which he had in one of his boots; and threatening the *Soltân*, said, "O wicked man! is this the treatment which a person of my merit deserves?" This menace so enraged *Alp Arslân*, that he let fly three arrows successively at him; but without effect. Upon which, *Yusef*, full of fury, ran at the *Soltân* with all his force, and mortally wounded him in the side. The assassin defended himself a long time against the prince's guards, and wounded several of them; but was at length dispatched, according to the author of *Lebtârikh*, by *Gameah*, one of the *Soltân's* pages, with a stone. *Alp Arslân* was brave, liberal, just, patient, witty, and sincere; constant in prayer, and giving alms. He greatly feared God, and was a strenuous advocate for *Mohammedism*. His shape and mein have been represented by some of the eastern writers as so very engaging, that he gained the respect and affection of all who approached him. He had long whiskers, and wore commonly a high turban, made in form of a crown. He was buried at *Merû* in *Khorasân*. The *Soltân*, after he had received the wound of which he died, was induced, by the counsel of *Nadbâm*, or *Nezâm*, *Al Mslc*, his *Wazîr*, to declare *Mâlec Shâh* his successor, though he was not his eldest son. At the same time, he required both this minister and the officers of the army to take the oath of allegiance to that prince, according to *Al Makîn*. The same author relates, that *Mârûbîl Ebn Dawd Al Seljûki*, having been informed of *Alp Arslân's* death, raised an army, and marched from *Al Ray*, in order to assert his right to the crown. But *Mâlec Shâh* met him near *Hamadân*, and attacked him with so much bravery that he defeated him, and took him prisoner. Soon after which, *Kaderd*, *Mârûbîl's* brother, set up for himself in

<sup>2</sup> AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF, AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 103. AL MAKRIZI, *TARIKH MESR*, RENAUD. ubi sup.



the province of *Kermân*, and advanced with a considerable force to *Kurj*. But *Mâlec Shâh* <sup>a</sup> having in a most bloody battle overthrown him, by the valour of the troops of *Khō-rasân*, and gotten him into his hands, sent him under a strong escorte to a castle in that country; where he for some time kept him in durance, and afterwards poisoned him. *Alp Arslân* was born, in the year of the *Hejra* 421; and reigned nine years, six months, and twelve days. *Mâlec Shâh* did not only succeed him in the sovereignty of his dominions, but likewise in the post of *Emîr Al Omrâ* at *Baghdâd*. For, *Alp Arslân* was no sooner dead, than he was acknowledged his father's lawful heir and successor, at the head of the armies which he had commanded; and the *Khalîf* not only sent him the instrument of investiture confirming to him the title and power of *Soltân*, but he likewise added thereto the quality of *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, that is *commander of the faithful*, which the *Khalîfs*, <sup>b</sup> till then had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any other *Mohammedan* prince whatsoever. This year, if we will believe some of the writers followed by M. *Renaudot*, *Nâsero'ddawla*, who had so long persisted in an open rebellion against *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, and ravaged so considerable a part of that fertile region, was cut to pieces by *Begdekûr*, a *Turk*, one of his principal officers, whose daughter he had married, in the city of *Mesr*. The parts of the mangled body the assassin sent into different provinces, in order to shew his contempt and detestation of the person to whom they had belonged. We must not forget to remark, that, according to *Khondemir*, *Alp Arslân* presided over the people of *Khorasân*, in quality of lieutenant-general to *Togrol Bek*, ten years before he ascended the *Seljukian* throne <sup>c</sup>.

*Bedr Al Jemâl* THE next year, being the 466th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Sept.* 6th, 1073, if some of <sup>c</sup> *came first into* M. *Renaudot*'s authors may be credited, *Bedr Al Jemâl*, the *Khalîf Al Mostanser Bi'llah*'s *Egypt, in the* *Wazîr*, came first into *Egypt*; though one of the writers he frequently follows makes that *year 466.* event to have happened, in the *Kharajian* year of the *Hejra* 463. With regard to the *Kharajian* year, it may not be improper to remark, that this has been fully described by *Al Makrizi*; though our readers may expect a short account of it, either when we come to the transactions of the year of the *Hejra* 501, wherein the custom of computing by *Kharajian* years was suppressed, or in the history of the *Fâtemite Khalîfs* of *Egypt*. As *Begdekûr* cut off all *Nâsero'ddawla*'s brothers, either when he murdered that general, or in a short time after, his barbarity on this occasion proved the total extinction of the house of *Hamdân* <sup>d</sup>.

*The Khalîf*  
*Al Kâjem*  
*dies.*

THE following year, being the 467th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Aug.* 27th, 1074, *Al Kâjem Beamri'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, departed this life, on *Thursday*, the 13th of *Shaabân*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. But he died, on *Monday*, the 10th of that month, if we may certainly depend upon *Al Makîn*. At the time of his death, he was seventy-six years and three months old, and had sat forty-four years and nine months upon the *Moslem* throne. As soon as he perceived his end to approach, he appointed *Abu'l Kâsem Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Kâjem*, his grandson, to succeed him; and sent for the principal grandees, the supreme *Kâdi*, or chancellor, and *Ebn Jabîr*, the *Wazîr*, to attend as witnesses to this designation. With regard to his disposition, *Al Kâjem* was learned, patient, mild, and sincere; a prince of an excellent political head, capable of giving the most salutary advice on any emergency, just, and one who greatly feared God. The first day of his reign was *Tuesday*, and the last *Thursday*. He cultivated the *belles lettres*, and had a taste for poetry, according to *Khondemir*; having left behind him several specimens of his poetical compositions, held in good esteem, if we will believe that author. *Mirkhond* relates, that, not long before his demise, such heavy rains fell in the *Arabian Irâk*, that they occasioned an extraordinary inundation of the *Tigris*; insomuch that many animals, both wild and tame, were carried away by the rapidity of the current. To which he adds, that the *Khalîf* himself was in an instant so surrounded by the waters, on his throne, that he must inevitably have perished, had not one of his slaves, by taking him on his shoulders, preserved him from the impending fate <sup>e</sup>.

*A body of ori-*  
*ental Turks*  
*penetrate as*  
*far as Kâsh-*  
*gar in Mawa-*  
*râ'lnahr.*

IN the *Khalîfat* of *Al Kâjem*, and the year of the *Hejra* 438, a numerous body of oriental <sup>f</sup> *Turks*, or *Tartars*, passed mount *Imaus*, under the command of their great *Khân*, named *Nasarath* by *Abu'l Faraj*, and penetrated as far as the city of *Kâshgar*, in *Mawarâ'lnahr*. These *Turks*, or *Tartars*, the very learned *Sig. Asfemani* takes to be the *Kera-its*, *Kara-its*, *Kerites*, or *Karites*, an exceeding powerful tribe, or nation, seated near the borders of *Kotân* and the kingdom of *Tibet*. They are said by *Ebedjesu*, the metropolitan of *Merû*, in a

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 278, 279. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 347, 348. KHANDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, MIRKHOND, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiariât*. ISM. ABU'LFED. in *chron. ad ann. Hej. 465*. AL MAKRIZI, *TARIKH MESR*, EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 103, 104, 542, &c. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 443. <sup>i</sup> AL MAKRIZI, *TARIKH MESR*, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 442, 443. <sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 279. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 448. ISM. ABU'LFED. in *chron. ad ann. Hej. 467*. EBN SHOHNAH, KHANDEMIR, MIRKHOND, apud *Teixeir*. p. 301. D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 241. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 442.



a letter he wrote to *John*, the patriarch of the *Nestorians*, to have been converted to the *Christian* faith, towards the beginning of the eleventh century after *CHRIST*. They were governor by a prince, who bore the title of *Ung, Wang, Onk, or Awank, Khân*. He was also styled by the *Arab* writers *King John*, and by the *European* travellers *Prester John*. The news of the irruption mentioned here was communicated by the *Nestorian* metropolitan of *Samarkand*, in a letter, which was read in the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*'s palace. We might add many other particulars on this head; but, as the history of the kingdom of *Prester John* will be inserted in the supplement to this extensive work, we shall supersede all farther accounts of it here <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 427, 428, 435, 473. & in Chron. Syriac. ad an. Hej. 438. apud Jos. Sim. Affeman. in Bibl. orient. Clem. Vatic. tom. tert. par. secund. p. 488. Romæ, 1728. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. & in tom. secund. p. 444. Romæ, 1721. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Carit*, p. 256. Vide etiam JO. LAUR. MOSHEM. Hist. Tartaror. ecclesiastic. p. 23, 24, 25. Helmstadii, 1741.

## S E C T. XLVIII.

b **A**BU'L KASEM ABD'ALLAH EBN MOHAMMED EBN AL KAYEM was created *Khalif* the Al Moktadi Beamri'llah same day on which his grand-father, *Al Kâyet Beamri'llah*, did, and assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Moktadi Beamri'llah*; after which, the nobles and great officers of the court took the oath of allegiance to him. The new *Khalif* said the funeral service at his predecessor's interment, and enjoyed a prosperous reign. The people of *Syria, Arabia, Palestine, and Irâk*, recognized his authority; and the city of *Baghdâd* flourished, whilst he sat on the *Moslem* throne. He was born six months after his father *Mohammed*'s death, and was the only male of *Al Kâyet*'s family that survived him. He has been represented as a brave and magnanimous prince, highly revered by his subjects. In his time, the *Moslems* recovered *Al Roba, or Edessa, and Antakiah, or Antioch*, from the *Greeks*. He was the twenty-seventh *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, and had more respect paid him by *Mâlec Shâh*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, than had been received from the *Soltân*, or prime minister of the *Khalifat*, by many of his predecessors <sup>m</sup>.

c THE same year, *Mâlec Shâh Al Seljûki*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, according to *Khondemir*, sent his cousin *Solimân Ebn Kâtûlmîsh* into *Syria*, with an army capable of reducing that province. *Solimân* acquitted himself so well of his commission, that in a short time he subdued all that part of the country extending from the *Euphrates* to *Antioch*, a city then of very considerable note. About this time, the face of affairs in *Egypt* was intirely changed; plenty and order, after *Nâsero'ddawla*'s death, succeeded scarcity and confusion there. However, the *Fâtemite Khalif's Wazîr* began now to rule with an absolute sway. Nor did the following *Wazîrs*, who either acquired their dignity by force, or by bribing the soldiery, without any manner of regard to the consent of the *Khalif*, who was obliged to confirm the choice the troops had made, lose this power, till the time of *Salâb'addîn, or Salâbo'ddîn*, who ejected the *Fâtemites* out of *Egypt*. *Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Aleppo*, a prince of great honour and bravery, whose praises have been celebrated by the poet *Ebn Habûs*, departed this life, the present year, according to *Al Makîn*. He repossessed himself of the city of *Aleppo*, in the month of *Ramadân*, and the year of the *Hejra* 455; and, in the 460th year of that æra, took the castle of *Arta* from the *Greeks*. *Al Emîr Nasr Ebn Mahmûd*, his son, mounted the throne of *Aleppo*, after his demise. *Al Emîr Nasr*'s mother was the house of *Bûiya*, if we will believe the last mentioned author. But, notwithstanding what has been advanced on this head by *Al Makîn, Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla*, if *Abu'lfeda* merits any attention in this point, died, in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, the following year <sup>n</sup>.

d IN the 468th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Aug. 16th, 1075, *Aksîs Al Khowârazmi*, The most powerful army, formed the siege of that city, and at last obliged it to capitulate, for want of provisions. At this time, the famine raged so grievously there, that a *Gerâra* (F) of <sup>year 468</sup>

<sup>m</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 280. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 360. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. & ad ann. Hej. 402. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moktadi Beamri'llah*, p. 591. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 442. <sup>n</sup> D'HERBEL. ubi sup. art. *Mâlec Schah*, p. 542. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 443.

(F) The word *Gerâra*, or, with the article prefixed, *Al Gerâra*, properly denotes a large sack, capable of containing hay, corn, or any thing of that kind, as we are informed by *Goliûs*. But, in the passage here refer-

red to, it must be taken in a more confined and limited sense; though the particular kind of measure our author had in view, we cannot take upon us to determine (38).



corn was sold for above twenty *dinârs*. He likewise reduced the greatest part of Syria, and caused the oration to be made in the name of *Al Moktadi*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*; that of *Al Mostanser*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, having before been mentioned in the mosques of this country. The last article, which we have extracted from *Abu'l Faraj*, if admitted, will in a good measure invalidate *Khondemir*'s account of *Solimân Ebn Kâtûlmish*'s expedition into Syria, the preceding year. *Al Emîr Nasr Ebn Mahmûd* was assassinated by some *Turkish* soldiers, near *Aleppo*, the 2d of *Shawâl*, according to *Al Makîn*. He was, if that author may be credited, a munificent, upright, and magnanimous prince; treading in his father's footsteps, through the whole course of his short reign. The poet *Ebn Habûs* celebrated his praises in a copy of verses, a specimen of which has been preserved by *Al Makîn*; for which, *Al Emîr Nasr* made him a present of 1000 *dinârs* in a silver dish. This excited other poets to follow *Ebn Habûs*'s example; but, their performances being inferior in point of merit, they did not meet with so ample a reward. *Al Emîr Nasr* was succeeded by *Al Amîn Sâbek Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nasr Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mordâs*, his brother; who presided over the people of *Aleppo* till the year of the *Hejra* 472, as we learn both from *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makîn* °.

and of the  
year 469.

THE next year, being the 469th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Aug. 4th, 1076, *Mâlec Shâh Al Seljûki*, surnamed *Jalâlo'ddîn*, or *Jalâlo'ddawla*, went to *Baghdâd*, and paid the *Khalîf* the honour due to his high dignity. He ever afterwards likewise lived upon good terms with him. This was contrary to the ordinary custom of the *Soltâns*, who heretofore generally treated the *Khalîfs* in a very disrespectful manner. *Mâlec Shâh* returned to his *Persian* territories, after he had made a short stay at *Baghdâd* °.

Aksîs Al  
Khowârazmî  
invades  
Egypt.

THE same year, *Aksîs Al Khowârazmî*, called *Aysar Al Afsîs* by *Al Makîn*, after he had reduced *Damascus* and *Hems*, marched into *Egypt*; which so frightened *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, that he resolved to fly by night from his capital. But, the citizens of *Al Kâbirah* and *Sawdân*, advancing against him, defeated his troops, though much superior in number. In his return to *Damascus*, he put a considerable number of men to the sword at *Al Ramla*, and 3000 at *Jerusalem*, amongst whom was the *Kâdi* of the place. It seems probable from *Mirkhond*, that *Ibrahim*, *Ferokhzâd*'s brother, the *Soltân* of *Gazna*, extended his conquests in *Indostân*, about the time that we are now upon °.

The principal  
events of the  
year 470,

THE following year, being the 470th year of the *Hejra*, which began July 25th, 1077, *Jalâlo'ddawla Mâlec Shâh*, entertaining an opinion that *Al Afsîs*, *Al Aksîs*, or *Aysar*, had been slain in the *Egyptian* expedition, wrote to his brother *Tâjo'ddawla* to go and conquer Syria. *Tâjo'ddawla* no sooner arrived at *Diyâr Becr*, than he was informed, that *Aysar*, or *Al Aksîs*, the lord of *Damascus*, was alive, and in perfect health; who, hearing that the other was advancing against him, offered to pay the *Soltân* an annual tribute. This proposal being accepted by *Mâlec Shâh*, he commanded his brother to abandon *Diyâr Becr*, and retire to *Manbij*. *Tâjo'ddawla*, therefore, in pursuance of the orders he had received, moved at the head of his forces to the latter of those places, and marched from thence to *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, then possessed by *Al Sâbek Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nasr Ebn Saleh Ebn Mardas*: but, not being able to reduce that city, he returned by *Harrân* to *Diyâr Becr*; which put *Moslem Ebn Koreish* (G) *Ebn Bedrân Al Okaili*, the *Sâheb*, or prince, of *Nasîbîn* and *Sinjâr*, or *Senjâr*, the *Singara* of the antients, upon his guard. It appears from some good authors, that about this time considerable numbers of *Moslems*, or *Mohammedans*, were settled in the kingdom of *Nubia*; though the greatest parts of the inhabitants of that vast tract, if we will believe these writers, professed the *Christian* faith. It may not be amiss to remind our readers here, that the people of *Nubia* had been subdued, or rather rendered tributary to the *Khalîf*, by the *Arab* forces, under the command of *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, the governor of *Egypt*, as early as the year of the *Hejra* 31 °.

° GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 360. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 280, 281, 282. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 468. & ad ann. Hej. 402. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, &c. ° KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 591. ° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 282. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 302. ° AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 282, 283. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN ibid. & in dissert. de Monophysit. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 444. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32.

(G) *Erpenius*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makin*, writes this name *Coraisus*, and consequently supposes the last letter in the original *Arabic* word to be *Sîn*; whereas, from the very manuscript he followed, it appears to be *Shîn*. This is farther confirmed by the *Leyden* manuscript of *Abu'lfeda*'s chronicon, or rather by *M. Reiske*'s *Latin* translation of a passage in that ma-

nuscript; wherein this *Sharfo'ddawla Moslem* is called *filius Coraischi*, that is, *Ebn Koraisb*, or rather *Ebn Koreish*, in conformity to *Erpenius*'s manuscript of *Al Makin*. The same name likewise occurs in Dr. *Pocock*'s MSS. of *Abu'l Faraj*; which puts the point we are now insisting upon beyond all dispute (29).

(29) *Al Makin*, ubi sup. 283. & alib. *Reisk.* *Abu'lfed. annal. Moslemic.* p. 325. *Lipsæ*, 1754. *Greg. Abu'l Far.* p. 229, 230.



- a IN the 471st year of the *Moslem* æra, which commenced July 14th, 1078, *Mâlec Shâh* and of 471. undertook the conquest of the country beyond the *Jibân*, whose *Khân*, called *Solimân*, he overthrew with very great slaughter, took him prisoner, and sent him under a strong escorte to *Esfahân*, then the capital of his dominions. For a farther account of this expedition, our readers may have recourse to the history of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, which will have a place assigned it hereafter in this work. The same year, the *Soltân* took to wife *Turkân*, or *Tarkân*, *Khatûn*, the daughter of *Tamghaj Khan*, the son of *Bagra Khân*, or *Terâh*, king of the *Turks*, as he is called by *Al Makîn*. That princess brought him a son, in 479, denominated *Sanjâr*, from a little city of that name in *Khorasân*, where he was born. Some, however, have given this prince the appellation of *Mahmûd*. About this time, *Ibrahim Ebn*
- b *Mas'ûd*, the ninth *Soltân* of the race of *Gazna*, after his return from *India*, where he had considerably extended his conquests, being informed, that *Mâlec Shâh* was making great preparations to attack him, sent ambassadors to the *Seljukian* court; who prevailed upon the *Soltân* to desist from his intended invasion of the territories of the house of *Gazna*. They even persuaded *Mâlec Shâh* to enter into an alliance with *Ibrahim*, and to marry his daughter to *Mas'ûd*, that prince's son. According to some writers followed by *M. Renaudot*, *Christodulus*, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch, departed this life, the present year<sup>c</sup>.

- THE next year, being the 472d of the *Hejra*, beginning July 4th, 1079, the forces of *Mesr*, or *Egypt*, advancing to *Damascus*, in order to besiege it, *Aksîs*, or *Afsîs*, who com-<sup>What happened in the year of the Hejra 472,</sup> manded in that city, sent for assistance to *Tâjo'ddawla*; at whose approach the *Egyptians* thought fit to retire. Hereupon *Afsîs*, coming to visit him, was seized, and slain, by his command. Then, taking the city, he became master of all his riches and valuable effects. After this, the inhabitants, who had fled into *Irâk* and *Khorasân*, to avoid the tyranny of *Afsîs*, returned to enjoy the protection of the *Seljuks*. The same year *Sharfo'ddawla Ebn Moslem Ebn Koreish*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Al Mawfel*, having obtained leave of *Mâlec Shâh* to subdue *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, on condition of paying him annually 300000 *dinârs*, marched against that place; which, after it had been for some time besieged, was, together with the castle, delivered up to him. The *Sâheb*, or prince of *Aleppo*, when *Sharfo'ddawla* took possession of it, was *Sâbek*, or *Sâbak*, *Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nafr Ebn Sâleb*
- d *Ebn Mardâs*, whose ancestors had reigned near sixty years there. As *Mâlec Shâh* had received the instrument of his investiture from *Al Moktadi*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, so all the lesser *Mohammedan* princes, *Sâhebs*, or *Emîrs*, derived their authority from the *Soltân*. The *Seljukian* empire was at this time one of the most potent monarchies that had ever been erected in the East, extending from the borders of *Egypt*, according to some authors of good repute, to a considerable distance beyond the *Jibân*, the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*. *Cyril*, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch, answered a synodical letter, written in the name of *Dionysius*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Antioch*, the metropolitans, bishops, and priests, under his jurisdiction, and directed, or addressed to *Christodulus*; whose name, on account of his death, was expunged, and that of *Cyril* substituted in his room. The letter was
- e brought by one *Thomas*, a *Syrian* presbyter, from *Antioch* to *Mesr*, and read publicly in the *Jacobite* churches there. After this, *Dionysius's* name was inserted in the diptychs, and mentioned at the altars, during the time of divine service. As for *Cyril*, he resided for the most part at *Mesr*, near the church of *St. Michael*, generally called *Mokhtâra*, or *Al Mokhtâra*, in a neighbouring cell. He afterwards intended to have fixed his residence in *Al Rif*; but was prevented from carrying his design into execution, not only by the frequent conferences he had with *Al Mostanser Billah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, but likewise by the numerous legations out of *Nubia* and *Ethiopia*<sup>f</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 473d of the *Hejra*, commencing June 22d, 1080, *Sedido'ddawla Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Moklad Ebn Nafr Ebn Monkad Al Catâni* advanced
- f to *Shaizar* at the head of a powerful army, laid siege to that city, and at last obliged it to surrender to him. This fortress, with the district appertaining to it, which comprehended a considerable prefecture of *Syria*, remained in the possession of *Sedido'ddawla's* family, till it was taken by *Al Mâlec Al Adel Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, after an earthquake, which had destroyed a great part of the place. When this dire event happened, all *Sedido'ddawla's* descendents were buried in the ruins of the walls and buildings that had been demolished by the shocks, according to *Al Makîn*. The same year, *Salmon*, or *Solomon*, the king of *Nubia*, having abdicated his kingdom, and placed *George*, his sister's son, upon the throne, entered upon the monastic state; and, that he might entirely devote himself to the service of Almighty God, retired into the valley of *Abunefser*, or *St. Onufrius*, where a church had been erected, under the protection of that saint. This church
- g

<sup>c</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 542. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 287. MIRKHOND, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 447. <sup>f</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 284, 279, 280. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 447—452.



was about three days journey from the confines of *Nubia*. The governor of *Afwân*, being informed that the king of *Nubia*, some of whose subjects were *Mohammedans*, had taken up his residence in a neighbouring desert, sent a party of twenty soldiers to remove him from thence, and conduct him to *Al Kâbirah*. The governor had received his intelligence from one of *Kenazo'ddawla's* brothers, who had been defeated by *Bedr Al Jemâl*, and made his escape into *Nubia*; but was sent back into *Egypt*, by *Salmon*, at the requisition of that *Emir*. Upon his arrival at *Mesr*, *Salmon* was treated with uncommon marks of distinction; trumpets sounding, and drums beating, when he entered that city, by the *Fâtemite Khalîfs* command, in order to do him the greater honour. *Bedr Al Jemâl*, the *Wazîr*, or *Emir*, for he was dignified for both those titles, entertained him in a very hospitable manner, ordered a proper apartment to be magnificently fitted up for him, and most copiously supplied him with all the necessaries and elegancies of life. He died about a year after his arrival at *Al Kâbirah*, and was buried in the monastery of St. George in *Kbandek*. He assigned as a reason for his abdication the almost inevitable necessity kings lie under of indulging their irregular appetites, shedding blood, and committing acts of injustice; which, however specious and agreeable their conduct may appear to men, must render them extremely criminal and reproachable in the sight of Almighty God. With regard to *Salmon's* appointment of his successor, before he abdicated the crown; this, we are told by an *Armenian* author, was perfectly consonant to the laws and political constitution of *Nubia*, according to which the king's nephew, by his sister, after his death ascended the throne. Nor were there lately wanting instances of the same kind in other remote countries, particularly the *Indies*, if we will believe M. *Renaudot*, and any attention is to be paid to several of the most eminent *Portuguese* writers <sup>a</sup>.

The chief occurrences of the year 474,

THE 474th year of the *Hejra*, which began June 11th, 1081, was rendered remarkable by the death of *Nûro'ddawla Dobais Al Asadi*; who departed this life before the close of it. He reigned fifty-seven years, lived eighty, and was adorned with many excellent virtues. His subjects almost adored him, for the rectitude and moderation of his government. *Mansûr*, surnamed *Bahao'ddawla*, his son, who succeeded him, bore likewise the character of a most upright and equitable prince. Immediately after his accession, he was confirmed in the sovereignty of the province over which his father had presided by *Mâlec Shâh*, and honoured by *Al Moktadi Beamri'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, with a royal vest. About this time, *Severus*, a youth of great erudition, at the recommendation of *Bedr Al Jemâl*, the *Wazîr*, who had received some very valuable presents from him, and a promise of several more, was ordained by *Cyril*, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch, the metropolitan of *Ethiopia* <sup>b</sup>.

and of 475.

IN the 475th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 1st, 1082, *Sedîdo'ddawla Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Moklad Ebn Nasr Ebn Monkad Al Catâni*, died at *Sbaizar*, after he had reigned there a year and several months. He was a wise, excellent and magnanimous prince. *Abu'l Merhaf Nasr Ebn Ali Moklad*, his son, succeeded him at *Sbaizar*, and was surnamed *Mâleco'ddawla*. As for *Sedîdo'ddawla*, besides his other accomplishments, he had a taste for poetry, and was even himself an eminent poet. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by *Al Makîn* <sup>c</sup>.

Nothing remarkable happened, the following year.

THE next year, being the 476th of the *Hejra*, beginning May 20th, 1083, produced not many remarkable events, at least scarce any account of any such events has been handed down to us by the oriental writers. However, it may not be improper to remark, that *Mohammed Ebn Habeth*, who succeeded his father *Habeth Ebn Abu'l Kasem*, in the year of the *Hejra* 461, reigned through the whole course of it at *Corduba* in *Spain*. This prince's dominions were of very considerable extent. He presided over the *Moslems* of *Corduba* and many other towns, whom he governed with great lenity and moderation, and in a very prosperous manner, till he was dispossessed of all his territories by the *Al Moravides*, called *Al Morabeta* and *Molathemiyah* by the *Arabs* under the command of *Yusef Ebn (H) Tassefin*; a relation of whose conquests will be inserted in a future part of this work, to which it will more properly belong <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 284, 285. ISM. AB'ULFED. AL MAKRIZI, ABUSELAH ARMEN. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 451, 452. <sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 360. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 452, 453. <sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 285. <sup>d</sup> EBN SHONNAH, RODERIC. TOLETAN. iust. Arab. c. XLVII. p. 37, 38. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 623 624.

(H) This name is strangely corrupted in the oriental manuscripts; being written *Bashtekin*, *Bashkebin*, *Tashkekin*, and *Nashkekin* there. *Yusef Ebn Tassefin*, or *Tassefin*, is said to have built the city of *Marâkash*, *Marâkesb*, or *Morocco*, which the *Al Moravides* made the capital of their empire, in the year of the *Hejra* 462 (1).

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 554, 623, 624, 877.



- <sup>a</sup> THE following year, being the 477th of the *Hejra*, commencing *May* 9th, 1084, *Mâlec Shâh* sent *Al Kastakar*, his *Hâjeb* and general, to *Baghdâd*, as his lieutenant there; at which time, his *Wazîr*'s son was in that city. The same year, his brother *Takash* rebelled against him; and, having taken *Merû*, or *Marwa*, in *Khorasân*, would not permit his army to enter it for three days. However, he and a select party that attended him plundered it during that term, lay with such women as were prohibited by the *Moslem* law, and drank wine in the great temple or mosque, in the month of *Ramadân*. But, receiving advice, that *Mâlec Shâh* was marching against him, he retired into the castle of *Berjes*; which being taken, he was thrown into irons, and confined in a fortress of considerable strength. This year, *Sbarfo'ddawla Ebn Koreish*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo* and *Al Marwâs*, moved at the head of his forces to attack *Antioch*, then in the hands of *Solimân Ebn Kotolmîsh*; who put his army to flight, and he died of his wounds. Before the beginning of the action, he had sent a detachment of his troops to summon the city, but found the garrison determined to defend it to the last extremity. About this time, *Severus*, who had promised *Bedr Al Jemâl*, *Al Mostanser's Wazîr*, to prevail upon some of the *Abissinian* princes to submit to the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, when he appeared as metropolitan, was opposed by one *Cyril*, said to be an intruder and impostor, who pretended to have been ordained by, and received a proper authority from, *Christodulus*, the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch, in *Ethiopia* <sup>1</sup>.
- <sup>b</sup> IN the 478th year of the *Hejra*, which began *April* 29th, 1085, *Al Mâlec Tâjo'ddawla*, and of the having been apprized of *Sbarfo'ddawla Ebn Koreish*'s death, marched towards *Aleppo*, accompanied by *Artâk Al Turkmâni*, or the *Turkmân*, who had made himself master of *Holwân* and *Al Habel*. These two commanders agreed to attack *Solimân*, the *Sâheb* of *Antioch*, who seems to have been then either in possession of *Aleppo*, or to have formed the siege of that city. They fought several battles with him, under the walls of *Aleppo*; in the last of which *Solimân* was slain, and his forces routed. After this victory, *Tâjo'ddawla* seized upon *Aleppo*, and reduced to his obedience the whole country of *Syria*. It appears from *Anna Comnena*, that *Tâjo'ddawla* was called by the *Greeks* *Tutuses*; which appellation is not very remote from *Tatash*, the name, or rather surname, given *Tâjo'ddawla* by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Anna Comnena* likewise relates, that the great *Soltân*, being informed of *Tutuses*'s, or *Tâjo'ddawla*'s, success, and fearing he would grow too powerful, in order to strengthen himself, sent a *Chaus*, or *Chausb*, that is, a messenger of state, to the emperor *Alexis*, to propose an alliance with him by way of marriage; of which we shall oblige our readers with a more particular account, in a future part of this work. About the time that we are now upon, though the year in which this event happened has not been precisely determined, *Bedr Al Jemâl*, *Al Mostanser's Wazîr*, put to death his son. That young nobleman, having been made the governor, or rather commandant, of *Alexandria*, at the instigation of some of his officers, whose fathers, or other relations, had been executed, for joining *Nâsero'ddawla* in his defection, rebelled against the *Fâtemite Khalîf*. But, after he had sustained a siege for two months, he was obliged to surrender to his father, who commanded the *Khalîf*'s troops, upon terms; the principal of which was, that the citizens of *Alexandria*, who had joined the *Wazîr*'s son in his rebellion against the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, and even cut off that prince's garrison in their city, should be fined or mulcted a very considerable sum. The *Wazîr*, being in possession of the town, insisted upon a larger sum, amounting to 120000 *dinârs*, than what had been stipulated in the capitulation; which seems to have highly exasperated his son, as he afterwards, with several other persons, conspired against his father's life. This *Wazîr*, therefore, finding him absolutely incorrigible, confined him to his chamber eighteen months, and at the end of that term put him to death; though as to the manner in which this was done, the *Egyptian* writers are far from being perfectly agreed <sup>2</sup>.
- <sup>c</sup> THE next year, being the 479th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *April* 18th, 1086, *Mansûr Ebn Babao'ddawla Mansûr Ebn Nûro'ddawla Dobais Al Asadi* departed this life, and was succeeded in the sovereignty of *Hella Al Nil*, and all the other places he possessed, by *Saifo'ddawla Sadaka*, his son. *Hella*, or *Hellab*, the first of these, a city seated on the *Euphrates*, not far from *Anbâr*, is supposed, with good reason, to have been erected either on or near the spot where *Babylon* stood. We must not forget to remark, that, according to some of the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, *Yusef Ebn Tefsefin*, the *Molathemiyan* general, gained the battle of *Zalab*, or *Zalafab*, near the city of *Badajos*, or *Badajox*, wherein king *Alphonfus* was defeated and slain, the present year. That general had before secured the person of *Mohammed Ebn Habeth*, the king of *Corduba*, who had called him to his assistance against the king of *Castile*; so that the victory obtained at *Zalab* enabled him to complete the con-

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 285, 286. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 453. <sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 286. ANN COMNEN. in Alex. l. vi. p. 170. Parisiis, 1651. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 366, 374. AL M. KRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 460.



quest of the *Moslem* part of *Spain*. It ought to be here observed, that this *Alatbeniyan* prince acknowledged for his sovereign, and recognized the authority of, *Al Moktadi Beamrillab*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdád* <sup>a</sup>.

*Al Moktadi marries Mâlec Shâh's daughter.* THE following year, being the 480th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 7th, 1087, the *Khalif Al Moktadi* espoused the daughter of *Mâlec Shâh*. This princess was a lady of transcendent beauty, and the public rejoicings at *Baghdád*, when she made her entry into that capital, were such as surpassed every thing of the same kind that before had happened in the *Moslem* world. For, all the streets of the city were illuminated with wax torches on this occasion; and the *Khalif*, in order to demonstrate his affection for so charming a creature, prepared for her a most magnificent festin; in forming the desert of which, 24000 pounds weight of sugar was consumed. Every other article of this most superb entertainment, if one of the eastern writers may be credited, who has been followed in this valuable work by *M. D'Herbelot*, were proportionably grand <sup>b</sup>.

*Mâlec Shâh performs the pilgrimage to Mecca.* IN the 481st year of the *Hejra*, commencing *May* 27th, 1088, *Mâlec Shâh* performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, according to *Hamdallah Mestûfi*, in the *Târikh Khozideh*, with an incredible expence. For, besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he laid out very large sums in building towns in the desert; where he ordered a great number of wells and cisterns to be made, and water to be conveyed to them from all sides. He likewise commanded plenty of provisions to be carried, for the subsistence of the pilgrims; and distributed immense sums amongst the poor, with an unparalleled liberality. We must not forget to observe, that *Ibrahim Ebn Mas'ûd*, either the eighth or the ninth *Soltân* of the house of *Gazna*, who had entered into an alliance with *Mâlec Shâh*, died according to *Mirkhond*, the present year <sup>c</sup>.

*What happened in the year 482.* THE next year, being the 482d of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 16th, 1089, *Mâlec Shâh's* daughter, who had been married to *Al Moktadi Beamrillab*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdád*, left her husband in disgust <sup>d</sup>, and returned to *Esfabân*, then her father's residence, and the capital of the *Seljukian* empire. Here she remained to the time of her death; but when that happened, we have not been certainly informed. This year, the brother of *Severus*, the metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, came into *Egypt* out of that country, with presents for *Bedr Al Jemâl*, *Al Mostanser's Wazîr*; which, if we will believe the author here referred to, by no means pleased him. The *Wazîr* had no sooner received them, than he sent for the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch; who immediately, with ten bishops, waited upon him. He then asked the patriarch, Why he had ordained the metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, without paying the usual sum to the *Fâtemite Khalif*? He likewise complained, that the metropolitan had neither caused any mosques to be erected in *Ethiopia*, nor sent him any rich presents, as he had promised to do. To this the bishop of *Danku*, one of those who attended the patriarch, made answer, That the metropolitan of *Ethiopia* had not been ordained but by his express order; to which the *Wazîr* replied, that both he and the patriarch lied. He then signified to them, that he insisted upon two bishops being immediately dispatched into *Ethiopia*, who should take care to have a certain number of mosques built there, and see that divine service was performed in them after the *Mohammedan* manner. The *Wazîr* also gave them to understand, that the *Moslem* merchants, as he had been informed, were not permitted to traffick in *Ethiopia*; and that, if this was true, he knew what course to take. When he dismissed them, he obliged the bishops to take with them two soldiers a-piece, and to pay each of them a *dinâr* a day; with which money, by his command, they were to be supplied by the patriarch. He farther intimated to them, at their dismissal, that this mulct should be continued till *Mark*, the bishop of *Wissim* and *Gizet*, and *Theodore*, the bishop of *Sinjâr*, or *Senjar*, were sent upon the abovementioned errand into *Ethiopia*. In the mean time, an embassy arrived at *Al Kâbirah* from *Basilus*, the king of *Nubia*, with magnificent presents for the *Wazîr*; the principal of which embassy was the son of the late king, who desired to be ordained a bishop. The *Wazîr* hereupon sent for the patriarch, the ten bishops, with the soldiers that lived upon them, and the brother of the metropolitan of *Ethiopia*. When they appeared before him, he communicated to them the contents of a letter he had received from a *Mohammedan* merchant; who therein accused the metropolitan of shutting him out of *Ethiopia*, and seized upon all his subsistence by force. But it was proved, in answer to this accusation, that, at the time when these things were supposed to be done, *Severus*, the metropolitan, was in prison, where he had been before confined by the king of *Ethiopia*. The *Wazîr* then said, that the metropolitan had promised him to erect four mosques in *Ethiopia*, and that he had not been as good as his word. His brother instantly replied, that he had actually built seven mosques there; but that

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in geogr. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 624.

<sup>b</sup> KHONDEMIR, apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 591. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. <sup>c</sup> HAMDALLAH MESTUFI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 542. MIRKHOND, ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 591.



- a the *Ethiopians* had levelled them with the ground, and the king had imprisoned him for what he had done. This pacified the *Wazîr*, who thereupon demanded what they intended to do? We will, said they, write letters to the metropolitan and the king of *Ethiopia*, in *Coptic* and *Arabic*, drawn up in whatever terms you shall think fit to dictate to us, which shall be read to you, for your approbation; and we will moreover send two bishops with them into *Ethiopia*, that they may have the greater weight there. By this means they extricated themselves out of the difficulties in which they were involved, and pleased the *Wazîr*; who thereupon supplied the two bishops with all things necessary for their intended journey, and took their brethren and the patriarch again under his protection. The same author adds, that he was told by persons worthy of credit, that the *Wazîr* likewise dispatched an ambassador with the bishops to the court of *Ethiopia*, with a letter to the king, importing, that, if he did not comply with every one of his demands contained therein, he would absolutely demolish all the *Christian* churches in *Egypt*. To which, continues this writer, the *Ethiopian* monarch made answer, that if he displaced but a single stone in any of the *Christian* churches under his jurisdiction, he would send him all the stones and tiles of the temple at *Mecca*, and make up every one that was wanting with its weight in gold. Hence it appears, that the *Ethiopians*, or *Abissinians*, were at this time so far from being *Moslems*, that *Mohammedism*, though professed by some of the *Fâtemite Khalîf's* subjects in that country, was not publicly tolerated in *Ethiopia*.

- c THE following year, being the 483d of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 6th, 1090, the *Bâtaniyah*, not *Bathania*, or *Bathaniyah*, as they are called by M. D'Herbelot, began to subdue the castles of *Deylam* and the *Persian Irâk*. The first they took was in the former province, and denominated *Al Rûdiyâr*. It belonged to *Kamâb's*, a prince in alliance with *Mâlec Shâh*; and was delivered by *Kamâb's* lieutenant to *Al Hasan Ebn Masbâh*, who had seduced him, for 1200 *dinârs*. This *Al Hasan*, who had persuaded the governor of *Rûdiyar* to turn *Bâtanist*, was a native of *Merû* in *Khorasân*, and had been secretary to *Abd'alrezak*, or *Harâm*. Afterwards going to *Egypt*, he met with a *Bâtanist*, who brought him over to their persuasion; and by the consent of the people, made him, whose family was one of the noblest in *Merû*, the chief, and head, of the sect. He had many followers, who paid an implicit obedience to him. As he soon grew considerable, *Mâlec Shâh* sent him a threatening letter, requiring his submission. *Al Hasan* hereupon ordered the *Soltan's* messengers to be brought before him; when he sent for a company of his people, and commanded one of them, a young man, to kill himself: Which he instantly did, without the least hesitation. He ordered another to throw himself headlong from the top of the castle; which he performed immediately, and broke his neck. After this, *Al Hasan* told the *Seljukian* ambassador, that he had no other answer to return the *Soltân*, than that he had 70000 men at his command, who obeyed him in the manner which he had seen. *Mâlec Shâh* was not a little surprized, when these things were reported to him; and, having other affairs on his hands, he thought it not adviseable to enter into a war with that prince. His troops therefore, in a short time, reduced several other castles; and, amongst the rest, that of *Al Amût*. This, being rendered almost impregnable, they esteemed as their strongest hold, and royal seat. These *Bâtanites*, or *Bâtenites*, are likewise called *Ismaelians*, by some authors, and were nearly related to the *Karmatians*, if they were not a branch of them. They are also termed, by the *Arabs*, *Al Molâhedak*, or the *impious*; and, by the writers of the history of the holy wars, *Assassins*. They agreed with the *Karmatians* in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the *Mohammedan*, their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprize, their pretended attachment to a certain *Imâm* of the house of *Ali*, &c. These *Bâtanites* dispersed themselves over several parts of the east. The word signifies *Esoterics*, or people of *inward* or *hidden* light or knowledge. As these enthusiasts now possessed themselves of the best part of *Al Jebâl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, under the conduct of *Al Hasan Ebn Masbâh*, or *Al Hasan Sabâh*, as he is sometimes called, the commencement of the dynasty of the *Ismaelian* princes is generally placed in the year that we are at present upon. The style, or title, adopted by these princes was, *Sheikh Al Jebâl*, that is, the prince of *Al Jebâl*, or the chief of the mountainous country; the province of *Al Jebâl* being such a sort of tract, and even from this circumstance deriving its modern name. The words *Sheikh Al Jebâl* may likewise be properly rendered the senior, or old man, of the mountain, as to every one in the least acquainted with the *Arabic* very clearly appears. The *Persians* give this territory the name of *Kûbestân*, or *Kûbistân*, a term in their language of the same import with *Jebâl* in the *Arabic* tongue, and denoting a mountain, or mountainous tract. Hence the chief of these *Assassins* goes under the appella-

The principal events of the year 483,

\* TAKI'ODDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI in Mawred'o'llatafa, ABUSELAH ARMEN. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 462, 463. 464.



tion of *the old man of the mountain* amongst the writers of the history of the holy wars. *Al Hasan Ebn Masbâh* and his descendants reigned in *Al Jebâl* an hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by *Hûlâkû*, or *Holagu*, the *Tartar*; who abolished the *Khalîfat*, by the reduction of *Baghdâd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 656<sup>f</sup>.

and of the  
year 484.

THE 484th year of the *Moslem* æra, which began *Feb.* 23d, 1091, seems not to have produced many memorable events. However, *Mâlec Shâh*, during the course of it, according to some of the eastern writers, undertook a second journey to *Baghdâd*, and returned from thence to *Esfahân*, his royal seat. About this time, or rather a little earlier, *Severus*, the metropolitan, who had ineffectually endeavoured to expel polygamy from thence, introduced several salutary regulations, tending to reform the manners both of the king and his subjects, into *Ethiopia*<sup>e</sup>.

Nodhâm Al  
Molc, Mâlec  
Shâh's Wazîr,  
is deposed and  
assassinated,

THE next year, being the 485th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Feb.* 12th, 1092, was rendered remarkable by the deposition and assassination of *Nodhâm*, or *Nezâm*, *Al Molc*, *Mâlec Shâh's Wazîr*. The *Soltân* having sent *Kûdan*, one of his principal slaves, to *Merû* in *Khorasân*, *Othmân Ebn Jamâl Al Molc*, *Nodhâm Al Molc's* grandson, the governor of that city and the prefecture belonging to it, presuming on his grandfather's uncontrollable power, and excited thereto by the indiscretion of his youth, treated him extremely ill; which so incensed the *Soltân*, that he sent him a sharp and expostulating letter, to the following effect: "If you are in reality my partner in the empire, go on as you please; but if you are my minister, you ought not to pass the limits prescribed ministers and subjects. This has been done by some of your family, and particularly by *Othmân Ebn Jamâl Al Molc*, your grandson, in *Khorasân*." This letter being delivered to the *Wazîr*, the purport of his answer was as follows: "Do you not remember, that, when your father was slain, I had the management of all your affairs, and suppressed all the rebellions that soon after broke out against you? At that time your whole dependence was upon me. But now, after you have proved superior to all your enemies, and when every one of your subjects obeys you, you give ear to my accusers, and listen to the calumnies they have forged against me. Are you ignorant that the agreement and connection between your turban and my ink-stand are the true cause of the prosperity you have enjoyed; and that your future felicity, and the stability of your throne, will intirely depend upon them?" The imprudent and unguarded expressions in this answer extremely irritated *Mâlec Shâh*, who thereupon immediately deprived him of his employment. *Khondemir* writes, that this *Wazîr* was greatly imbroiled with the *Soltâna*, *Tarkân Khâtûn*, upon the subject of the succession, which she had a mind should fall upon her youngest son; but was opposed herein by *Nodhâm Al Molc*, who was for elevating to the throne after his father *Barkiarok*, as being both the eldest son and the most capable of taking upon himself the government. The *Soltâna*, therefore, according to this author, in order to carry her design into execution, meditated the destruction of the *Wazîr*. For which purpose, she accused him of absolutely disposing of all places in the empire, and dividing them amongst his sons; which, by reason of a bold answer returned by the *Wazîr* to a message he received from the *Soltân*, finally terminated in his disgrace. *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaasar Al Kazwîni*, the author of the *Nighiaristân*, ascribes *Nodhâm Al Molc's* dismissal to the conduct of his son *Mowayyad*, or *Mowayyed*, *Al Molc*; who, soon after he had been made secretary of state, turned out *Abu Jaasar Al Zûzeni*, surnamed *Al Adib*, the first clerk in the office, esteemed the most excellent writer of the large character called by the *Turks* and *Persians* *Togra* of his time, though put in by the *Soltân's* order, and returned an insolent answer to *Mâlec Shâh*, when he sent to have him restored. This at last drew the *Wazîr* himself into the dispute, and ended in his amotion from the sublime post he had filled with so much reputation about thirty years. *Nodhâm Al Molc*, after he was dispossessed of his charge, followed the court, which just at that time set out from *Esfahân* for *Baghdâd*; and being arrived at *Nahawând*, a boy of the *Bâtanite* sect, approaching him under pretence of begging, or otherwise, stabbed him with a knife, by the procurement of *Taj Al Molc Kami*, the president of the privy council, who succeeded him in his sublime office. But *Al Hasan Sabah*, prince of the *Bâtanites*, according to the *Lebtârîkh*, commanded the assassin, who was a *Deylamite*, to perpetrate the horrid fact. Before the *Wazîr* expired, he wrote a letter to *Mâlec Shâh* in *Persian* verse, conceived in the following terms: "Supported by your authority, great monarch, I have spent one part of my life in banishing injustice from your dominions. I am now going to give an account of my administration, which I carry with me, as a witness of my fidelity to your majesty, to the sovereign king of heaven. The fatal term of my life happens in the ninety-third year of my age, and it is the blow of a knife that puts a period to my

<sup>f</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 286, 287. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. p. 104, 437, 505, 620, & 784. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 505, &c. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, &c. <sup>e</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 591. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 453, 454.

" days,



- a “ days. Nothing remains but to deliver into the hands of my son a continuation of the “ long services I have rendered you, by recommending him to God and your majesty.” Hence it appears, that *Nodbâm Al Molc* was cut off in the 93d year of his age; though he was not above seventy-seven years old, at the time of his death, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. His father is said to have been the prefect, or governor, of a small town in the territory of *Tûs*. He learned *Arabic*, in his younger years, and was secretary to *Bajer*, lord of *Balkb*. But that prince plundering him the beginning of every new year, and telling him he was grown too fat, he fled to *Jaafar*, or *Jagri*, *Bek Dawûd*, *Togrul Bek*'s brother; who made him preceptor to *Alb*, or *Alp*, *Arslân*, his son. His palace was open to all learned and virtuous men, to whom he always professed himself a patron; which is not to be wondered at, as he was himself both learned and virtuous. The liberality, which this great man exercised, vastly enhanced his other rare qualities. In the first progress, which *Mâlec Shâh* made through his extensive dominions, the *Wazîr* distributed amongst the poor, out of his own coffers, no less than 280,000 *dinârs*. Many epicedia, or copies of verses in praise of him after his death, were made by the *Arab* poets of that age; the best of which seems to have been one written by *Shablo'ddawla*, that has been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. But, for a full and ample account of this celebrated minister, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the reign of *Mâlec Shâh*, the third *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, to which it more properly belongs<sup>h</sup>.
- b

- c THE same year, soon after the assassination of *Nodbâm Al Molc*, *Mâlec Shâh* proceeded to *Baghdâd*; where he arrived the 14th of *Ramadân*. He went a hunting, with many attendants, on the third of *Shawâl*; and, eating some of the flesh of the game, returned sick to his palace. A vein being opened, but little blood came out; which increased his illness to a burning fever; so that he died on a *Friday*, about the middle of the same month. He survived *Nodbâm Al Molc*, his *Wazîr*, only eighteen days. His wife, *Tarkan Kbâtân*, concealed his death while she stayed at *Baghdâd*, and probably carried his remains with her to *Esfahân*. She also distributed considerable sums of money amongst the military men; by which means, and the assistance of *Taj Al Molc*, the *Wazîr*, she prevailed upon the army to take the oath of allegiance to *Mahmûd*, the youngest of *Mâlec Shâh*'s sons. The death of the *Soltân* occasioned a tetraſtich, or quatrain, in *Persian*, made by a *Magrebian* poet, the sense of which was to the following effect: “ The old *Wazîr* dies in one month, and the “ young king follows him in the next. The power of God discovers to us the weakness “ of princes, to the end that we should adore him alone, and not attach ourselves too “ closely to any thing else.” This great prince, who was the third *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, lived thirty-seven years, and five months; of which he reigned twenty, and some months over. As to his person, he was very handsome both in shape and features, besides being extremely polite in his behaviour. With regard to his character, he was an excellent prince, wise, liberal, courageous, had fine parts, and was remarkable for his sincerity and piety. He reduced the taxes, and put a stop to other vexations; repaired bridges, high roads, and canals; erected the temple of *Baghdâd*, called *Al Jûma' Al Soltân*, the temple of the *Soltân*, and also the *Hanîſcan* college, near the chapel of the famous *Imâm*, *Abu Hanîſa Al Nômân Ebn Thâbet*, in the quarter of the city called *Al Rusâfa*, and most munificently endowed it. He likewise ordered, according to *Khondemir*, other colleges, besides hospitals, and houses of pleasure, to be built in several parts of his dominions. He moreover constructed market-places and towns. He acquired an immense quantity of plunder, during the wars in which he was engaged, obtained many victories over his enemies, and extended the frontiers of his empire from *Turkeſtân* to the *Holy Land* and *Yaman*. He made the roads secure, and, by the wise measures he pursued, procured plenty of every thing in all places. He was a terror to bad men, and a support to the innocent, the widow, and the poor; who had always justice done them in his courts. Soon after *Nîs*, *Takaſh*, or *Takaſh*, his brother, had rebelled against him, he went to *Tûs*, in order to visit the *Masjhad Ali Ebn Mûſa Al Radi*, that is, the *ſuplckre*, or place of martyrdom, of *Ali Ebn Mûſa Ebn Jaafar Al Radi*, descended in a right line from *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, and esteemed by the *Persians* as one of the twelve *Imâms*. He was attended in this journey by *Nodbâm Al Molc*, his *Wazîr*; who prayed most devoutly, as soon as he reached *Ali Ebn Mûſa*'s tomb. The *Soltân*, observing this, could not forbear asking him what might be the object of such fervent supplications? He immediately replied, “ I am now offering up my prayers to heaven for “ your majesty, that you may extinguish the unnatural rebellion lately broke out in your “ dominions; and prove superior to your brother *Takaſh*.” To which the *Soltân* made
- d
- e
- f

*Mâlec Shâh's death and character.*

<sup>h</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 361, 362, 363. KHANDEMIR, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED AED'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiariſt*. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtarikb*, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mahſſhab*, p. 542, 543. & art. *Nadbâm Al Molc*, p. 654, 655. Vide etiam MIRKHOND, apud D'Herbel. p. 543. ut & ipſe D'HERBEL. ibid.



answer, “ My prayer is of a different kind ; it is conceived in the following terms. “ O a  
 “ Almighty God, if my brother will govern the Moslems better than I, let him gain the victory ;  
 “ if not, let me prove superior to him.” Many other such instances of real piety and devo-  
 tion were exhibited by him, according to *Al Makin*. Though he lived in good understand-  
 ing, and even perfect amity, with the *Khalif*, he ordered that prince to retire from *Bagh-*  
*dâd* ; that he might be the supreme soveraign, and have the chief command, in the metro-  
 polis of the *Moslem* empire. The *Khalif*, after the *Soltân*’s arrival there, begged he might  
 be permitted to stay ten days longer in his capital ; and before the expiration of that term,  
 says *Al Makin*, *Mâlec Shâb* departed this life in that city. The same author relates, that  
 he was buried at *Baghdâd* ; though *Tarkân Kbâtûn* carried his corpse with her out of that  
 place, probably to *Esfahân*, according to *Abu’l Faraj*. The two chief blemishes in his b  
 character seem to have been his intended expulsion of the *Khalif Al Moktadi Beamri’llah* from  
*Baghdâd*, and the suspicion he lay under of being privy to the murder of *Nedâm Al Molk*.  
 With respect however to the former of these, it was not improbably occasioned by some-  
 thing which the *Soltân* might judge censurable in the *Khalif*’s conduct ; especially, as we  
 have been told, that *Mâlec Shâb* commanded that prince to depart the city in twenty-four  
 hours, and was not without some difficulty prevailed upon to suspend his banishment for  
 only ten days. As to the latter, there does not appear to be any real foundation for it ; the  
 assassin having, by the *Soltân*’s order, met with the punishment due to his atrocious crime.  
 He was naturally merciful, and spared many great offenders ; tho’ the exigency of affairs, c  
 and the necessity of the times, obliged him to put to death his uncle, and others of his rela-  
 tions. Some writers have represented him as a patron of learned men, and one who had an  
 uncommon affection for those who cultivated the sciences. The *Seljukian* empire in the  
 reign of *Mâlec Shâb* comprehended Syria, or at least the most considerable part of that  
 region, *Mesopotamia*, *Fârs*, *Kermân*, the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâks*, *Khorasân*, *Khawârazm*,  
*Anatolia*, *Great Bukhâria*, or *Mawarâ’nahr*, the kingdom of *Kâshgar*, or *Little Bukhâria*,  
 extending to the borders of *Tibet*, and several others provinces. It was governed by princes,  
 who originally derived their authority from the *Soltân* ; though many of them, several of  
 whom were related to him, afterwards set up for themselves, and seemed to be independent  
 on him. Nay, he is said to have disposed of not a few of the above-mentioned provinces,  
 in his life-time, amongst his relations and domestics. He gave to his cousin *Solimân Ebn d*  
*Kotolmîsh*, or *Kûtûlmîsh*, the country of *Al Rûm*, or what he had taken from the Greek empe-  
 ror ; of which *Arzerûm*, or *Erzerûm*, was then the capital. He established *Soltân Shâb*, the  
 son of his uncle *Kaderd*, with whom he had been imbroiled in the beginning of his reign,  
 in *Kermân* ; of which he was the second *Seljuk Soltân*. Part of Syria he assigned to his bro-  
 ther *Tâjo’ddawla*, *Tatash*, or, as M. D’Herbelot calls him, *Tebis* ; *Khawârazm* to *Tûstakîn*  
 the district of *Aleppo* to *Aksankar* ; that of *Al Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, to *Tchagirmîsh*, or *Jagar-*  
*mîsh* ; and *Mâredîn*, or *Mâradîn*, to *Katmûr*. From whence we may conclude, that *Mâlec*  
*Shâb*’s ambition was confined within moderate bounds ; though he was the most powerful,  
 as well as the most excellent, of the *Seljukian* princes. From some of the aforesaid prefects,  
 or lieutenants, of provinces, descended the *Atâbeks* of *Fârs* and *Irâk*, the latter of which e  
 were the princes of the house of *Zenki*, or *Zengi*, settled at *Al Mawfel*, who possessed them-  
 selves of almost the whole country of Syria. Several of their descendants were likewise  
 cut off by the *Franks* in *Palestine* and Syria, others were destroyed two hundred years after  
 by the *Tartars*, and others did not only preserve, but likewise enlarge the territories they  
 had acquired. One of these was the famous *Nûr’oddîn*, who overthrew the *Franks*, after a  
 bloody battle, near *Antioch* ; in which *Raymond*, the prince of that city, was slain. *Mâlec*  
*Shâb*’s greatest passion was for hunting. He kept 47,000 horses for his ordinary guard,  
 and the chace ; in which he spent a good deal of time. The author of the *Lebtârîkh* relates,  
 that he had constantly on foot a standing army of 48,000 horse. For every beast, which f  
 he killed himself, he gave a *dinâr* to the poor : and it once happened, that he either slew  
 or took 10,000 of them in a day. On this occasion he probably surrounded a whole forest  
 with his nets and toils, as *Mohammed IV*, the *Othmân Soltân*, did, in the last century ; by  
 which means he got into his hands, in so short a time, such an infinity of game. He is  
 said also to have taken vast delight in travelling, and to have made the tour of his exten-  
 sive dominions no less than ten times. The reformation of the *Persian* kalendar, called  
*Târîkh Al Jalâli*, or the *Jalâlean kalendar*, derived its name from *Jalâl*, or *Jalâlo’ddawla*,  
 a title conferred upon *Mâlec Shâb*, and was owing to an order of that prince ; but of this  
 our readers may expect to meet with a full and ample account, in a subsequent part of this  
 work <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 363, 364. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Malekshah*, p. 544. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 287, 288. ISM. ABU’LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 485. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, EEN KHALECAN, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 468, 469, 470. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN AED’OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârîkh*, ULUGH BEIK. epoch. celebr. p. 38. BEVERIDG. instit. chronolo. p. 68, 69. Lond. 1721.



- a THE same year, according to several authors of good repute, died *Cyril*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, who sat fourteen years, three months, and fifteen days, in the patriarchal see there, and was buried in the church of *Al Mokbtâra* in the isle of *Mesr*; from whence he was afterwards transferred to the monastery of *St. Macarius* in the valley of *Habib*. He read, some time before his death, the four gospels in *Coptic*, and wrote *Tafasser*, or commentaries, upon them in *Arabic*; the *Coptic* being then, especially amongst the common people, but little understood. He spent all the money he could spare in relieving the poor, in repairing and rebuilding churches, and in other acts of charity; so that, when he died, he did not leave so much as a single *dirhem* behind him. He fasted often, and lived for the most part till evening upon pulse; other sort of food being prepared for his scholars, or disciples. He spent much of his time in praying, and frequently conversed with those he was to instruct upon divine subjects. When he administered the holy communion, he made use of a form in the *Coptic* tongue. He was extremely well versed in the sacred writings, and acquainted with every thing that could in any manner contribute to a proper illustration and interpretation of them. One *Mikbâyyel*, or *Michael*, who had been formerly detained in prison at *Sinjâr*, or *Senjâr*, was elected patriarch in his room. We must not forget to remark, that a dreadful earthquake made terrible havock at *Antioch*, and many other cities of *Syria*, the preceding year. *Jerusalem* at that time was in the hands of the *Az* (H), or rather *Gaz*, *Turks*; who seem to have succeeded the house of *Artak* there. Soon after the earthquake above-mentioned, the city of *Antioch* was laid almost intirely under water by an inundation of the *Orontes*; which overthrew a vast number of buildings, and did incredible damage in that place. The *Nile* likewise overflowed its banks the same year, and fertilized some of the remoter provinces of *Egypt* in a most wonderful manner; insomuch that a greater plenty was then observable in them than had ever before been known. *Artak Ebn Aksak* (I), the *Turkmân*, the prince of *Mâredin*, who had formerly been put in possession of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, by *Mâlec Shâh*, departed this life, in the year of the *Hejra* 484; after whose death, *Sakmân* and *Ilgâzi*, his sons, occupied *Jerusalem*, and many other towns in *Syria* of considerable note. But they soon (K) relinquished their territories in these parts to the *Gaz Turks* above-mentioned; who, as well as the descendents of *Artak*, acknowledged for their *Soltân Mâlec Shâh*. Nor was it an unusual thing for the petty princes, who recognized the authority of that chief, to quarrel among themselves, and engage in bloody wars one with another, though they were all tributary to the *Seljukian Soltân*; who was by no means displeased with this unaccountable conduct, as it weakened them all, made them more tractable, and obliged them to persevere in their obedience to him, by rendering them incapable of rebelling against him. Some writers pretend, that a supernatural luminous appearance was seen in the church of the resurrection at *Jerusalem*, either in or about the year that we are now upon \*.

- It has been already observed, that, by the management of *Tarkân Khâtûn*, and *Taj Al Molc*, the *Wazîr*, the army had been engaged to take the oath to *Mahmûd*, her son; who had been appointed to succeed him, though he was then not six years old, by his father *Mâlec Shâh*. This was done by concealing the *Soltân's* death, by carrying his corps privately out of *Baghdâd*, and by distributing money copiously among the troops. *Tarkân* was a lady of great prudence and sagacity, and had a body of 10,000 *Turks*, that she could depend upon, intirely at her devotion. She found it therefore no difficult matter to prevail upon the *Khalîf* to confirm *Mahmûd* in the dignity of *Soltân*. This he did by ordering his name to be published in the pulpits, by sending him the ensigns of investiture, and by commanding him to be cloathed with the *Soltân's Kastrân*, or vest, in the presence of *Abu'l Mansûr Ebn Hamyar*. At the same time, the crown was put on his head, and the royal sword girt to his side. On this occasion it has been observed by *Al Makîn*, that never prince so young

\* AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 289. TAKI'ODDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, in Mawredo'llatafa, YAHYA EBN SA'ID EBN YAHYA EBN MINA EBN AL KOLZOMI, ISM. ABU'LFED. GREG. ABU'LFAR. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, &c. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 466, 467, 468.

(H) In some of the manuscript copies of *Abu'l Faraj*, these *Turks*, or *Turkmâns*, are called *Az*, and in others, *Gaz*; the same character standing for A and G, in the *Arabic* alphabets, and being determined to the latter by the diacritical point (i).

(I) This we learn from some of the authors followed by M. Renaudot, in the piece referred to here; though if this *Artak Ebn Aksak*, or *Ortok Ebn Aksak*, as he is sometimes called, be the same person with the *Aksankar*, or *Kasmaroddawla*, of *Al Makîn*, as there is some rea-

son to believe, he must have been killed in battle by *Tajoddawla*, in the year of the *Hejra* 487 (2).

(K) Notwithstanding this is plainly intimated, or rather positively asserted, by M. Renaudot; yet it clearly appears from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Sakmân* and *Ilgâzi*, or *Aylgâzi*, the sons of *Artak*, occupied the city of *Jerusalem*, when it was taken by the *Egyptians*, a little before it fell into the hands of the *Franks*, in the year of the *Hejra* 492 (3).

(1) *Abu'l Far.* ubi sup. p. 337. (2) *Renaud.* ubi sup. p. 466. *Al Makîn*, ubi sup. p. 287, 288, 289, 290. (3) *Renaud.* ubi sup. p. 466. *Greg. Abu'l Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 369.



behaved with better grace, he moving neither hand nor foot, nor any other part of his a body, whilst the ceremony was performing; and that, after *Abu'l Mansûr Ebn Hamyar*, the *Khalîf's Wazîr*, who conducted the whole affair, had made him his master's compliments, he returned thanks for the favours received in a very handsome manner. *Abu'l Mansûr* then went to *Tarkân Khâtûn*, and congratulated her on her son's elevation to the *Seliânat*, as well as condoled with her in the *Khalîf's* name for her husband's death. After which, the young *Soltân* and his mother paid their acknowledgements to the great arbiter of events for the assistance he had vouchsafed them; and then marched at the head of a body of troops to *Nakrawân*, where they incamped. It appears from *Khondemir*, that the *Soltâna* procured the instrument of investiture from the *Khalîf* chiefly by dint of rich presents; and that *Mahmûd*, wherever he might have been at the time of his father's death, was crowned and inau- b gurated at *Baghdâd*<sup>1</sup>.

*Tâjo'ddawla* In the mean time, *Tâjo'ddawla*, the *Sâkeb* of *Damascus*, and brother to *Mâlec Shâh*, receiving advice of the *Soltân's* demise, set up for himself in that city. He also dispatched a minister to *Baghdâd*, to bring him the patent of investiture from the *Khalîf*; but was refused it by that prince, who had before granted to *Tarkân Khâtûn* his declaration in favour of *Mahmûd*. *Tâjo'ddawla* hereupon marched to *Rahaba* upon the *Euphrates*, and possessed himself of that city; after which, he obliged *Kasmaro'ddawla*, on whom the government of *Aleppo* had been conferred by *Mâlec Shâh*, to make his submission to him. It may not be amiss to remind our readers here, that *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, fell into the hands of *Tâjo'ddawla*, who was afterwards forced to cede it to *Kasmaro'ddawla* by *Mâlec Shâh*, in the year c of the *Hejra* 478<sup>m</sup>.

*Barkîârok is proclaimed Soltân at Esfahân.* WHILE *Mahmûd* was crowned at *Baghdâd*, *Abu'l Modhaffer Kâsem*, called *Barkîârok*, the deceased *Soltân's* eldest son, was acknowledged, in right of his birth, for legal successor at *Esfahân*, where he at that time made his residence. He was joined by many people there on account of his primogeniture, and because they thought him more capable of governing the state than a woman and a child. *Tarkân Khâtûn*, being informed of what had happened at *Esfahân*, marched thither with a considerable army of *Turks* from *Nakrawân*, and surprized *Barkîârok* in that city, which she took. But some domestics of *Nodhâm Al Molc*, the late *Wazîr*, who had always wished well to that prince, found means for him to escape out of his mother-in law's hands, and retire to *Shîrâz*; where resided *Takâsh Takîn*, who d had been made *Atâbek*, or lieutenant-general, of *Fârs* by *Mâlec Shâh*. This prince did not only furnish *Barkîârok* with troops, to defend him from all the attempts of his enemies, but likewise conducted him in person under a strong escorte to *Al Ray*, one of the capitals of the *Persian Irak*; where he ordered him to be proclaimed *Soltân*, in his father's room. In the mean time, *Tarkân Khâtûn* caused her son *Mahmûd* to be crowned at *Esfahân*, the other capital, and sent troops to pursue *Barkîârok*; but many of them going over to his side, he defeated the rest. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was *Taj Al Molc*; who being brought to the *Soltân*, the friends of his predecessor slew him. He was a person endowed with many virtues, and excellencies of every kind; but all his good qualities were defaced by the murder of *Nodhâm Al Molc*. *Abu'l Ma'âli Nûbas*, a poet of some note, being not e a little affected with his tragical fate, was thereby induced to write several stanzas upon the inconstancy of fortune, and the instability of human affairs. It must be remembered here, that *Mâlec Shâh* left behind him four sons, *Barkîârok*, *Mohammed*, *Sanjar*, and *Mahmûd*. The first of these, probably by a wrong position of the diacritical points, is named *Tarkîârok* in Dr. *Pocock's* manuscripts of *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>n</sup>.

*Mahmûd resigns.* AFTER the desertion and defeat of *Mahmûd's* troops, *Barkîârok* advanced to *Esfahân*, and laid siege to that city, where his brother was then shut up, with an army of 20,000 men. *Tarkân Khâtûn*, finding herself pressed, and her subjects disposed to a revolt, made proposals for an accommodation to *Barkîârok*; which being accepted by that prince, *Mahmûd* and his mother were left in possession of *Esfahân*, with its dependencies, and *Barkîârok* f received half of his father's treasure, amounting to 500,000 *dinârs*. The peace being concluded, the *Soltân* raised the siege, and turned his arms towards *Hamadân*, where *Isma'îl*, one of his uncles, then commanded. It appears from *Khondemir*, that the name *Barkîârok* received at his circumcision was *Kasem*, or *Kassem*. The life of that celebrated minister *Nodhâm Al Molc*, so famous over all the East, has been written by several of the oriental historians and biographers, and particularly by *Ebn Khalecân*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GREG. AB'UL FAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Barkiarok*, p. 185.

<sup>m</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 287, 288. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 185, 186. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 210—218. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 364. ABU'L MA'ALI NUHAS AL MAGREBI, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 544. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 287. <sup>o</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 185, 186. EBN SHOHNAH, EBN KHALECAN, ISM. ABU'LFED. &c. Vide etiam RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 470.



- a THE following year, being the 486th of the *Hejra*, which began Feb. 1st, 1093; *Ismael*, The most memorable occurrences of the year 486. *Barkîârok*'s uncle, having been allured by *Tarkân Khâtûn*, with hopes of marriage, led all the forces he could draw together in the district of *Hamadân* against his nephew. The two armies, which were pretty equal, met in the plains of *Hamadân*; where, after an obstinate engagement, *Ismael* was overthrown, in the month of *Ramadân*. Being taken prisoner in the action, he was immediately put to the sword. This rebellion was scarce extinguished, when *Takâsh Shâh*, the son of *Arslân Shâh*, another of *Barkîârok*'s uncles, declared war against him; and, having a much greater force, obliged him to retire towards *Esfahân*, where he was very kindly received by his brother *Mahmûd*, whose mother was then dead. However, *Mahmûd*'s friends, judging they should do him important service
- b by such a measure, came to a resolution to seize upon the person of *Barkîârok*; which having executed, they confined him in a certain castle. Nay, it is said, an order was actually given to deprive him of his sight; when, by another more absolute order of providence, *Mahmûd*, being taken with the small-pox, died in a few days. This unforeseen accident proved extremely favourable to *Barkîârok*; who was hereupon set at liberty, and saluted emperor, by the very people who just before had imprisoned him, and would have rendered him incapable of government. Being thus seated a second time on the throne, he chose for his *Wazîr*, or prime minister, *Mowayyad Al Molc*, the son of *Nadbâm Al Molc*, who had the management and direction of all affairs in the reign of *Mûlec Shâh*. He did not, however, continue long in that sublime post; the *Soltân* soon dismissing him, through
- c some distrust, and putting his brother *Fakhr Al Molc*, whom he sent for out of *Khorasân*, in his place. These particulars, which we have extracted from *Khondemir*, nevertheless run counter to what has been handed down to us on the same head by *Al Makîn*. That author gives us to understand, that *Kasimaro'ddawla*, having renounced his allegiance to *Tâjo'd-dawla*, went over with a formidable body of troops to *Barkîârok*, and excited him to come to a rupture with his brother *Mahmûd*; who was deserted by his forces, and driven by his brother from *Baghdâd*, according to the same writer, the following year. Nor did *Tarkân Khâtûn* depart this life before the commencement of that year, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Khondemir*, if we will believe *Al Makîn* <sup>p</sup>.

- d In the 487th year of the *Hejra*, commencing January 21st, 1094, the *Khalîf Al Moktadi* Al Moktadi's death and character. *Beamri'llah* died at *Baghdâd*; of which event the following circumstances have been handed down to us by the eastern historians. *Soltân Barkîârok* having entered *Baghdâd*, on the 15th of *Al Moharrâm*, the present year, made many rich and valuable presents to the *Khalîf*, and demanded the patent of investiture of that prince. This being granted by *Al Moktadi*, he ordered the instrument to be drawn out in form, perused it, signed it, laid it before him, and commanded the *Soltân*'s *Kaftân*, or vest, to be carried to *Barkîârok*. After he had dined, and washed his hands, he read the patent over a second time; and then immediately asked *Shems Al Nabâr*, one of his women, then with him, who those persons were that presumed to come into the room, and to approach him without his permission? *Shems Al Nabâr*, astonished at this, turned her head about to discover who they were; but seeing nobody, she
- e cast her eyes upon the *Khalîf*, and perceived his countenance changed. His hands and feet at the same time failed him, and that very instant he dropt down dead on the ground. Which so terrified her, though she thought him at first only in a swoon, that she immediately called in *Tamîn*, his servant. *Abu'l Mansûr*, his *Wazîr*, and *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed*, his son and successor, being then sent for, his body was prepared for interment, and afterwards inhumed with the usual ceremonies. He lived thirty-eight years, eight months, and some days; of which he reigned nineteen, and eight months, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The author of the *Nighiaristân* relates, that after the table was taken away, only two of his women, *Kahermânab* and *Shamsalnahâr*, or *Shams Al Nabâr*, continued with him; that he drank no more than his usual quantity of liquor that day; and that he suddenly, as if in a state of distraction,
- f proposed to *Shams Al Nabâr* the question above-mentioned. With regard to his character, he is said to have been extremely well versed in the rites and institutions of *Mohammedism*, pious, a lover of learned and honest men, brave, courteous, beneficent, and a very good poet. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by *Al Makîn*. He has been represented by *Khondemir* as a prince who had the reputation of being an admirer of justice, and as one who reformed a great number of abuses, that had crept into the state, in contempt of the laws, whilst he sat upon the *Moslem* throne. As he took vast delight in patronizing men of erudition, several excellent persons dedicated their works to him. Amongst these may be ranked *Sa'id Ebn Hebatallah* (K), the author of the book

<sup>p</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 181. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 288.

(K) This *Sa'id Ebn Hebatallah* seems to be the *Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Al Talmid* of *Abu'l Faraj*. He was physician to several of the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Al Mo'w*. Hist. Vol. I.

*Abbâs*, and died at *Baghdâd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 560. At the time of his death, which happened in the month of *Sa'ûr*, he was about an hundred years old. S K. We



book, intituled, *Mogni fil Tebb*, a physical treatise written for the use of this *Khalif*, and *Ebn Yazlah* (L), who composed a piece, bearing the title of *Takwim Al Abdân*, another physical performance, dedicated to *Al Moktadi*, the twenty-seventh *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*. His views for the advancement of the sciences were admirably well seconded by *Mâlec Shâh* and *Nodbân Al Molt*, this prince's *Wazîr*. For, if *Ebn Shohnah* may be depended upon, they, by the *Khalif*'s order, assembled all the famous astronomers of those parts of the East, that flourished at this time, in the year of the *Hejra* 467, and the beginning of *Al Moktadi*'s reign; who fixed the *Newrûz*, or first day of the solar year of the *Persian* kalendar to the first degree of *Aries*, it having then, by the negligence of astronomers, or rather a succession of years, been gradually removed to the fifteenth degree of *Pisces*, inso-  
 much that they found themselves obliged to suppress fifteen intire days. The *Julian* kalendar was reformed after much the same manner, in the year of our LORD 1582, when ten whole days were suppressed, in order to bring back to the first degree of *Aries* the vernal equinox. The 467th year of the *Moslem* æra was therefore the true and genuine epoch of the reformation of the *Persian*, or *Falâlean*, kalendar; though *Zacuti*, a *Jewish* author, places this epoch in the year of the *Hejra* 472, five years later than the *Arab* writers, and makes the *Newrûz* to have fallen on the fourteenth day of the month *Nisan*, or *March*. Both the first and last days of this *Khalif*'s reign were *Friday*, according to *Al Makin*. The distemper that carried him off so suddenly is called by the *Arabs* *Fajia* and *Mefajian*, a name which they likewise assign to the plague. The *Mohammedans* believe, that it proceeds from certain spirits, or goblins, armed with bows and arrows, sent by God to punish men for their  
 sins, whenever he pleases; and that when the wounds are given by spectres of a black colour, they certainly prove mortal, but not so, when the arrows are shot by those that appear white. It is in this manner that the *Moslems* reason upon the plague, and it is upon this foundation that they never take any precaution (M) to guard themselves against it <sup>a</sup>.

Al Mostanser  
 Bi'llah, the  
 Khalif of  
 Egypt, dies.

THE same year, died *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, on *Thursday*, the 18th of *Dhu'l-hajja*, at midnight, after he had reigned about sixty years. He survived only a few months *Bedr Al Femâl*, the *Armenian*, his general and *Wazîr*; who for several years had the sole management and direction of the *Egyptian* affairs, *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Fâtemite* *Khalif*, himself being in reality nothing better than a nominal prince. A little before the *Wazîr* departed this life, he obtained the instrument of investiture from his master, by which  
*Abu'l Kâsem*, his son, was appointed to succeed him in the post of *Wazîr*, had the title of <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 288, 289, 290. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 487. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, EBN KHALECAN, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 302. AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. ZACUTI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moktadi Benrillah*, p. 591, 592. AHMED EBN MOHAM. ABD'ALJAFAAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 469.

We shall give a farther account of him, when we come to the transactions of that year (1).

(L) *Tabya Ebn Isa Ebn Yazlah* was originally a *Christian*, and studied physic among those of his own religion at *Baghdâd*. But none of the *Christians* there being at that time versed in logic, which he was desirous of learning, he applied himself to *Abu Ali Ebn Al Walid*, a celebrated adept therein, to be instructed in the principles of that art. He did not therefore teach it *Ebn Al Walid*, as M. D'Herbelot asserts. As his master was one of the principal doctors of the *Motazalites*, he at last prevailed upon him not only to embrace *Islamism*, but even the tenets of the *Motazalite* sect. He had not long professed himself a *Moslem*, before he was caressed and employed by *Abu Abd'allah Al Dâmagâni*, or *Dâmaghâni*, chancellor to the *Khalif Al Moktadi*; who had the highest regard for him, both as a physician and a scribe. As he excelled in both those capacities, he is frequently styled *Al Kateb* and *Al Thabib Al Baghdâdi*, by the *Arab* writers. In this situation, he discharged the duties of his posts with reputation and applause; and prescribed for all his friends and acquaintance, without fee or reward. After his apostacy, he is said to have written a letter, which he addressed to *Elias* a *Christian* priest, in order to justify his conduct. In this letter, by a deplorable blindness, he pretends to prove, that *Mohammed* had been predicted and announced both in the Old and New Testament. His two physical treatises ought to be held in more esteem. That which he wrote first

bore the title of *Takwim Al Abdân*, and the other that of *Al Menbâj*. They consist of tables divided into several parts, where all kinds of diseases, and their respective cures, are treated of in an alphabetical order. Dr. Pocock's manuscripts of *Abu'l Faraj* make the *Al Menbâj* to have been composed first by *Ebn Yazlah*; whereas that it was written after the other, most clearly appears from the preface prefixed to it, wherein the *Takwim Al Abdân* is mentioned, as a piece that had seen the light before. As for the *Al Menbâj*, it was evidently not published 'till after its author became a convert to *Islamism*. *Abu'l-feda*, in the preface to his geography, says, that he borrowed the method of his tables from *Ebn Yazlah*, which he applied to the description of countries and provinces, and for this reason he has given those tables the title of *Takwim Al Boldân*. *Ebn Yazlah* left all his books to the chapel, or oratory, of *Abu Hanîfa*. He died, in the year of the *Hejra* 463, not 493, as M. D'Herbelot asserts, according to *Abu'l Faraj* (2).

(M) Some of the *Turks* at present seem to have receded from the practice of their ancestors in this particular. For, according to Dr. Mackenzie, who was himself then upon the spot, the better sort of *Turks* took greater precaution than usual, when the dreadful plague, which made such terrible havock there, broke out at *Constantinople*, in the year 1751. Hence it came to pass, that only two of their great men then died; though four of the grand signor's ladies, in the seraglio, were said to have been carried off at that time by the distemper (3).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 393, 394. D'Herbelot Biblioth. orient. art. *Herbatallah* p. 440. (2) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Giazlah*, p. 400. Not. MS. ad Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 365, 366, apud Joannem Swintonum, A. M. ex Æde Christi Oxon. ut et ipse Greg. Abu'l Far. ibid. (3) Philoſoph. Transact. vol. xlvii. p. 390. Lond. 1753.



- a *Shâhinsbâh*, or *Shâhensbâh*, that is, *king of kings*, conferred upon him, and received the honourable appellation of *Afdal*. As for *Al Mostanser* himself, he was famous for nothing but the uncommon length of his reign. He at first designed to declare *Nezar*, his eldest son, his successor; but altered his intention, some time before his death, and called to the succession *Abu'l Kâsem Ahmed*, surnamed *Al Mosta'li Bi'llah*, his younger son; then not above twenty years of age. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers inform us, however, that after *Al Mostanser's* demise, *Al Mosta'li* was saluted *Khalif*, by the influence and activity of *Afdal*, the *Wazîr*; who prevailed upon the *Emîrs*, *Kâdis*, and other great men of the court, to espouse the interest of this prince, and take the oath of allegiance to him. *Nezar*, continue they, made the *Wazîr* his enemy, by treating him in a contumelious manner, because
- b he did not light off his horse once when he met him; on which occasion, that prince, considering himself as next heir to the crown, and being highly provoked at the affront, said to *Afdal*, by way of contempt, "*Armenian*, get down." It is also reported by these authors, that *Nezar* had engaged to advance one of his own friends to the dignity of *Wazîr*, as soon as he had seated himself upon the throne. On both which accounts, *Afdal* conceived an utter aversion to *Nezar*, and persuaded *Al Mostanser* to defer from time to time obliging his subjects to take the oath to *Nezar*, as his immediate successor, as he intended to have done; and at last, by his intrigues, induced all the officers of the army, the learned men of the law, and those who filled the principal posts in the state, to acknowledge *Al Mosta'li*, after his father's demise, for their sovereign. The last point he carried, by publicly
- c declaring, that *Al Mostanser*, a little before his death, nominated *Al Mosta'li* to succeed him; and by producing witnesses, as he pretended, of undoubted credit, in support of his assertion. *Nezar* and his brothers were therefore obliged to submit to *Al Mosta'li*, and recognize his authority; though *Nezar* afterwards fled to *Alexandria*, and set up for himself there. But he was besieged, and made a prisoner, by *Afdal*; who, notwithstanding the heinousness of his crime, spared his life. However, soon discovering an inclination to revolt again, he was thrown into irons, and starved to death with hunger. Others write, that he was immured, or shut up between two walls, just sufficient to inclose him; and that he there, probably for want of sustenance, miserably ended his days<sup>r</sup>.

- BEFORE we conclude our short account of *Al Mostanser Bi'llah*, the *Fâtemite Khalif* of *Al Mostanser*
- d *Egypt*, and his two last *Wazîrs*, in this place, it may not be improper to relate a most remarkable occurrence (N) of his reign, transmitted down to us by *Al Makin*. This *Khalif*, according to that historian, sent *Michael*, or *Mikhâyyl*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, as his ambassador, with magnificent presents, to the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, to prevail upon that monarch to open the chanel that conveyed water to *Egypt*, which for some time had been stopped. This had reduced the *Khalif's* subjects almost to the last extremity, for want of provisions; it being well known, that the whole tract of *Egypt* has always been fertilized by the overflowings of the *Nile*. The *Najâshi* readily granted the patriarch's request; that prince himself, as well as the greatest part of his people, being then of the *Jacobite* sect. The consequence of which concession was, that the *Nile*, which had before
- e vastly failed, rose three yards in one night, and rendered the land of *Egypt* as capable of cultivation as ever. The *Khalif* treated the patriarch with uncommon marks of distinction, at his return, and munificently rewarded him for the important service he had done him. Whether this remarkable event happened under the administration of *Bedr Al Femâl*, or that of his son *Afdal*, we have not been certainly informed; but that, the latter of those *Wazîrs* ruled the *Egyptians* with great prudence, equity, and moderation, an author, frequently cited by *M. Renaudot*, has not scrupled to affirm<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 290. EBN KHALECAN, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, &c. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostadbaher*, p. 628. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKRIZI, in Mawredo'llatafa, TARIKH MESR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostanser Billah Abou Temim Al Fathemi*, p. 633. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 474, 475. <sup>s</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 289, 290. AL MAKRIZI, in Mawredo'llatafa. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 480, 481, 482, 483.

(N) *Al Makrizi* has extracted his account of this memorable occurrence from *Al Makin*. For the better understanding of which account, it may not be improper to remark, that the springs, or fountains, of the *Nile* are in *Ethiopia*; as we have fully evinced in our antient Universal History; so that a surprizing decrease of the *Nile*, from the cause here hinted at, can by no means be deemed impossible. This likewise appears from what *Gregory*, the *Abyssinian*, or *Abissinien*, related to the famous *Job Ludolfus*; from *Alfon-*

*sus Albuquerque's* commentaries; and from what has been observed by other reputable authors. However, *M. Renaudot* believes *Al Makin* not to be worthy of the least degree of credit in this particular. But, as we have not room here for the arguments that may be urged for and against the authority of *Al Makin* in the point before us; we must beg leave to refer our learned and curious readers, for farther satisfaction on this head, to the last-mentioned writer, and our antient history of the *Ethiopians* (1).

(1) *Al Makrizi*, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 430—483. Univ. Hist. vol. vii. part 1. p. 188. Lond. 1744.



## S E C T. XLIX.

Abu'l Abbās  
Ahmed Al  
Mostadher is  
proclaimed  
Khalif.

**A**BU'L ABBAS AHMED, *Al Moktadi's* son, by one of his concubines, was acknowledged <sup>a</sup> for *Khalif* and *Emir Al Mūmenīn* by the people of *Baghdād*, as soon as his father's death was publickly known. He was in a short time after inaugurated in form, and assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mostadher Bi'llab*, as we learn from *Abu'lfeda*, *Al Makīn*, and *Abu'l Faraj*. *Al Soltān Barkiārok Ebn Jakīlo'ddawla Mālec Shāb* was then at *Baghdād* with his army, and confirmed by his authority *Al Mostadher Bi'llab's* elevation to the *Moslem* throne. He also secured to himself the office of *Emir Al Omrā*, or *Soltān*, as the prime minister to the *Khalif* was at this time called; and, in consequence of the sublime post he filled, as well as by the vast power he had acquired, was not only master of *Al Mostadher's* person, but likewise of the *Khalifat* itself.

Barkiārok's  
success.

It has been already observed, that *Tarkān Khātūn* died, the present year, according to *Al* <sup>b</sup> *Makīn*; and that about the same time, or rather a little after that princess's decease, *Barkīārok* drove his brother *Mahmūd* out of *Baghdād*. The *Soltān* had no sooner possessed himself of that city, than he ordered his name to be mentioned in the pulpits, and received the title of *Rocno'ddīn*, or *Rucno'ddīn*, that is, *the pillar, prop, or support of the faith, or religion*, from the *Khalif*. He also assumed that of *Emir Al Mūmenīn*, which no prince before *Mālec Shāb* had been honoured with. Having settled his affairs, he applied himself intirely to war. His first expedition was against *Takash*, or *Tacash Shāb*, one of his uncles, who had obliged him to retire to *Esfabān*, the preceding year; and, after some bloody engagements between them, *Tacash Shāb* at length was slain. This year, *Al Mālec Tājo'ddawla* led an army against *Aksankar*, or *Kasmaro'ddawla*, whom *Mālec Shāb* had made governor of <sup>c</sup> *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, after he had taken it from *Tājo'ddawla*, his brother, and fought several battles with him. The war was, however, terminated by the death of *Aksankar*; who was killed, in the former *Jomāda*, the present year. After which, *Tājo'ddawla* possessed himself of *Aleppo*, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying his victorious arms into *Irāk* <sup>d</sup>.

Tājo'ddawla  
is vanquished  
and slain.

THE next year, being the 488th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Jan. 11th, 1095*, *Tājo'ddawla* <sup>e</sup> *Tataash* advanced at the head of his forces to *Al Ray*, in the *Persian Irāk*; where he was met by *Barkīārok*, and overthrown with very great slaughter. This battle was fought, in the month of *Safar*, according to *Al Makīn*. *Tājo'ddawla*, who was killed in the action, had before sent *Yusef*, the son of *Artak*, not *Arsak*, as he is called in *Erpenius's MS. of Al Makīn*, <sup>d</sup> the *Turkmān*, to *Baghdād*, with a body of troops, as it should seem from the last-mentioned author, in order to prevail upon the *Khalif* to acknowledge him *Soltān*. But *Al Mostadher Bi'llab*, who had already honoured *Barkīārok* with the *Kaftān* of *Soltān*, or imperial vest, crowned him king of *Baghdād*, adorned him with the collar and bracelets, and appointed him ruler over his court, being informed of his approach, dispatched his *Hājeb*, or chamberlain, to *Yusef*; commanding him to quit, without delay, the territory of *Baghdād*. But he was so far from paying any regard to the *Khalif's* commands, that he laid waste part of that district, and even formed a design to plunder the capital itself. But whilst he was intent upon the execution of this pernicious scheme, he received the news of *Tājo'ddawla's* death and defeat; upon which, he immediately fled to *Aleppo*. The text of *Al Makīn*, in the passage here referred to, may by some perhaps be thought to imply, that the *Khalif* at first proposed to detach his *Hājeb* with some of his forces to attack *Yusef Ebn Artak*; and that afterwards, for some particular reasons omitted by this historian, that measure was laid aside. But whether this sense, or the other just assigned the passage before us, which is pretty intricate and obscure, be more eligible, and consonant to the author's meaning, we must leave to our learned and intelligent readers to decide <sup>e</sup>.

Other events  
of the year  
488.

REDWAN, surnamed *Fakhr Al Molc*, then at *Damascus*, being apprized of his father *Tājo'ddawla's* death, made the best of his way also to *Aleppo*; and, upon his arrival there, possessed himself both of the citadel and the town. *Dekāk*, generally called *Shams Al Moluc*, <sup>f</sup> *the sun of kings*, his brother, was no sooner informed of his father's fate, than he retired likewise to *Aleppo*, out of *Diyār Becr*, from whence he was attended with a considerable body of troops. He had not been long at *Aleppo*, when he received a letter from *Sūbekīn Al Hādem*, the governor of the castle of *Damascus* for *Tājo'ddawla*; who therein offered to deliver up that city, and the territory appertaining to it, into his hands. *Dekāk*, therefore, left privately his brother *Redwān*; who, being informed of what had happened, sent in

<sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. GREG. ABU'L FAR. & AL MAKIN, KHONDEMIR, BEN SHONNAH, MIRKHOND, BEN KHAL-  
LECAN, AHMED BEN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, &c. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art.  
*Mostadhaber*, p. 628. <sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 228. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 304. KHONDEMIR,  
MIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 185. <sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 290, 291.



- a pursuit of him a detachment of 400 men. But they not coming up with him, he arrived safe at *Damascus*, where *Sûbekîn Al Hâdem*, in conformity to his promise, obliged the troops to take an oath of fidelity to him. *Dekâk*, in return, made that officer his lieutenant there. But he soon after put him to death, and appointed *Atâbek*, not *Abâbek*, as he is styled in *Erpenius's* faulty manuscript of *Al Makîn*, *Ta'belîn* to succeed him. This *Ta'belîn* had formerly been one of *Tâjo'ddawla's* slaves; and was not at first much esteemed by his master. But finding him afterwards a person of merit, that prince conferred on him the post of *Hâjeb*; and at last raised him to the government of *Damascus*, in order to reward his conduct and bravery. *Tâjo'ddawla* likewise appointed him to preside over the people of *Mayyâfârikîn*, and even made him preceptor to *Dekâk* himself. He was taken prisoner in the battle of *Al Ray*, at the time that *Tâjo'ddawla* was killed. Being released by *Barkîârok*, he went to *Damascus*, and became one of *Dekâk's* greatest favourites, after *Sûbekîn Al Hâdem* had settled his authority there. This giving *Sûbekîn* no small disgust, he grew jealous of *Ta'belîn*, whom he looked upon as a formidable rival in his master's affections, and even conceived an utter aversion to *Dekâk* himself; which occasioned such a contumelious treatment on his part of that prince as brought on his disgrace, and at last a deprivation of life itself. After which, *Ta'belîn* was placed at the head of the administration; and took to wife one *Al Khâtûn*, a lady for whom *Dekâk* himself had a vast esteem \*.
- b

WE must not forget to observe, that *Anna Comnena*, the Greek historian (O), mentions the death of *Tâjo'ddawla*, *Tatash*, or *Tutus*, as she calls him. She says, that *Puzan*, who had been sent by the *Soltân* against *Apel Kasem*, or *Abu'l Kasem*, at *Nice*, as soon as he heard of his master's death, marched towards *Kherasân*, against *Tutus*, and was slain in battle. After which, continues she, *Tutus* expected to be acknowledged *Soltân*; but, being met by *Barkîârok*, the late *Soltân's* son, was routed, and slain. According to this account, *Puzan* must have been the *Aksankar*, or *Kasmaro'ddawla*, or *Al Makîn*. *Abu'l Faraj* relates, that *Tatash*, or rather *Tacash*, one of *Barkîârok's* uncles, was smothered under water, and his son killed at the same time, the preceding year. He also writes, that *Tatash Ebn Alb Arslân*, or *Tâjo'ddawla*, another of them, was slain, in the year we are now upon. He does not, however, hand down to us any of the circumstances of his death; but only remarks, that, after he was killed, *Barkîârok* was firmly settled upon the throne †.

- d THE following year, being the 489th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Dec. 31st, 1095, *Redwân Fakhr Al Molc Ebn Tajo'ddawla*, the *Sâkeb* of *Aleppo*, having received advice that *Dekâk Shams Al Molc*, his brother, the *Sâkeb* of *Damascus*, had marched at the head of his forces toward the sea coast, presented himself before the latter of those cities with a powerful army, and laid siege to it. But the citizens so annoyed him with stones, discharged out of their military engines from the walls, that he found himself incapable of making his approaches in a regular manner; and therefore ordered his men to retire to their tents, which were pitched at some distance from the town. In the mean time *Dekâk*, returning from his late expedition, entered *Damascus*, without opposition; which so discouraged *Redwân*, who had before met with a very vigorous resistance, that he immediately abandoned the siege. As there was nothing he more ardently desired than to possess himself of *Damascus*, where he received his education, and which he looked upon as the most charming place in the world, the bad success that now attended his arms proved an exceeding great mortification to him. He, therefore, wrote to *Al Mosta'li*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*; promising to have his name published in the pulpits of *Aleppo*, if he would move to his assistance, and enable him to take *Damascus* from his brother *Dekâk*. This the *Khalîf* engaged to do, and the *Khotbah* was made accordingly in his name; but failing to send *Redwân* the stipulated succours, that prince transferred his allegiance from him to his former master, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd* ‡.
- e

f THE same year, the astrologers at *Baghdâd* predicted an inundation, little inferior in its extent and effects to the general deluge that happened in the days of *Noah*; which struck the people of that metropolis, as well as the court itself, with the utmost terror and consternation. Hereupon the *Khalîf Al Mostadher* sent for *Ebn Isûn*, or rather *Abn Aysûn*, one of his most celebrated astrologers, in order to interrogate him about the impending judgment.

\* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 291, 292.

† GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 366.

‡ ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. lib. vi. p. 168, 172, 179, &c. Parisiis,

‡ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 292.

(O) It may not be improper to remark, that *Anna Comnena* calls *Barkîârok*, *Aksankar*, and *Tatash*, if we chuse not to strip her names of the Greek terminations, *Spargarouk*, or *Paragharouk*, *Puzanes*, and *Tutus*, as appears from the passages of her history here referred to.

Her account, however, of the *Moslem* affairs, at this time, is very confused and indistinct; so that, for a satisfactory relation of them, we must necessarily have recourse to the eastern writers (2).

(2) Ann. Comnen. in Alex. lib. vi. p. 168, 172, 179, &c. Parisiis, 1651.



ment, with which he and his subjects, and even almost the whole race of mankind, were a threatened. *Ebn Aysûn*, being brought before him, said, “ that in *Noah’s* time all the  
 “ seven planets met in the sign of *Pisces*; but that only six of them, *Saturn* being in another  
 “ part of the heavens, would meet in that sign the present year. Had *Saturn*, continued  
 “ he, occupied any part of the abovementioned sign, when all the other six planets  
 “ appeared there, an universal deluge would have been the necessary and immediate effect  
 “ of so great a vicinity of those celestial bodies. However, subjoined he, there will most  
 “ certainly be a dreadful inundation, which will lay under water some considerable city,  
 “ tract, or district, where a vast multitude of people from different countries will be  
 “ assembled.” As there was a prodigious concourse of merchants and others, coming b  
 from all even the remotest regions of the East, at *Baghdûd*; this prediction so terrified the  
 inhabitants of that capital, who were extremely numerous, that they erected mounds, or  
 dams, in those places that seemed to be the most exposed to an irruption of the waters, and  
 took all other precautions which they judged necessary for their security. And, in con-  
 formity to this prediction, it happened, that most of the pilgrims going to *Mecca*, who had  
 pitched their tents in the valley of *Al Manâkeb*, were carried away by an irresistible torrent,  
 together with their beasts of burden, baggage, and every thing they brought with them, and  
 drowned; a few of them only escaping, who found means to retire to the neighbouring  
 mountains. This tragical event so raised the reputation of *Ebn Aysûn*, that the *Khalîf* made  
 him a present of a sumptuous vest, in order to do him honour, as a reward for the skill he  
 had shewn in his art, according to *Abu’l Faraj* <sup>a</sup>.

Barkîârok be-  
comes master  
of Khorasân.

In the 490th year of the *Hejra*, which began Dec. 19th, 1096, *Barkîârok* marched into c  
*Khorasân*, where *Arslân Shâh*, the father of *Tacash*, or *Takash*, who commanded there, had  
 on foot a considerable body of troops. But the *Soltân* was delivered from all future appre-  
 hensions of *Arslân Shâh*, by one of that prince’s sons; who slew his father, before he had  
 an opportunity of coming to an engagement with *Barkîârok*. He committed that parricide,  
 in order to seize his father’s government; which yet did not fall to his share. For *Barkî-  
 ârok*, having made himself master of *Khorasân*, appointed *Sanjar*, one of his brothers, to  
 preside over that province, and returned to *Irâk*. However, *Arslân Shâh*, or *Arslân Argûn  
 Ebn Arslân*, as he is called by *Abu’l Faraj*, was assassinated by one of his domestics, to free  
 mankind, as he gave out, from his injustice, according to the last-mentioned author. The d  
*Franks* defeated *Soltân Solimân* (P), and reduced the city of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, if we will  
 believe some of the eastern writers, the present year <sup>b</sup>.

The most me-  
morable trans-  
actions of the  
year 491.

THE next year, being the 491st of the *Hejra*, commenced Dec. 9th, 1097, a vast army  
 of *Franks*, under the command of king *Baldwin*, called *Bardawîl* by some of the oriental  
 historians, entered *Syria*, sat down before *Antioch*, and took it. In consequence of what has  
 been related here, our readers will observe, that the reduction of this city happened either in  
 the first or second campaign of the famous crusade, or war of the cross, most commonly deno-  
 minated the holy war. Some time before the *Franks*, or *Franji*, under which appellation the  
*Europeans*, or western *Christians*, frequently go amongst the eastern authors, undertook this  
 expedition, they had made themselves masters of *Toledo*, and other cities of *Andalusia*, expelled c  
 the *Moslems* from *Sicily*, and wrested out of their hands a considerable part of *Africa*. *Kawâ-  
 mo’ddawla Codbûka*, named *Corbanas* and *Corbagath* by the western historians of the crusade,  
 who was then in *Mesopotamia*, being informed of the surrender of *Antioch* to the *Franks*,  
 marched with all the troops he could assemble into *Syria*, and laid siege to it. There were  
 then in the city five *Christian* princes; namely, *Bardawîl*, or *Baldwin*, *Sakhâl*, or *Sanjil*,  
 i. e. the count *de St. Giles*, *Conodfri*, or *Godfrey*, *Al Kâmes*, or *Al Kormes*, the *Sâheb* of *Al  
 Robâ*, and *Baymûnd*, the *Sâheb*, or prince of *Antioch*. These, the third of whom was the  
 famous *Godfrey of Bullcin*, afterwards king of *Jerusalem*, and the fourth the count of *Edeffa*,  
 falling in want of provisions, sent to *Codbûka*, offering to quit the town, on condition that  
 he would suffer them to depart, and permit them to be safe in their persons: but he refused, f  
 saying, *they should escape no otherwise than by making their way with the sword*. At this critical  
 juncture, a monk in high esteem amongst them, who was a person of great craft and sub-  
 tlety, told them, that they should certainly vanquish their enemies in battle, if they could  
 find the staff of *St. Peter*, strengthened with iron at the end, which was buried in the church  
 of the priests; but that, if they could not discover this, they should all infallibly perish.  
 He, therefore, ordered them to fast and pray, that they might obtain the divine assistance

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 366, 367. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mosla’li Billah*, p. 632.

<sup>b</sup> KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU’LFED. GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi sup. p. 367. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 185, 544.  
 RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 478.

(P) *Anna Comnena* denominates him *Amîr*, or *Emîr*, in vogue amongst the *Turks*, at least, if not the *Arabs*,  
*Solimân*; but the title *Soltân*, or *Al Soltân*, was more at the commencement of the crusade (3).

(3) *Ann. Comnen in Alex. lib. vi. p. 168. Parisiis, 1651*



- a in this most important and interesting affair; which having done for three whole days, he led them on the fourth to the aforesaid church, and at last by digging in all parts of it found the staff. Animated by this good omen of victory, they marched out of the city, on a *Thursday*, about five or six at a time. *Codbûka*'s officers advised, that their soldiers might stand at the gates, and kill all who came forth; but he said that it was better to let them all come out first, and then to put them to the sword. When they were all come out to the last man, they formed a numerous army, which put the *Moslems* to flight. The last who fled was *Sakmân Ebn Artak*. The *Franks*, on this occasion, cut to pieces many thousands of the enemy, made themselves masters of their camp, and seized all the provisions, riches, beasts of burthen, and arms, they found therein. After this victory, which intirely
- b re-established their affairs, they advanced to *Maarra Al Nomân*, or *Ma'ra Al Na'mân*, a city in the province or district of *Hems*, and possessed themselves of that place. The prince, styled *Al Mâlec*, or the king, by *Al Makîn*, who presided over the people there, they slew; and, according to the last-mentioned author, maintained themselves in that town till the year of the *Hejra* 526. From *Maarra Al Nomân* they moved to *Rama*, or *Al Ramla*, a very antient city of *Palestine*; which, without any remarkable resistance, surrendered to them. They also took several other places of lesser note, and massacred a very considerable number of *Mohammedans* they met with therein. We must beg leave to remark, that the *Franks* are called *Al Afranj* by *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>c</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 492d of the *Hejra*, beginning *Nov. 28th, 1098*, the *Egyptians*, perceiving the weakness of the *Turks*, formed the siege of *Jerusalem*, termed *Al Beit Al Makdes* by *Abu'l Faraj*; where *Sakmân* and *Aylgâzi*, the sons of *Artak*, the *Turkmân*, with their uncle *Sûnej*, were shut up. The besiegers battered the town with their military engines above forty days, and at last obliged the garrison to capitulate; permitting the troops that composed it, with *Sakmân* at their head, to retire to some other place. In the room of *Sakmân*, the *Egyptians* substituted one *Aftekbâr'oddawla*, to command in the holy city. Soon after, the *Franks* presented themselves before it; and, having erected two towers against it, they took it on the north side, and put the people they met with to the sword. They continued to kill the *Moslems* in the adjacent country for several weeks together; destroying in the chapel *Al Akfa*, or the farther chapel, above 70,000 of them at once.
- d They likewise drove all the *Jews* into their temple, and burned them in it. Amongst the booty acquired on this occasion, which was immense, there were above forty silver lamps, weighing each 3600 drachms; a furnace, weighing forty pounds; and above twenty lamps of gold. Some authors relate, that the *Egyptians* reduced *Jerusalem*, in the year of the *Hejra* 489, about three years before it fell into the hands of the *Franks*; and that this expedition was conducted by *Afdal*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf's Wazîr*. They farther intimate, that the *Egyptians* kept possession of it from the year 489 to the time they were expelled by the *Franks*. But this apparently runs counter to what has been advanced on this head by *Abu'l Faraj*; who clearly and positively asserts the *Egyptians* to have made themselves masters of *Al Beit Al Makdes*, or *Jerusalem*, in the 492d year of the *Moslem* æra, as has been already observed.
- e We are also told, that the loss of *Jerusalem* was not less regretted by the *Jacobite Christians* than by the *Moslems* themselves; since the *Franks* would not permit them to go on pilgrimage thither, nor even on any account whatsoever to approach that place. *Jerusalem* is said to have been recovered from the *Mohammedans* on *Friday*, the 13th of *Shaabân*, the present year <sup>d</sup>.

- OF the reduction of *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, the loss of which so affected the *Moslems* of all ranks and denominations, *Abu'lfeda*, the celebrated *Arabian* historian, has handed down to us the following particulars: "In the 492d year of the *Hejra*, the *Franks* made themselves
- " masters of *Al Kuds*. That city had been formerly delivered by *Tanash* into the hands of
- " *Al Emîr Artak*; after whose decease, it came to *Sakmân*, or *Sokmân*, and *Aylgâzi*, his sons.
- f " These princes were possessed of it till the year of the *Hejra* 489, when they were ejected
- " from thence by the forces of the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*. Of all which transactions an account
- " has already been given. The sons of *Artak* being thus expelled *Al Kuds*, *Sokwân* went
- " to *Al Robâ*, or *Edessa*, and *Aylgâzi*, or *Ilgâzi*, into *Irâk*. But the *Franks* wrested that
- " city (*Al Kuds*) this year (492) out of the hands of the *Egyptians*, after a siege of between
- " forty and fifty days. It was on *Friday*, the twenty-second of *Shaabân*, that the enemy
- " entered the town. For a whole week they continued butchering the *Moslems*; being
- " under no manner of restraint, on account of the sanctity of the place. Above 70,000
- " perished in the *Masjed Al Akfi*, or *Akfa* (that is, the farther mosque, a high and lofty
- " temple so called); amongst whom were many of our *Imâms*, besides a great number of

<sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 367, 368. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 292, 293. COLL. NOT. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141, 276, &c. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. Lugd. Batavor. 1732. <sup>d</sup> GREG.

ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 369. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 292, 293. EBN SHOHNAH, EBN KHALECAN, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 478, 479.



“ learned and pious men, taken under the more immediate protection of ALMIGHTY GOD, a  
 “ dwelling constantly in his house, and famous for their unspotted chastity and austerity of  
 “ life. The spoils taken on this occasion were so immense, that no proper estimate could  
 “ be made of them. The news of this terrible destruction reached *Baghdād*, in the month  
 “ of *Ramadān*. The terrified couriers, who brought it, implored both the *Khalīf*’s and  
 “ the *Soltān*’s assistance in the most moving terms. The inhabitants of *Baghdād* were so  
 “ affected with the melancholy news, that with continued tears, and even opprobrious  
 “ language, they insisted upon immediate relief. Nay so transported were they with grief,  
 “ so infatuated, and so regardless of their duty to God, that, being fatigued and even  
 “ worn out with sorrow, they polluted by their daily meals the fast of *Ramadān*. To this  
 “ extreme of misery were the *Moslems* reduced by the discords, dissensions, and intestine b  
 “ wars, that reigned amongst the *Seljukian Soltāns*; which enabled the *Franks* to ravage  
 “ whole provinces, almost without opposition. It was a reflection upon these tragical  
 “ affairs which inspired with such indignation the poet *Al Modhaffer Al Abiwerdi*, that he  
 “ wrote a poem (A) upon them, full of spirit and fire, of which the following verses are  
 “ a small part.” Hence it appears, that, according to *Abu’lfeda*, as well as the author fol-  
 lowed by M. *Renaudot*, the *Egyptians* occupied *Al Kuds*, from the 489th year of the *Hejra*,  
 when they drove from thence the family of *Artak*, to the 492d year of that æra, when  
 they were forced to give way to the *Franks*. This is, however, flatly contradicted both by  
*William* of *Tyre* and *Abu’l Faraj*; who affirm, that it was taken by the *Egyptians* from the  
*Turks*, the same year in which it was obliged to surrender to the *Franks*. As, therefore, c  
*William* of *Tyre*, is a writer of the best authority, and lived almost upon the spot, not far  
 from the time of the transaction itself, and consequently could not have been ignorant of what  
 had so lately happened there; and as *Abu’lfeda* was not only much posterior to *William* of  
*Tyre*, but likewise something later than *Abu’l Faraj*, an author greatly esteemed in the East,  
 both by *Christians* and *Mohammedans*; we are strongly inclined to adopt what has been  
 advanced, in the point before us, by the two last writers \*.

Mohammed,  
 ‘Barkīārōk’  
 brother;  
 rebels;

MOWAYYAD AL MOLC, being greatly chagrined at his dismissal from the post of *Wazīr*,  
 did his utmost to foment new troubles in the state. He began by spiriting-up *Anzār*, who  
 was formerly one of *Mālec Shāb*’s slaves, and had no small influence in the province of *Irāk*.  
 By his assistance, *Anzār* set a considerable army on foot; and might have given the *Soltān* d  
 much trouble, had he not been taken off by an assassin, in the city of *Sawa*, to which place  
 he was advanced, in order to give his sovereign battle. He afterwards applied to *Moham-*  
*med*, brother to *Barkīārōk*, then residing in *Adherbijān*; and, by his continual solicitations,  
 at last prevailed upon him to take up arms against his brother. This *Mohammed*, surnamed  
*Gayātho’dīn*, and *Sanjar* were brothers by the same venter, and both of them sons of  
*Mālec Shāb*. *Mohammed*, after his father’s death, followed the interest of his brother *Mab-*  
*mūd*; but being reconciled to *Barkīārōk*, he obtained, from that prince, the city of *Ganja*  
 (B), and its dependencies, for his support. From this place he moved, in the year we are  
 now upon, with a small army; which soon became formidable by the accession of a vast  
 number of male-contents, who daily flocked to him. For, the lords of *Barkīārōk*’s court e  
 being incensed against *Mojared Al Molc*, his *Wazīr*, cut him in pieces, and obliged the  
*Soltān* himself to abandon *Irāk* to his brother. This, together with the influence of *Moway-*  
*yad Al Molc*, who exerted himself in his favour, did not only supply *Mohammed* with troops,  
 but likewise put him in possession of an extensive territory without striking a stroke. He  
 therefore made *Mowayyad Al Molc*, who had been so serviceable to him, his *Wazīr*, and sent  
 an ambassador to *Baghdād*, to demand the patent of investiture; which was granted him, in

\* ISM. ABU’LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 292. WILHELM. TYR. vii. 19. viii. 10. GREG. ABU’L FAR. ubi  
 sup. p. 369. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 478.

(A) We have not given our readers an *English* translation of that part of this poem preserved by *Abu’lfeda* here, as this would a little interrupt the thread of the history; and as such a translation, however well it might be received, would by no means come up to the spirit and fire of the original. *Al Aberwerdi* was born at *Abiwerd*, a city of *Khorasān*, that has given birth to several very great men. He pretended to be descended in a right line from *Othmān*, the third *Khalīf* of the *Moslems*, and was honoured with the appellation of the glory of *Khorasān*. He was the author of a *Dirwān*, which he composed in *Arabic* verse, with a preface at the head of it in prose. This work is in the *French* king’s library,

num. 1073. He died, in the year of the *Hejra* 507 (1).

(B) *Ganja*, called by the *Arabs* *Canja*, or *Hanjab*, is a city of *Arrān*, considered by some as part of *Adherbijān*, near the river *Kūr*, and the borders of *Georgia*. Others, however, and particularly *Abu’lfeda*, make *Arrān* to be a separate province; distinguishing it, in express terms, from *Adherbijān*. The city of *Ganja* was taken by *Kouli Khān*, though the *Turks* had before thrown into it a garrison of 5000 men, in the month of *October* 1734. It stands, if *Abu’lfeda* may be credited, in long. 74°. lat. 48° (2).

(1) ISM. ABU’LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 492. & 507. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 11. (2) Khondemir, ISM. ABU’LFED. in tab. geogr. 18. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Barkiārōk, p. 186. HANWAY’S Hist. of Nadir Shāh, 6b. xiii. p. 115. Lond. 1753. Alb. Schult. ind. in vit. Salud. Ludg. Batav. 1732.

the



<sup>a</sup> the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, by the *Khalif*. We must not forget to remark, that the city of *Ganja*, in *Adherbijân*, is corruptly named *Hamkha* in *Erpenius's* manuscript of *Al Makîn*; at which we are not to be so much surprized, as the forms of the *Arabic* letters constituting those two words are so similar, that a careless and inattentive transcriber may very easily be supposed to have committed such a mistake <sup>c</sup>.

In the 493d year of the *Hejra*, commencing Nov. 17th, 1099, *Barkîârok*, repairing to *Baghdâd*, assembled a powerful army; at the head of which he advanced to *Mahdân*, in order to attack his brother *Mohammed*. Hereupon a fierce conflict ensued, in which *Barkîârok* was overthrown with very great slaughter, and made his escape with only fifty horse. Upon which, *Mohammed* resumed the office of *Emîr Al Omrà*, or *Soltân*, the 14th day of *Rajeb*, at *Baghdâd*. After his defeat, *Barkîârok* fled from *Al Ray* to *Khûzestân*; where *Ayyâz*, formerly slave to *Mâlec Shâh*, ruled with almost an absolute sway. *Ayyâz* having joined the *Soltân* with all the troops under his command, that prince found himself once more in a condition to make head against *Mohammed*, and assert his right to the *Seljukian* crown. In his flight from *Al Ray*, *Barkîârok* passed by *Esfakân*, the residence of the *Seljukian* princes; but did not enter that capital. We are informed, that the *Nile* rose to eighteen cubits, and fifteen digits, in the year that we are now upon <sup>f</sup>.

The next year, being the 494th of the *Hejra*, which began Nov. 6th, 1100, *Barkîârok* was so effectually succoured by the efforts *Ayyâz* had made to support him, that he brought into the field an army of 50,000 men. *Soltân Mohammed* met him, with all the forces he could assemble; which did not amount to above 15,000 strong. The two armies had not long faced each other, before an obstinate engagement ensued; in which *Mohammed*, being borne down by numbers, was obliged to betake himself to a precipitate flight. Hereupon, taking the route of *Khorasân*, in order to seek aid of king *Sanjar*, his brother, he stopped at *Jorjân*. Here *Sanjar* joining him with a body of troops, they advanced to *Dâmâgân*; where the army laid waste the country to such a degree, that the inhabitants, for want of dogs and dead animals, fed upon one another. After this, marching against *Barkîârok*, they were overthrown; and their mother, who attended them in this expedition, being made captive, was exchanged for some of *Barkîârok's* men, who had been taken prisoners by *Sanjar* before. This year, the *Franks* carried *Hayfa* by storm, and *Arsûf* by capitulation; making themselves masters of most of the maritime places. We are informed by *Khondemir*, that several actions happened this campaign between the princes of the house of *Seljuk*; in one of which *Mowayyad Al Molc*, *Mohammed's* *Wazîr*, fell into the hands of *Barkîârok*, and afterwards met with the reward which his treason had so justly deserved. The increase of the *Nile* was estimated at eighteen cubits, and seven digits, the present year. It must be remembered here, that the defeat of *Sanjar*, or *Senjar*, however repugnant this may be to *Abu'l Farej*, has been ranked amongst the principal events of the preceding year by *Al Makîn* <sup>g</sup>.

The following year, being the 495th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Oct. 26th, 1101, *Al Mosta'li*, *Al Mosta'li Bi'llab*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, departed this life, after he had sat upon the *Fâtemite* throne seven years, and two months, according to *Al Makîn*. The last two months are, however, omitted by *Abu'l Farej*. He was succeeded by *Abu Ali Al Mansûr*, his son, then only five years old; who had the title, or surname, of *Al Amer Beahcâmi'llab*, and made *Afdal*, or *Al Afdal*, his *Wazîr*. The young prince was inaugurated immediately after his father's death; but could not sit on horseback, by reason of his tender age. The *Khalif* was no sooner dead, than *Abu Mansûr Berâr*, his brother, fled to the citadel of *Alexandria*; where *Aftekin*, *Al Afdal's* *Mamlûk*, or purchased slave, at that time commanded. Upon his arrival there, he promised peace and security to the people of *Alexandria*; and was proclaimed *Khalif* by *Aftekin*. He assumed the title of *Al Mostafi Addîn*; but did not long enjoy the high dignity to which he had aspired. For *Al Afdal* soon marched with a body of troops to that place, laid siege to the castle, and got both *Berâr* and *Aftekin* into his hands; though what afterwards became of them, we have not been told. *Amer Beahcâmi'llab* was the seventh of the *Fâtemite* *Khalifs* that reigned in *Egypt*, and the tenth of those that had acquired large dominions in *Africa*. Though his infancy rendered him incapable of business himself, *Al Afdal Ebn Bedr Al Femâl*, his *Wazîr*, and the commander in chief of all his forces, who had served his father in the same capacities, governed the *Egyptians* with such justice, lenity, and moderation, that he was universally applauded and esteemed. *Amer*, the new *Khalif*, lived thirty-five, and reigned near thirty, years. He is censured by all the historians who have taken any considerable notice of him, for being, after the

<sup>c</sup> KHONDEMIR, AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 293. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 186, 187. <sup>f</sup> KHONDEMIR, AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 293, 294. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 482. <sup>g</sup> KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 369, 370. AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 294. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 187. RENAUD. ubi sup.



example of his predecessors, a favourer of the *Shiites*, cruel, obstinate, crafty, false, proud, a addicted to gaming, attached to all kinds of unlawful pleasures, and ungrateful to *Al Afdal*. It has been by them, however, allowed, that he did not want parts, was learned, and wrote an elegant style. But we shall expatiate more largely upon his character hereafter, in the supplement to this extensive work; to which the histories of all the *Mohammedan* dynasties, collateral with the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, will more properly belong<sup>h</sup>.

The farther  
progress of the  
Franks.

THE same year, the *Franks* advanced to *Tripoli*, and formed the siege of that city. Whereupon *Dekâk Shams Al Molûc*, the prince of *Damascus*, and *Hosein Henâbo'ddawla*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, having been applied to by *Fakhr Al Molc Ebn Amâr*, the sovereign of the place, for assistance; they sent a body of troops to his relief. But the *Moslem* auxiliaries, b at a small distance from the town, were attacked and routed by the *Franks*. The animosity that reigned between the *Khalifs* of *Egypt* and *Baghdâd*, on the score of religion, as well as their different political views, and the division of *Syria*, or *Al Shâm* (most of the principal cities of which tract were at this time governed by their respective *Emîrs*, who had set up for themselves there), into several lesser states, greatly facilitated the reduction of that country to the obedience of the *Franks*, and the erection of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*; of which a full and ample account has already been given, from the *Christian* writers, in another place<sup>i</sup>.

The chief  
occurrences of  
the year 496;

IN the 496th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Oct.* 15th, 1102, *Soltân Barkiârok* shut up *Soltân Mohammed*, his brother, in *Esfabân*; but, for want of forage and provision, was c obliged to raise the siege of that city. *Mohammed* hereupon assembled a body of troops, with which he engaged his brother; but being overthrown, he fled into *Armenia*, and left *Barkiârok* in possession of *Irâk*. *Hosein Henâbo'ddawla*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*, quitted *Fakhr Al Molc Redwân's* party, of which he had hitherto been, this year, and went over to *Dekâk*; whereupon *Redwân* hired three *Bâtanists*, or *Bâtenites*, to assassinate him in the great *Jâmâ'*, or temple, at *Hems*. The news of which being brought to *Atâbek Tagtakîn* and *Dekâk*, they marched to *Hems*, and made themselves masters both of the town and the castle. This happened just at the time when the *Franks* arrived at *Rustan*, or *Rosten*, seated upon the *Assi*, or *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Hama*, with a design to attack *Hems*; but, on advice that *Dekâk* was there, they returned. About the same time, died *Michael*, the patriarch of the d *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, and was succeeded by *Macarius* in that see. Either in or about this year, *Ardsbir*, or *Ardesbir*, *Ebn Mansûr*, a native of *Merû*, in *Khorasân*, so distinguished himself by his preaching, in the mosque erected by *Nodhâm Al Molc* at *Baghdâd*, that 30,000 persons frequently resorted thither to hear him. Amongst them there was a great number of women and beautiful youths; who all, at his persuasion, cut off their hair. A thing so extraordinary this, that several of the *Mohammedans* have looked upon it as almost exceeding the bounds of all belief. Many of the *Moslems* likewise who had accustomed themselves to wine, influenced by his exhortations, ever afterwards abstained from that liquor. Some writers pretend, that this impostor died in the year we are now upon; as did also another, according to them, named *Sheikh Abu'l Mubal*, a person of uncommon austerity of life, who e always slept in a sitting posture, and had never more than one garment. Such knaves as these, says a modern author, did the father of lies raise up in the East, whilst the *Franks*, or western *Christians*, were there, in order to hinder the *Mohammedans* from receiving the truth, and to prevent the glorious light of the gospel from shining amongst them<sup>k</sup>.

and of the  
year 497.

THE next year, being the 497th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 5th, 1103, *Dekâk Shams Al Molûc*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, died in that city. His mother, who was married to the *Atâbek Tagtakîn*, is supposed by some to have sent him a servant maid, who poisoned him, by pricking a grape with an invenomed needle, which he plucked and ate. This, say they, corroded his intestines, and destroyed him. Be that, however, as it will, after his death, *Tagtakîn*, who was surnamed *Thabîro'ddîn*, or *Dbabîro'ddîn*, made himself f master of the kingdom of *Damascus*, and its dependencies. *Dekâk*, however, who was of the house of *Seljûk*, left behind him a son under age, the care of whose education he committed to *Tagtakîn*. The same year, the *Franks* took *Aca*, or *Acca*, according to *Al Makîn*. *Baldwin*, who had wrested *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the *Mohammedans*, invested the place with his troops. He was accompanied by the *Genoese Franks*; by the addition of whose ships, his fleet amounted to ninety sail. Having, therefore, for some time, straitly besieged the city both by sea and land, he at last took it by storm. *Zabro'ddawla Al Habûsi* commanded then in the town for the *Khalif* of *Egypt*. After the loss of the place, he retired

<sup>h</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 370. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 495. AL MAKRIZI, ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mosla'li Billah*, p. 632. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 492, 493. <sup>i</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 294, 295. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. & RENAUD. ubi sup. & alib. Univ. Hist. vol. vi. <sup>k</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 295. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 496. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 493.



a to *Damascus*, and from thence into *Egypt*. He was *Bedr Al Jemâl*'s freed-man, besides which we scarce meet with any particulars in history relating to him. Some authors write, that *Baymünd*, or *Boamund*, and *Tancred*, two generals of the *Franks*, were overthrown by the *Mohammedans* in *Syria*, and lost 10,000 men, the present year <sup>1</sup>.

THE following year, being the 498th of the *Hejra*, beginning Sept. 23d, 1104; a parti-  
 tion of the *Seljukian* empire was made between the *Soltâns Barkiârok* and *Mohammed*, the  
 sons of *Mâlec Shâb*. As their armies had often skirmished, for some time past, without  
 coming to a general engagement, and in such a manner that no considerable advantage had  
 been gained on either side; those princes had both had leisure to think seriously of an  
 accommodation. In order to this, therefore, conferences were held; which, by the inter-  
 position of their common friends, ultimately terminated in a treaty of peace: whereby  
 b *Fârs*, *Al Jcbâl*, *Irâk*, *Khorasân*, *Kermân*, *Ma warâ'lnabr*, and that part of *India* on this side  
 the *Ganges*, were to be possessed by *Barkiârok*. As for *Mohammed*, by virtue of the same  
 treaty, he remained master of *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*, *Diyâr Becr*, *Al Jazîra*, or *Mesopotamia*,  
*Al Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, *Adherbijân*, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*. It was also agreed, that *Barkiârok*  
 should not meet *Mohammed* with drums, nor be named in the pulpits with him, in any of  
 the provinces, which, by the foregoing convention, were ceded to him. With regard,  
 however, to the particular countries assigned each prince by this treaty of partition, authors  
 are not perfectly agreed; *Khondemir* enumerating them as here laid down, *Abu'l Faraj* mak-  
 ing *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and *Adherbijân*, to appertain to *Barkiârok*, and another writer affirm-  
 c ing that *Khorasân*, of which he had long been governor, or rather sovereign, was allotted  
*Sanjâr*, another of the sons of *Mâlec Shâb*. The eastern historians likewise a little disagree,  
 in relation to the year wherein the aforesaid division of the *Seljukian* territories was made;  
*Khondemir*, as followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, intimating that it happened in the 498th year  
 of the *Hejra*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, whose authority in this point is preferred to that of *Khon-*  
*demir* by M. *Renaudot*, placing it in the 497th year of that æra. Which of the above-  
 mentioned writers, on the foregoing heads, are the most to be depended upon, we shall not  
 here take upon us to determine; but leave this to our learned and curious readers, who are  
 the best acquainted with oriental history, to decide <sup>m</sup>.

AFTER the late pacification, *Barkiârok* advanced towards *Baghdâd*, where his friend and *Barkiârok*  
 benefactor *Ayyâz*, or *Ayyâd*, as he is called by *Al Makîn*, commanded with an absolute  
 d sway; though *Al Mostadher* was acknowledged for *Khalîf*, *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, and sovereign  
 pontiff of the *Moslems*, in that city. His design herein was to enjoy with *Ayyâz* their com-  
 mon good fortune, and to fix upon a lasting foundation the future repose of his dominions.  
 But he was stopped upon the road by death; when he had lived thirty-four years, and  
 reigned fourteen, if we may credit *Al Makîn*. *Khondemir* nevertheless informs us, that he  
 died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after he had sat upon the *Seljukian* throne about  
 thirteen years. Being afflicted both with a consumption and the piles together, he found  
 himself obliged to rest, for some time, at *Esfahân*; where, both his distempers increasing,  
 he at last expired. Before his death, he declared *Mâlec Shâb*, the second of that name, his  
 son, for his successor; who was then only four years, and ten months, old. By reason,  
 e therefore, of his tender age, he put him under the tutelage of *Ayyâz* and *Sadeka*, two of  
 his most trusty friends; in whose fidelity, which he had often experienced, he could intirely  
 confide. The succession being in this manner settled, he ordered the young prince to be  
 cloathed with a *Kaftân* in his presence, and appointed *Ayyâz* his principal *Atâbek*, or  
 governor; all his great officers at the same time attending, and promising to obey his com-  
 mands. After which, the *Khotbah* was made in the infant *Soltân*'s name; and he was dig-  
 nified with the title of *Jalâlo'ddawla*, or the ornament of the state. Notwithstanding which,  
*Soltân Mohammed* repaired without delay to *Baghdâd*, entered that city, and took possession  
 of the *Soltânat*, or post of *Emîr Al Omrà*, there; though *Ayyâz* had assembled a body  
 of 25,000 horse, if we will believe *Al Makîn*, to oppose him. For, an accommodation  
 f taking place between them, *Al Mostadher Bi'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, presented *Moham-*  
*med* with the *Kaftân*, and delivered into his hands the command of the palace. The new  
*Soltân* was no sooner confirmed in his sublime office, than he put *Ayyâz*, in violation of the  
 late convention, to death. An historian, cited by M. *Renaudot*, relates, that *Barkiârok*'s,  
 age did not exceed twenty-four years, at the time of his demise; and that *Mâlec Shâb* II,  
 his son, who was never ranked amongst the *Seljukian Soltâns* of *Irân*, his authority having  
 been recognized only a few days, was just four years old, when that tragical event gave him  
 a right to the crown <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 493, 494.

ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 187. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 493, 394.

MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 296. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej 498. BEN  
 SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 494.

<sup>m</sup> KHONDEMIR, GREG.

<sup>n</sup> AL



The most memorable events  
of the year  
499 ;

In the 499th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Sept. 13th, 1105, *Soltân Mohammed* marched from *Adherbijân* to *Al Mawfel*, in order to take that place from *Jakarmîsh*, the lord, or *Sâheb*, of it. He first invested the town with his troops, and then besieged it. The people of the country, however, on his approach, rose in their sovereign's defence, and attacked him with great bravery. A strong party of infantry likewise sallied upon the besiegers, and killed them abundance of men. The siege nevertheless continued from the month of *Safar* to that of the former *Jomâda* ; when *Jakarmîsh*, receiving advice of *Barkîârok's* death, resolved to make his submission to *Mohammed*. For this purpose, he first addressed himself to the *Wazîr*, and afterwards waited upon the *Soltân* himself, from whom he met with a most gracious reception. That prince, having embraced him, said, " Go back to your subjects, whose hearts are set upon you ; they, with impatience, expect your return." *Jakarmîsh* then prostrated himself, and the next day prepared a most magnificent entertainment for his friends without the city. He also sent very valuable presents both to the *Soltân* and the *Wazîr*. When he went to *Mohammed*, the inhabitants of *Al Mawfel* threw dust upon their heads, and shewed all the expressions of sorrow, usual on the most doleful occasions ; imagining, that the *Soltân* would not only strip him of his territories, but deprive him likewise of life itself. This year, the *Ismaelians*, *Bâtanites*, *Bâtenites*, or *Assassins*, took the castle of *Apamia*, and slew *Ablaf Ebn Mulakeb*, by the command of *Abu Thâber*, their chief. Some writers assert this *Abu Thâber* to have been the same person with *Al Hasan Ebn Masbak*, the founder of the *Bâtanite* sect. Be that as it will, several smart actions happened between these *Ismaelians* and the *Franks*, according to some good authors, during the course of the present year <sup>a</sup>.

and of the  
year 500.

THE next year, being the 500th of the *Hejra*, beginning Sept. 2d, 1106, *Al Jâwali Sakâwwâ*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Rohâ*, or *Orfa*, marched against *Jakarmîsh*, the lord of *Al Mawfel*, with only a body of 1000 men ; and put to flight his troops, though double that number. As for *Jakarmîsh* himself, he was taken prisoner in the action ; having been abandoned by all his men, and not able to make his escape. He was carried in a litter to the engagement ; having been rendered incapable of mounting a horse by a paralytic disorder. As soon as he fell into the enemies hands, he was brought before *Al Jâwali* ; who ordered him to be confined, and his keepers to have a watchful eye over him. The news of his captivity reaching the ears of the citizens, they conferred the supreme command upon *Al Emîr Zenki*, his son. Afterwards *Al Jâwali*, besieging *Al Mawfel*, exposed *Jakarmîsh* to the view of the people daily on a mule ; offering to set him at liberty, in case they would surrender the city to him : Upon their refusal to comply with what he required, he imprisoned him in a place under-ground, where they one day found him dead. Hereupon his subjects wrote to *Kelij Arslân*, or *Kilij Arslân*, the son of *Solimân Ebn Kotolmîsh*, or *Kutulmîsh*, *Al Seljûki*, the *Sâheb* of *Koniya*, or *Iconium*, and *Aksara* ; promising to deliver up the city to him, if he would move to their assistance. *Al Jâwali* being informed, that *Kilij Arslân* was on his march for *Al Mawfel*, though fit to raise the siege at his approach. *Kilij Arslân*, having possessed himself of the city, encamped at *Al Mogreka* ; where he honoured *Zenki* and his attendants with *Kaftâns*, ordered the name of *Soltân Mohammed* to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own to be mentioned there in its room. He then advanced against *Al Jâwali*, who had retired to *Al Rohâ*, and attacked his forces upon the banks of the *Khâbûr* ; but was overthrown with great slaughter, and hotly pursued by the victors. Being, therefore, obliged to enter the river, where he defended himself with his bow and arrows against the enemy, his horse carried him out of his depth, and he was drowned. His body appearing some days after, he was buried at *Al Shamâniyah*. Before this defeat, *Kilij Arslân* had not a little ingratiated himself with the soldiery, by distributing money amongst them, and reforming several abuses that had crept into the army. His father was routed by the *Franks*, about ten years before this tragical event happened, as has been already observed. *Al Jâwali*, after the victory he had gained, returned to *Al Mawfel*, and without any difficulty made himself master of that important place. M. *Renaudot*, from whom we have extracted many particulars in this work, writes, that *Sanjar*, the son of *Mâlec Shâh*, was assassinated by the *Bâtanists*, or *Bâtenites*, this year ; and yet, in another place, he relates, that this prince was alive in the year of the *Hejra* 548. He is, therefore, not only inconsistent with himself, in the point before us, but has likewise been pleased to assert what is apparently false. For, that *Sanjar* succeeded his brother *Mohammed*, in the year of the *Hejra* 511, and died in the 552d year of that æra, will hereafter very clearly appear <sup>b</sup>.

What happened, in the year 501. THE following year, being the 501st of the *Hejra*, which commenced Aug. 22d, 1107, *Ayyâz*, or *Ayyâd*, and *Al Emîr Saifo'ddîn Sadeka Denîs Ebn Ali Ebn Yerîd Al Asadi*, the

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 370, 371. RENAUD. ubi sup. 372, 373. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 494, 529, 530. <sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 371,



- a *Sâheb of Hella*, took the field, according to the author, or authors, made use of by M. D'Herbelot, in favour of *Mâlec Shâb II*, son to *Barkîârok*, with a powerful army. Being met by *Soltân Mohammed*, who had seized that part of the *Seljukian* empire assigned to *Barkîârok*, the proper dispositions were made on both sides for an engagement. But whilst the two armies faced each other, expecting the signal for battle, there appeared in the sky a cloud, in form of a dragon, which cast down so much fire upon the troops of *Mâlec Shâb*, that the soldiers, terrified with so frightful a meteor, threw down their arms, and begged quarter of *Mohammed*; who, by this means, became master of the persons both of his nephew and his two generals, whom he sent prisoners to the castle of *Lehed*. This account, however, our readers will observe, runs counter to what has been advanced by *Al Makîn*; who intimates that
- b *Mohammed* possessed himself of the territories which had been ceded to *Barkîârok*, deposed young *Mâlec Shâb*, and put *Ayyâz*, or *Ayyâd*, to death, in the year of the *Hejra* 498. Be that as it will, if we may believe the last mentioned writer, *Soltân Mohammed Gayâtbo'ddîn Ebn Mâlec Shâb* marched against *Al Emîr Saïfo'ddîn Sadeka*, routed his forces, and slew him, after he had reigned at *Hella* twenty-two years, and lived fifty-six, the present year. If the historian, or historians, followed by M. D'Herbelot may be credited, *Mohammed*, as soon as his nephew's troops had submitted to him, repaired directly to *Baghdâd*, obtained of the *Khalîf Al Mostadher* the title of *Gayâtbo'ddîn*, or *Mogâyatbo'ddîn*, that is, *the propagator of the faith*, after he had paid his devoirs to that prince, and received the most ample and honourable patent from him. In this instrument, he was styled *Al Soltân*, and *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, or *commander of the faithful*; in virtue of which, he assumed an absolute power over all the *Khalîf's* subjects.
- c Whilst the *Soltân* resided at *Baghdâd*, he was informed that one *Abmed*, surnamed *Atthasb*, a famous impostor, had, by his juggling tricks, gained many proselytes, amongst whom he passed for a prophet; and that he had made himself master of the fortress of *Dizghûeb*, an important place built by *Mâlec Shâb*, near *Esfabân*, in order to bridle the inhabitants of that large city, who were very subject to revolt. This fortress *Atthasb* had reduced to his obedience, by debauching the minds of the garrison with his impious opinions; which, had he not soon been subdued, would in all probability have enabled him to become formidable both to the *Soltân* and the *Khalîf*. On this advice, therefore, *Mohammed* moved at the head of his forces thither, forced the siege of the castle, and at last, having escaped the treason
- d of *Saïd Al Mela*, surnamed *Awji*, his *Wazîr*, who had been infected with *Atthasb's* infamous notions, and had corrupted a surgeon, who blooded him every month, with the promise of a thousand *Zechins*, and a purple vest, to destroy him with a poisoned lancet, forced it to surrender at discretion. After which, *Atthasb* himself was conducted to *Esfabân*, tied neck and heels upon a camel; where having been exposed as a laughing-stock to the people for several days, he was executed, with many of his followers, who had joined in the revolt. A certain writer, not seldom cited here, relates, that *Baldwin*, king of *Jerusalem*, laid siege to *Saïdâ*, *Saydâ*, or *Saydân*, the antient *Sidon*, before the close of the year that we are now upon<sup>a</sup>.

- e THE same year, being the fifth of the patriarch *Macarius*, the method of computing by *The Coptic* the *Kharâjîan* years, which were solar, was suppressed in *Egypt*, by an edict of the *Wazîr*. *supputation by* Of this computation, which has been copiously described by *Al Makrîzi*, we shall here beg *Kharâjîan* leave to give a short account; as it has never been touched upon, unless we are greatly deceived, *years is sup-* by any of our chronologers. The *Christians* of *Egypt* observed the æra of *the martyrs*, called *pressed.* likewise the æra of *Dioclesian*, which commenced in the year of our LORD 284; especially in all ecclesiastical affairs; but in civil they likewise supputed their years from the *Hejra*, or flight of the *Moslem* prophet, in common with the *Mohammedans*. However, as the latter made use of lunar, and the former of solar years; a considerable difference between the *Coptic* and *Moslem* methods of computation in process of time ensued, the *Mohammedans* gaining a year of the *Copts*, or *Egyptian Christians*, in every thirty-three years. The tribute, denominated by
- f the *Arabs Karâj*, exacted of the *Christians* by the *Moslems*, was collected according to the order of those months, which formed the *Egyptian*, or solar year; whence it came to pass, that this was called, both by the *Christians* and *Mohammedans*, the *Kharâjîan* year. That manner of supputing having been found very inconvenient, *Al Afdal*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf's Wazîr*, at this time issued an edict for the abolition of it; so that we find no mention made of the solar, or *Kharâjîan*, year, in any of the public accounts, or other civil affairs of *Egypt*, after the year we are now upon. We are told by M. *Renaudot*, that the suppression of the method of computing by the *Kharâjîan* year had been before ineffectually attempted by *Al Mostanjed Bîllab*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*; but this must be a mistake, as *Al Mostanjed* did not mount the *Moslem* throne before the year of the *Hejra* 555. It may not be
- g improper to inform our readers here, that *Joseph Scaliger*, though the most learned man of the age in which he lived, knew nothing of the *Coptic* supputation of years taken notice of in this place; which occasioned his falling into many errors, when he was endeavouring to

<sup>a</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 296. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohammed fils de Melikschah*, p. 605, 606. *RENAUDOT*, ubi sup. p. 494.



correct those of other great men. We must beg leave farther to remark, that *Takio'ddîn Ahmed Al Makrizi* is the only author who has mentioned the edict issued by *Al Afdal*, on the aforeſaid occaſion, the preſent year \*.

*The principal tranſactions of the year 502.* IN the 502d year of the *Hejra*, which began Aug. 11th, 1108, *Mawdûd Ebn Altûn Takîn*, or *Tacaſh*, with *Soltân Mohammed's* army, advanced to *Al Mawſel*, and expelled *Al Jâwali* and his adherents from that city. The ſame year, the *Franks* took *Tripoli* by capitulation, after a ſiege of ſeven years; in which the greateſt part of the inhabitants had been deſtroyed, by famine and the ſword, together with the continual fatigues they found themſelves obliged to ſuſtain. *Tripoli* was, at this time, a very large city, full of *Mohammedans* and learned men. This we learn from *Al Makîn*. But according to *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece ſo often referred to in this work, that place did not ſurrender to the *Franks* before the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the following year †.

*The moſt material occurrences of the year 503.* THE 503d year of the *Hejra*, commencing July 31ſt, 1109, proved very favourable to the *Franks*; their military operations being attended with good ſucceſs, this fortunate campaign. *Tancrî Al Franji*, or *Tancred* the *Frank*, the *Sâheb* of *Antioch*, or *Antâkiya*, marching to *Al Thogûr Al Shâmiya*, reduced *Tarſus* and *Adena*, and laid ſiege to *Heſn*, or *Hiſn*, *Al Acrâd*, that is, the caſtle of the *Curds*; which, in a ſhort time, ſurrendered to him. This we find affirmed by *Abu'l Faraj*. But, according to *Al Makîn*, the inhabitants of *Heſn Meſiâf* and *Heſn Al Acrâd* bought their peace, by agreeing to pay an annual tribute. Notwithſtanding which, continues that writer, the *Franks* ſome time after circumvented them, and violated the treaty they had concluded with them before. The *Franks* likewise poſſeſſed themſelves of *Heſn Acâd*, or *Accâd*, *Heſn Al Minattara*, and *Beyrût*, or *Bayrût*, the *Berytus* of the antients; the laſt of which places, being garrifoned by the *Khalîf* of *Egypt's* troops, ſuſtained a long ſiege, and made a very vigorous defence. The ſame year, died *Korâjâ*, the *Sâheb* of *Hems*; and was ſucceeded in that principality by *Samsâm Harbân*, his ſon. Some authors relate, that *Mohammed Shâh*, the *Soltân* of the *Seljûks*, having been joined by *Sakmân Ebn Artak*, or *Sokmân Ebn Ortok*, the prince of *Khalât*, or *Akblât*, in *Armenia*, *Sharfo'ddîn Mawdûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawſel*, and *Nojmo'ddîn*, the *Emîr* of *Mâredîn*, advanced againſt the *Franks*, under the command of *Baldwin* and *Tancred*, and gained ſome advantages over them, before the cloſe of this campaign ‡.

*and of the year 504.* THE next year, being the 504th of the *Hejra*, beginning July 20th, 1110, the *Franks* made themſelves maſters of *Saidâ*, *Saydâ*, or *Saydân*, the *Sidon* of the antients, and *Rardîâ*, with all the coaſt of *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*. This year, a dreadful tempeſt happened in *Egypt*; which filled the air with clouds of duſt, through all the tract it traversed. The air for ſome days after was exceſſively hot, and the ſky as red as fire. A ſpecies of the *Aurora Borealis*, reſembling flames, moving from one part of the hemisphere to another, at the ſame time appeared; which was followed by ſuch a thick darkneſs, as had not before been known in the memory of man. Theſe ſtrange and ſurprizing phænomena ſo terrified many people, that they abandoned their houſes; imagining that the day of judgment, of which they took theſe to be the forerunners, muſt certainly be at hand §.

*Mawdûd is killed by the Bâtaniſts in the year 505.* THE following year, being the 505th of the *Hejra*, which commenced July 9th, 1111, *Mawdûd*, who had been ſent againſt the *Franks* by *Soltân Mohammed*, who was alarmed at the great progreſs of their arms in *Syria*, was killed by either one or more of the *Bâtaniſts*, near the city of *Damaſcus*, according to *Al Makîn*. This event, however, is ſaid to have happened in the 507th year of the *Moslem æra* by *Abu'l Faraj*. Be that as it will, it can ſcarce be doubted, but the *Franks* extended their conqueſts in *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*, and that *Al Emîr Mawdûd*, the lord of *Al Mawſel*, at leaſt made preparations to oppoſe them, the preſent year ¶.

*What happened in the year of the Hejra 506.* IN the 506th year of the *Hejra*, which began June 28th, 1112, *Al Emîr Mawdûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawſel*, encamped near *Al Robâ*, or *Edeſſa*, the modern *Orſa*, whoſe corn-fields were devoured by his army, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. This happened in the month of *Al Mobarram*. From *Al Robâ* he moved to *Sarîj*, where his troops did the ſame thing. In this expedition, he held the *Franks* in great contempt, and took not the leaſt precaution againſt them. Nay he ſcarce ever thought of them, till *Joſſîn*, or *Joſſeline*, the *Sâheb* of *Tel Bâſher*, ſurprized him whiſt his horſes were diſperſed in the paſtures. This gave *Joſſîn* an opportunity of taking moſt of them, and killing a good number of *Mawdûd's* men. After which, *Joſſîn* returned to *Tel Bâſher*, without having ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs. With regard to *Sarîj* and *Tel Bâſher*, or *Tel Bâſer*, as it is called by *Abu'lfeda*, we ſhall only obſerve, that the former of thoſe places was a town of *Mefopotamia*, about ten miles from *Edeſſa*, near the ſame diſtance

\* TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, in deſcript. Meſr, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi ſup. p. 397, 398. RE-  
NAUD. ubi ſup. p. 489, 490. JOS. SCALIG. in Emend. Tempor. paſſ. † GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi ſup. p. 373.  
AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 503. ‡ GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi ſup.  
AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. RENAUD. ubi ſup. p. 494. § AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 296, 297. AL MAKRIZI  
in Mawredo'llatâfa, RENAUD. ubi ſup. p. 490. ¶ AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 297. GREG. ABU'L FAR.  
ubi ſup. p. 374. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi ſup. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 505.



- a from *Harrân*, and a day's journey eastward of *Bir*, or *Birta*; and the latter, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, a fortress, or garrison, two days journey to the north of *Aleppo*, abounding with water and gardens. The same year there was a most dreadful earthquake, at *Mesr*. The very night this happened, the church of *St. Michael*, going under the appellation of *Al Mekkâra*, was demolished, as *Al Afdal*, *Al Amer Beahcam'llab's Wazîr*, caused to be given out, by the earthquake; though many people believed, that this was done by his command. *Al Makrizi* writes, that the best part of this church was really damaged by one of the shocks; and that *Al Afdal*, after some of it was fallen down, ordered the rest to be demolished, because it stood too near his gardens. Another author relates, that one *Iusef*, or *Joseph*, a renegado, and superintendant of *Al Afdal's* workmen, then employed in building an exceeding large edifice in the island of *Rauda*, near *Mesr* (whom the *Christians* had promised money, if he would not extend his structure to this church, but were afterwards so far from paying it him, that they threatened to complain of his exactions to the *Wazîr*), gave private orders to the people under him to level it with the ground, the night after the earthquake, by way of revenge. After which, continues this writer, his emissaries every-where published, that the church, which had long been going to ruin, and decayed with age, had, at last, tumbled down, through the carelessness and avarice of the *Christians*; who, notwithstanding the ruinous condition it had for many years been in, neglected to repair it. *Bâsil Al Armeni*, or *Basil the Armenian*, *Ebn Laôn*, that is, the son of *Leo*, the *Sâheb* of *Belâd Darûb*, surnamed *the robber*, or *thief*, because he secured to himself the possession of many castles, bordering upon his own frontiers, and remaining in the hands of the *Armenians* till the days of *Abu'l Faraj*, as it were by robbery, or theft, departed this life, in the year we are now upon \*.

- THE next year, being the 507th of the *Hejra*, commencing June 18th, 1113, the *Moslems*, uniting their forces, made an irruption into the acquisitions of the *Franks*; who, after a very sharp and obstinate engagement, were defeated near *Tiberias*, a city we have already described. After the end of the action, *Al Emîr Mawdûd Ebn Altûn Tûkîn*, or *Tacash*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, one of the allied princes, permitted his troops to return, and refresh themselves, till the following spring, when he proposed to attempt another invasion of the *Christian* territories. In the mean time, he went himself to *Damascus*, to spend the season with *Tagtakîn*, the *Sâheb*, or lord of that city. But one day, after he had entered the temple, or *Jâma'*, in order to perform his devotions there, a *Bâtanist* approaching him, under pretence of begging alms, stabbed him four times with a knife; of which wounds he died the same day, and the assassin was put to death. After the execution, the *Bâtanist's* head was cut off, and, together with the body, reduced to ashes; but who he was, or by whom employed to perpetrate so horrid a fact, could never be discovered. The same year, *Redwân Fakhr Al Molc*, the son of *Al Mâlec Tâjo'ddawla Tatafsh*, the *Sâheb*, or prince, of *Aleppo*, departed this life, and was succeeded by *Tâjo'ddawla*, surnamed *Al Abras*, his son. It is remarkable, that *Redwân* never thought fit to oppose the *Franks*; though they made continual excursions even to the gates of *Aleppo*, and carried many *Moslems* away with them into captivity. His son *Tâjo'ddawla Al Abras*, who likewise went under the name of *Alp Arslân*, was but sixteen years old, when he mounted the throne. After the murder of *Al Emîr Mawdûd*, *Soltân Mohammed* conferred the government of *Al Mawfel* and *Jazira* upon *Aksankar*; and assigned him for his *Wazîr* one *Zenki*, denominated corruptly *Sanguinus* and *Sanguineus* by the western historians. This *Zenki* was the father of the famous *Nûre'ddîn Mahmûd*, who abolished the *Khalifat* of the *Fâtimites* in *Egypt*, and obliged the people of that country to recognize the authority of *Al Mostadi Ebn Al Mostanjed*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd* \*.

- THE following year, being the 508th of the *Hejra*, which began June 7th, 1114, *Alp Arslân Tâjo'ddawla Al Abras*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, who succeeded his father *Redwân* there, 508. the preceding year, was assassinated, according to *Al Makîn*. He is said to have been about seventeen years old, at the time of his death. After this tragical event, the city and castle of *Aleppo* fell into the hands of *Lûlû*, page to *Tâjo'rawarjâ Ebn Al Jalâl*, under whose tuition *Alp Arslân Tâjo'ddawla Al Abras* had been placed by his father. *Lûlû*, probably by *Soltân Mohammed's* command, afterwards resigned them to *Al Soltân Shâh*, another of *Redwân's* sons. A dreadful earthquake happened in the East, which shook a considerable part of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, by its terrible concussions, and levelled with the ground the cities of *Al Mafsîsa*, or *Mâmestra*, *Ma'rcsh*, and others, the present year †.

IN the 509th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced May 27th, 1115, *Atâbek Tagtakîn*, the *Sâheb*, or prince, of *Damascus*, went to *Baghdâd*, in order to offer his service to *Al* to *Baghdad*.

\* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 373. ABU'LFED. in descript. Syr. et alib. ANTONIN. Itinerar. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, in Mawredo'llatâfa, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 490, 491.

† GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 373, 374. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. EEN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Nour'ddin, p. 679, 680. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 494, 495. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 494. SHARIF AL EDRISI, WILH. TYR. lib.

x GOLDI not. ad Afrag. n. p. 215, 206, 287.



*Mostadher Bi'llah*, and *Soltân Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed*, who received him with great honour. <sup>a</sup>  
The same year, *Al Afdal*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt's Wazîr*, concluded a truce with *Baldwin*, the king of *Jerusalem*, after that prince had made himself master of a rich *Moslem* caravan; the *Fâtemite Khalif* despairing of doing his subjects, who had been plundered by the *Franks*, justice by force of arms. *Baldwin* pillaged the caravan near some salt pits, denominated from thence *the salt pits of Baldwin*; which name they retained, for many years, after that action had happened <sup>2</sup>.

What happened, the year following.

THE next year, being the 510th of the *Hejra*, which began *May* 16th, 1116, *Atâbek Tagtakîn* returned to *Damascus*, extremely well pleased with the reception he had met with at *Baghdâd*. The same year, *Lûlû* departed from *Aleppo*, in order to possess himself of the castle of *Jaafar*; but was assassinated near *Bâlis*, a small town of *Syria*, seated upon the western bank of the *Euphrates*, on his march. Hereupon *Abu Ma'âli Ebn Al Mahali*, the secretary of war, took upon himself the command of the citadel of *Aleppo*, in his room. *Bâlis* stands in the *Jund Kinnisrîn*, or district of *Kinnisrîn*, fifteen parasangs from *Aleppo*, and thirteen from *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*. The castle of *Jaafar*, in some copies of *Abu'lfe'da's* description of *Syria*, is called the castle of *Jaabar*, according to *Goliûs*. It is situated on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*, about five parasangs from *Bâlis*. It first went under the appellation of the castle of *Dawshar*, which it derived from the name of its founder. At this place *Solimân Shâh*, the grandfather of *Othmân*, the progenitor of the *Othmân Soltâns*, attempting to pass the *Euphrates*, with his forces, was drowned. This year, *George*, a native of *Antioch*, surnamed, *The Philosopher*, by way of derision, a *Christian*, and *Abu'l Khair*, a *Jew*; two paltry physicians, practised in *Egypt*. *Rezkallah*, an astrologer, likewise set up for a fortune-teller there. A woman, coming once to consult him, and to demand the resolution of a certain question of him, he immediately erected a scheme; but refused to give her any satisfaction in the point required, till she had put a piece of money into his hand. He then told her, that the house of riches in the scheme before her indicated a great defect of cash in her coffers. To this she replied, "that he had hit the nail upon the head, and ought to be deemed an oracle." He then asked her, "Whether she had ever lost any money?" To which she made answer, "Yes, the money I have just given you;" and then immediately left him. Such ignorant pretenders to physic and astrology as these *Egypt* at this time abounded with. Notwithstanding which, *Al Kâdi Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Al Nafsîr*, surnamed *Al Adîb*, or *the man of letters*, a person of most profound erudition, and even one of the brightest ornaments of the age, flourished in that country, the present year, according to *Abu'l Faraj* <sup>3</sup>.

Soltân Mohammed's death and character.

THE 511th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *May* 5th, 1117, proved fatal to *Al Soltân Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Al Seljûki*, the son of *Mâlec Shâh*. He died, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, at *Esfahân*; being about thirty-seven years old, at the time of his death, if we will believe *Al Makîn*. The author of the *Lebtârikh* likewise makes him to have been born in the year of the *Hejra* 474; though, according to the copy followed by *M. Goinin*, he places his death in the 501st year of the *Moslem* æra, and says he was then twenty-four years of age. Whence it is plain, that the two last numbers must have been corrupted, and mistaken for 37 and 511, in that copy. He reigned about thirteen years. When he perceived his end to approach, he sent for *Abu'l Kâsem Mahmûd*, his son, but fifteen years old, whom he had declared his successor, kissed him, and wept. After which, he commanded him to sit on the throne; which the young prince declined, saying, it was, by the indication of the stars, an unlucky day. The *Soltân* answered, *You say true; but it is so to your father, not to you, who gain an empire on it*. Then ascending the throne, he was there adorned with the diadem and bracelets, and acknowledged for *Soltân*. With regard to his character, *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Al Seljûki* was eminent for his gravity, justice, clemency, and valour. He was strong, and could talk well. However, notwithstanding his good qualities, as he left behind him in the treasury eleven millions of *dinârs*, besides furniture and other effects of equal value, he seems, at least during certain intervals, and on some particular occasions, to have been of a rapacious disposition. This might also be sufficiently evinced by a story related of him in the *Nighiaristân*, which is too long to be inserted here; especially, as it will more properly make its appearance in a subsequent part of this work. He was interred, with the usual ceremonies; and his son *Mahmûd* was first prayed for at *Baghdâd*, on *Friday*, the twenty-third of *Al Moharram*, the following year. We are told, that five of his sons survived him, viz. *Mas'ûd*, *Mahmûd*, *Togrol*, *Solimân*, and *Seljûk*; the second of whom, *Mahmûd*, surnamed *Mogayâtho'ddîn*, was proclaimed *Soltân* at *Baghdâd*, and inaugurated there in form, immediately after his father was inhumed <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 495.

ABU'LFED. in descrip. Syr. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 375—378. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 259, 260.

<sup>3</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 374. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. H. 511. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohammed fils de Melikshar*, p. 607. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 495. Vide etiam AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'AL-JAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*.

<sup>4</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM.



- a THE same year, *Al Emîr Bolgâri Ebn Aryk* possessed himself of *Aleppo*, according to *Al Emîr Makîn*. In the sovereignty of this city and its district he maintained himself five years. *Bolgâri possessed himself of Aleppo, this year.* This *Al Emîr Bolgâri*, from his name, seems to have come originally from the country of *Bolgâr*, or *Bulgaria*, a very large tract, extending itself to the east of the *Volga*, formerly called *Bolgâr*, or *Bulgâr*, a denomination from thence applied to the whole region itself. *Al Berjendi* and *Ebn Alwardi*, in the seventh climate of their respective geographies, write, that the city of *Bolgâr*, or *Bulgâr*, the capital of this extensive tract, was, in their time, inhabited by *Moslems* of the sect of *Al Shâfeî*, and that it had formerly been a very considerable place; but that the *Russians* having taken it, in the year of the *Hejra* 358, demolished it, and reduced it to the miserable condition in which it remained at the time
- b they wrote. They add, that the city of *Bolgâr* was distant from *Sarai* in the *Crimea* about twenty stations. Notwithstanding what is advanced to the contrary by *Al Makîn*, if we will believe *Ebn Shohnah*, the inhabitants of *Aleppo*, being afraid of the *Franks*, put themselves into the hands of *Ilgâzi*, or *Aylgâzi*, *Ebn Artak*, the lord of *Mâredîn*, who sent his son *Tamertâsh* to govern them, in the year that we are now upon<sup>c</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 512th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 24th, 1118, the *Khalîf Al Mostadher Bi'llah* departed this life, at *Baghdâd*, the sixteenth day of the latter *Rabi*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, or the twenty-third of that month, if we will believe *Al Makîn*. He died in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. *The Khalîf Al Mostadher Bi'llah's death and character.* With regard to his character, he is said to have been adorned with many fine intellectual endowments, mild in every point of conduct, liberal, eloquent, a good poet, a favourer of learned men, a lover of justice, and constant in giving alms. *Macarius*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, was enthroned at *Alexandria*, either in the 496th or 497th year of the *Hejra*, whilst *Al Mostadher Bi'llah* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. He vacated his see by death, towards the close of the 524th, or the beginning of the 525th, year of the *Mohammedan* æra, according to both *Al Makrîzi* and *Al Makîn*. The first day of *Al Mostadher's* *Khalîfat* was *Saturday*, and the last *Monday*. He outlived three *Soltâns*, or *Emîr Al Omra's*, who were his contemporaries, viz. *Tajo'ddawla Tatash Ebn Alb*, or *Alp*, *Arslan*, *Barkîârok*, and *Mohammed*, all of them sons of *Mâlec Shâh*. The last of these he survived only four months, and some days, as we learn both from *Al Makîn* and *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>d</sup>.
- c

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL BERJENDI, in geogr. EBN ALWARDI, in geogr. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Bulgâr*, p. 214, 215. EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 511. <sup>d</sup> AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 297, 298. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 512. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira, p. 302. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostadher*, p. 628. RENAUD. ubi sup.

## S E C T. L.

- d THE *Moslem* throne was no sooner become vacant, by the death of *Al Mostadher*, than *Al Mostarshed Bi'llah*; having already been prayed for in the mosques, as his father's successor, twenty-three years, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. It appears from *Khondemir*, that the beginning of this prince's reign was by no means peaceable; his brother *Abu'l Hasan* retiring then to *Hella*, a city of the *Arabian Irak*, where he assembled a body of troops, which enabled him to advance to *Wâset*, upon the *Tigris*, and possess himself of that important place. It was here that he openly revolted against his brother *Al Mostarshed*, and took the title of *Khalîf*. The dignity to which he aspired was, however, very short-lived; *Dobâis Ebn Sadeka*, governor of the country for *Al Mostarshed*, soon coming up with him, and giving him an intire defeat. *Abu'l Hasan* himself, being taken prisoner in the action, was sent to the *Khalîf*; who generously granted him his life, and set him at liberty. This appeased all the troubles of the empire, that had been excited by the defection of this prince. The same year, *Baldwin (Q)*, the king of *Jerusalem*, or *Al Kuds*, marched with a powerful army into *Egypt*, in order to make himself master of that opulent region; but swimming in the *Nile* near *Belbeis*, or *Balbais*, a wound, which he had formerly received, opened, and could not be
- e

(Q) The *Egyptian* author so frequently made use of by M. Renaudot informs us, that *Baldwin*, the king of *Jerusalem*, took *Farmâ*, or *Al Farmâ*, a maritime town of *Egypt*, on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, and, having contracted a distemper on his march, expired at *Arish*, in the year of the *Hejra* 512, the very year assigned by *Abu'l Faraj* and *William* of *Tyre* to this expedition.

The *Egyptian* writer adds, that his body, after it had been embalmed, was carried to *Jerusalem*, as he had ordered before his death, and buried in the church on mount *Calvary*; where his sepulchre, with an epitaph upon it, was very lately to be seen. *Ebn Shohnah* and *Ebn Khalecân* place the above-mentioned event in the year of the *Hejra* 511 (1).

(1) Aut. *Egypt*. ap. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 495. Greg. *Abu'l Faraj*. ubi sup. p. 377. Wilb. *Tyr*. Golii not. ad *Alfragan*. p. 145. *Ebn Shohn*. ad an. Hej. 511. *Ebn Khalecân*.



healed. This obliged him to return to *Jerusalem*, where he died, after having recommended the care of his kingdom to *Al Kames*, or *Al Komes*, that is, *the count*, the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Al Robâ*; who had formerly fallen into *Jacarmish's* hands, and been released by *Al Jawâli*. We are told, that this very year, soon after *Al Mostarsbed's* accession, *Togrol Bek*, surnamed *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*, made himself master of a great part of *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*. It appears from the eastern writers, that *Mogayâtbo'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Al Seljûki* acted as *Soltân* at *Baghdâd*, during the course of the present year <sup>e</sup>.

The Seljûkian empire is divided between Mahmûd and Sanjar.

In the 513th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *April 14th*, 1119, a sharp and bloody war began between *Soltân Mahmûd* and his uncle *Sanjar*; who, according to *Khondemir*, had presided over the large province of *Khorasân* for twenty years, under the reigns of the *Soltâns Mohammed* and *Barkîârok*. *Sanjar*, having received advice of *Mohammed's* death, raised a puissant army, and marched into the *Persian Irâk*, where *Mahmûd* had assumed the title of *Soltân*, as successor to his father. The vicinity of the armies commanded by those two princes soon brought on a general action between them; which ending in *Mahmûd's* defeat, he was constrained to retire to the castle of *Saveh*, or *Sawa*, a place of great strength and importance. Finding his affairs intirely ruined, he was obliged to sue for peace to his uncle, and sent to him for that purpose *Kemalo'ddin Ali*, his *Wazîr*, a very eloquent person; who, by his address, brought about an accommodation. The treaty of peace was no sooner concluded, than *Mahmûd* went to visit *Sanjar*; and was so well received, that he obtained of him the investiture of the province of *Irâk*. This we learn from *Khondemir*. However, if *M. D'Herbelot* may be credited, that historian, in another place, says, that *Sanjar* made *Mahmûd* his governor and lieutenant-general of both the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâks*. Be that as it will, as it does not appear from any of the oriental historians, that *Sanjar* ever exercised the least power within those provinces, *Mahmûd* seems to have acted independently of him, and consequently to have ruled there with an absolute sway. The conditions on which *Mahmûd* had allotted him by *Sanjar* the province, or provinces, of *Irâk*, were, according to *Khondemir*, to the following effect: that the name of *Sanjar* should always be mentioned in the public prayers before that of *Mahmûd*; that this latter should not have the fourth veil, or curtain, hung before the door of a room for state, in his apartments; that the trumpet should not sound when he went in or out of his palace; and lastly, that he should retain the officers whom his uncle had established in that part of the empire he was to govern. These conditions *Mahmûd* thankfully submitted to, and, after *Sanjar* had imposed them upon him, spent as much of his time in hunting, without meddling with public affairs, as his situation would permit. We are told, that his hunting equipage was so magnificent, that he kept four hundred blood-hounds and grey-hounds; every one of which wore a collar set with jewels, and a covering edged with gold and pearls. *Ebn Shohnah* relates (R), that *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*, the *Sâheb* of *Mâredîn*, intirely defeated the *Franks*, near *Aleppo*, this year <sup>f</sup>.

The Seljûks are invaded, the following year.

THE next year, being the 504th of the *Hejra*, which began *April 2d*, 1120, the *Kôrj*, who are the same with the *Khozârs*, the *Kasjâks*, and other nations, uniting their forces, made an irruption into the *Moslem* territories; of which *Al Emîr Ilgâzi*, or *Aylgâzi*, lord of *Mâredîn*, *Dobais Ebn Sadeka*, the *Sâheb* of *Hella*, and *Al Mâlec Togrol*, *Mahmûd's* brother, to whom belonged *Arrân* and *Nakhjawân*, having received advice, they advanced to meet them as far as *Teflis*, with an army of 30000 men. The troops on both sides being drawn up in order of battle, a body of 200 *Kasjâks* appeared, with an intention, as the *Moslems* supposed, of surrendering themselves prisoners. But, in this, they were egregiously mistaken: for the *Kasjâks*, or *Kipjâks*, as soon as they came within distance, attacked their front so vigorously with arrows, that they put them into disorder; which those in the rear taking for a flight, they fled with such precipitation, that they fell upon one another. The *Kôrj* pursuing for twelve parasangs, with the utmost ardor, slew the greatest part of them, and took 4000 prisoners. *Al Mâlec Togrol*, *Aylgâzi*, and *Dobais*, however, found means to make their escape. The consequence of this defeat was the loss of *Teflis*, which the

<sup>e</sup> AL MAKIN, in MS. Oxon. inedit. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 377. MIRKHOND, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 512. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostarched Bi'llah*, &c. p. 633, 634, 131. RENAUD. ubi sup. <sup>f</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, EBN SHOHN. ad ann. Hej. 513. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 537, 755, 756, 131.

(R) If we will believe *Ebn Shohnah*, the sepulchre of *Abraham*, in which *Isaac* and *Jacob* were likewise interred, was discovered near *Beit Al Makdes*, *Al Kuds*, or *Jerusalem*, this year. He adds, that the bodies of those three patriarchs were found therein, intire, and not in the least injured by time, together with several gold and silver lamps; and that these were all seen by many

people, seated in the neighbourhood of the place. The *Mohammedans* hold in such veneration *Abraham's* tomb, that they go in pilgrimage thither; though this is not done till they have visited *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jerusalem*, on the same occasion, and performed, with proper devotion, all the prescribed ceremonies there (1).

(1) *Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 513. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. Abraham, p. 15.*



- a Korj immediately besieged, and carried by storm, the following year. Some of the eastern geographers place the city of *Teflis*, *Teflis*, or *Tiflis*, in the province of *Shirwân*, others in *Georgia*, and others in *The Greater Armenia*; but it has been considered as the capital of *Korj*, or the country of the *Korj*, not far from the borders of *Arrân* and *Adherbijân*, by *Nasir Al Tâsi* and *Ulugh Beik*. Whence we may conclude, that the *Korj*, or *Khazars*, kept possession of *Teflis*, and looked upon it as one of the principal towns, if not their capital, at a least considerable time, after their reduction of it, in the year 515. It appears from *Ebn Shohnah*, that *Al Emîr Ahmed Ebn Tomart*, or *Al Emîr Mohammed Ebn Tomrut*, and *Mâlec Abd'almlmen*, the founders of the dynasty of the *Al Moâbedun*, called *Al Mohades* by the *French* and *Spanish* historians, began to make a figure about the time that we are
- b now upon. The *Al Moâbedun*, or *Al Mohades*, whose leaders pretended to deduce their origin from *Al Hosein*, the son of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, first set up their standard in the country of *Harejab*, near the mountain *Al Sûs Al Akfa*, the mount *Atlas* of the ancients, and soon became formidable to the house of *Teffesin*. They even, by the decollation of *Isaac*, the last of the descendants of *Yusef Ebn Tefsesin*, and the reduction of *Fez* and *Morocco*, abolished the kingdom of the *Al Morabeta*, or *Mclathemiyah*, the *Al Moravides* of the *Spanish* writers, in the year of the *Hejra* 540. *Roderic of Toledo*, however, gives us to understand, that the *Al Moâbedun* possessed themselves of the territories of the *Mclathemiyah* in *Africa* before that year. For, he informs us, that the *Al Mohades* chased the *Al Moravides* out of *Spain*, after they had expelled them from *Africa*, in the 539th year of the *Moslem* æra. *Al Nowairi*,
- c or *Al Noweiri*, the *Moslem* historian, has given seventeen princes to the dynasty of the *Al Moâbedun*; which he makes to have commenced in the year 514, and to have ended in the year 666. But the author of the *Nighiaristân* has assigned this dynasty only thirteen princes, reigning from the 524th to the 686th year of the *Hejra*, and has handed down to us a catalogue of them. We shall expatiate no farther upon this race of princes here, as our readers will be obliged with a particular history of them hereafter, in the supplement to this large and extensive work, to which it will more properly belong<sup>s</sup>.

- THE following year, being the 515th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 22d, 1121, *Solimân*, the son of *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*, or *Aylgâzi Ebn Ortok*, having then just completed the twentieth year of his age, rebelled against his father. *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*, having been apprized
- d of this rebellion, marched at the head of his forces against *Solimân* with so much expedition, that he surprized him, and seized those persons who had excited him to this revolt. Amongst these there was a certain *Emîr*, who had been brought up by his father *Artak*, and received from him the name of *Nâsir*, when he was intirely destitute of friends. This man *Ilgâzi* was determined to punish for his treason, which was aggravated by ingratitude. He, therefore, ordered his eyes to be plucked out, and his tongue cut off. One *Al Hamawi*, or a native of *Ilama*, another of them, whom *Ilgâzi* himself had made governor of *Aleppo*, he condemned to be first deprived of sight, and then to have his hands and feet chopt off; which occasioned his death. After these executions, his son *Solimân* was brought drunk before him; but, being restrained by natural affection from inflicting upon him a
- e punishment adequate to his crime, he gave him his life. However, notwithstanding his father's lenity to him, *Solimân* fled to *Damascus*. He was, perhaps, banished to that place, by *Ilgâzi's* command. This seems to be insinuated, though not directly asserted, by *Abu'l Faraj*. In the room of *Al Hamawi*, *Ilgâzi* conferred upon *Solimân*, his brother *Abd'aljabbâr's* son, the government of *Aleppo*, and named him *Badro'ddawla*. Having re-established his affairs in this manner, he returned to *Mâredîn*, then the place of his residence. The same year, the *Seljukian Soltân* assigned to *Ilgâzi*, or *Aylgâzi Ebn Artak*, the city of *Mayyâfârakîn*; as he did to *Al Emîr Aksankar Al Borsaki Al Mawfel*, *Al Fazîra*, and *Senjâr*. It may not be improper to remark here, that *Al Fazîra*, in the passage of *Abu'l Faraj* now before us, does not denote the whole region of *Mesopotamia*, as *Dr. Poccock* took it to do, but either the
- f fourth nome, or district, of that peninsula, which had for its metropolis *Al Mawfel*, and is generally denominated by the *Arabs* *Diyâr Al Fazîra*, or a little island of the *Dijlat*, or *Tigris*, about ten miles in circumference, chiefly inhabited by *Christians*, about twelve miles above *Al Mawfel*. This island goes amongst the *Syrians* under the appellation of *Gozarta*, or rather *Jozarta*, that is, *the island*, and sometimes *Jozarta Cardu*, from the neighbouring *Curd*, *Cardoan*, or *Carduchian* mountains. The *Arabs* call it simply *Fazîra*, or *Al Fazîra*, *the island*, and sometimes *Fazîra Ebn Omar*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* names it *Bezabda* and *Bizabda*, *St. Jerom Zabdicene*, and *Masius Gezerta*. The bishop of this island was the eighth in rank of those subject to the *Masriân*, or *metropolitan of the east*, as the *Jacobites* styled their pontiff. For a list of some of the prelates of this island, and the fate they met

The chief events of the year 515.

<sup>s</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 377, 378. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Teflis*, p. 841. & alib pass. AL NOWAIR. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 514. RODERIC TOLETAN. hist. Arab. p. 39. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAFAF AL KAZWINI, in Nighiarist. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 586.

with,



with, we must beg leave to refer our learned and curious readers to the last but one of a the authors cited in this paragraph. The writer so often followed by M. Renaudot, makes *Al Emîr Al Afdal*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf Al Amer's Wazîr*, to have been assassinated by two *Bâtanîsts* sent by the *Khalîf* himself to perpetrate that horrid fact, in the year that we are now upon. Some authors relate, that *Al Amer* employed these *Bâtanîsts* to murder *Al Afdal*, because that minister, finding himself upon very bad terms with his master, had several times attempted to take off the *Khalîf* himself by poison. Others will have it, that the *Emîr*, or *Wazîr*, arrogated so much to himself, that the *Khalîf* could not bear him, and therefore got him dispatched by the ruffians abovementioned. The *Wazîr*, being carried to the palace, was found dead, upon his arrival there. As for the assassins, they were immediately secured, and met with the punishment due to so atrocious a crime. The *Khalîf* ordered him a very pompous funeral, and attended it himself; saying at the grave the prayers, usual on such occasions. He had, however, seized before all the *Wazîr's* money, amounting to 4,000,000 *dinârs*; as also his rich cloaths, tapestry, jewels, hories, arms, and every thing valuable belonging to him; all which he caused to be confiscated. About this time, the *Tamanian* pillars of the *Caaba* were thrown down; but whether this happened by accident or design, we have not been told. *Al Sheikh Yezîdo'ddîn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Tograi Al Esfabâni*, who had an employment under *Mâlec Shâb*, and was advanced to the post of *Wazîr* by *Soltân Ma'sûd*, being taken prisoner by *Mahmûd*, after he had vanquished his master in battle, was put to death by that prince, and the famous *Abu'l Kâsem Ebn Mohammed Al Harîri*, the celebrated author of *Al Makamât*, or the *Confessus*, died, before the close of this year. The reason assigned by *Soltân Mahmûd* for his severity to *Al Sheikh Yezîdo'ddîn* was, that he found him to be an infidel and an impious person. That *Sheikh* wrote a *Diwân*, or collection, of poems; one of which was that intituled, *Lamiat Al Ajem*, published, with notes and a *Latin* version, by the great Dr. *Pocock*, at *Oxford*, in 1661. Another piece in prose, concerning the education of children, bearing the title of *Arskad Al Awlad*, has likewise been attributed to him. At the time of his death, which, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, happened in the year of the *Hejra* 515, though it has been placed in 513, by M. *D'Herbelot*, he was above sixty years old. He is said by some to have been much addicted to chymistry, and to have made a considerable progress in that art. With regard to *Al Harîri*, who likewise paid the common tribute to nature the pre- sent year, he resided for the most part at *Harîr*, a town of *Fârs*; though, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, he was a native of *Basra*. Hence he is surnamed both *Al Harîri* and *Al Basri* by the *Arab* writers. The *Makamât*, or *Mokamât*, which he composed at the request of *Abu Shirwân Ebn Khâled*, *Soltân Mahmûd's Wazîr*, is esteemed as a master-piece of *Arabian* eloquence, inasmuch that, says *Al Zamakhshari*, the most learned of the *Arab* grammarians, it ought to be written upon nothing but silk. It contains (S) fifty discourses, or declamations, upon different moral subjects; every one of which bears the name of the place where it was recited. *Okbari Al Baghdâdi* obliged the *Moslem* world with an explication of all the difficult words that occur in the *Makamât*; a copy of which is preserved in the *French* king's library, N<sup>o</sup>. 1120. Several eastern authors, of good repute, have also commented upon it; of which *Al Motarezzi*, *Al Modbafferi*, and *Al Shîrâzi* hold the first rank. *Al Harîri*, if *Ebn Shobnah* may be credited, was born in the year of the *Hejra* 446. The word *Makamât* denotes properly what rhetoricians call *common places* in the *Arabic* tongue <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. EBN SHONNAH, ad ann. Hej. 515. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. pass. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 232, 233. CHRIST. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. tom. II. p. 775. ISM. ABU'L-FED. num. 251. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xx. cap. 15 & 16. HIERONYM. in chron. ad ann. xi. Constantis, MAS. in præfat. ad anaphor. Sancti Basilii, JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. Biblioth. orient. tom. secund. et in dissertat. de Monophysit. & alib. pass. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 495, 496.

(S) It may not be improper to remark here, that the three first of the *Confessus* were published, with notes and a *Latin* version, by the famous *Albert Schultens*, at *Franker*, in the year of our LORD 1731; and the next three, at *Leyden*, in the year 1740. The *Arabic* manuscript made use of by *Schultens*, on this occasion, was that preserved in the public library at *Leyden*, which contains a great number of very valuable oriental manuscripts. The learned editor has prefixed to the last of these performances an extract from *Ebn Khalecân*, exhibiting the character of *Al Harîri*, whom that writer calls *Abu Mohammed Al Kâsem Ebn Ali Ebn Mohammed*

*Ebn Othmân Al Harîri Al Basri Al Harâmi*, as well as a short history and description of this celebrated part of his works. This we think it needless to transcribe, as the book itself is new, and in almost every one's hands. The first of the *Confessus*, intituled *Al Sanaani*, had been before published, with a *Latin* translation, and short marginal notes, by *Golius*; who, at the same time, communicated to the learned world a particular account both of the author and the work, of which that piece he edited, as a specimen, was a part. This may be seen in one of the later editions of his excellent, and universally admired, *Arabic* grammar (1).

(1) *Harir. eloquent. Arabic. princip. tres prior. Confess. è cod. MS. Lugduno Bat. pro specim. emis. ac notis illustrat. c. Alberto Schultens. Franquera, 1731 Confess. Harir. quart. quint. & sext. è cod. MS. Latine conver. ac not. illustrat. &c. curavit & edidit Alb. Schultens. Lugduni Batavorum, 1740.*



a THE 516th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 12th, 1122, seems not to have produced many actions of *éclat*. It was, however, remarkable for the death of *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*. That *Emîr* departed this life at *Mayyâfûrakîn*, in the month of *Ramadân*. Hereupon *Hofâmô'ddîn Tamartâsh* seized the castle of *Mâredîn*, and his son *Solimân Mayyâfûrakîn*; *Badro'ddawla Solimân Ebn Abd'aljabbâr Ebn Artak* remaining at *Aleppo*, till he was driven from thence by his cousin *Balac Ebn Babrâm Ebn Artak*, the following year. *Al Emîr Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*, the *Sâbeb* of *Mâredîn* and *Mayyâfûrakîn*, makes a considerable figure in the *Moslem* history, as appears from what has been already related of him. Some of the oriental writers call him *Togrol Beg*, looking upon *Ilgâzi* only as a surname. The house of *Artak*, or, as the *Turks* pronounce it, *Ortok*, deduced that name from a mountain in *Turkestân*, opposite to mount *Gurtak*. Between these two hills, the latter of which is sometimes denominated *Gbertak*, is situated the city of *Karâkûm*, inhabited by *Scythians*, or oriental *Turks*, in the middle of a vast and extensive plain, covered with black sand, from whence it derives its name; the word *Karâkûm*, in *Turkish*, signifying *black sand*. It stands in 116° 40' long. and 30° 36' N. lat. Here *Kara Khân*, the father of *Ogûz Khân*, one of the most ancient kings of the *Turks*, or *Moguls*, held his royal seat. The two aforesaid mountains, that bound on the north and the south the abovementioned plain, are branches of mount *Imaus*, where the *Turkish*, or *Mogul*, cavalry take up successively their summer and winter quarters. *Ilgâzi* in *Wilb. Tyrius*, or *William of Tyre*, goes under the appellation of *Gazzi*, and by *Marinus Sanutus* he is still more corruptly named *Gariz*. Some of this prince's coins may be seen amongst those, with *Arabic* characters upon them, published by *Honorius Arigonus*, at *Trevifo*, in 1745<sup>1</sup>.

c OUR learned readers will perhaps not be displeased, if we here attempt to restore the true reading of a passage in *Erpenius's* MS. and printed edition of *Al Makîn*; especially, as this can by no means be deemed foreign to the present subject. If *Al Emîr Bolgâri Ebn Aryk*, who possessed himself of *Aleppo*, in the year of the *Hejra* 511, was in reality no other person than *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak*; the name of this prince has been as much corrupted by the *Latin* translator of *Al Makîn*, as by either *William of Tyre* or *Sanutus*. And that this is really the case, we have pretty good reason to believe. For the characters forming the words *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak* and *Bolgâri Ebn Aryk*, divested of the diacritical points, must be allowed to be the very same; and, in support of this sentiment, it may be farther observed, that *Ilgâzi* occupied *Aleppo*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, till the time of his death, in the year of the *Hejra* 516, that is, five years after *Bolgâri Ebn Aryk* is said to have made himself master of that city, the very duration assigned the government of this *Emîr* in *Erpenius's* MS. and printed copies of *Al Makîn*. To which we may add, that *Ebn Shobnah*, in confirmation of what has been proposed, asserts *Ilgâzi Ebn Artak* to have taken under his protection the people of *Aleppo*, in the year of the *Hejra* 511; which seems to set the point, now recommended to the consideration of our learned and intelligent readers, beyond dispute<sup>2</sup>.

d IN the 517th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 1st, 1123, *Balac Ebn Babram Ebn Artak*, finding his cousin *Solimân* not able to defend his country against the *Franks*, laid close siege to *Aleppo*, which at last was surrendered to him. A little before this happened, the *Franks*, attended by *Saifo'ddîn*, the *Sâbeb* of *Hella*, advanced to *Aleppo*, in order to possess themselves of that place; which being destitute of a garrison, and in want of all kinds of necessaries, the inhabitants desired ten days time to deliberate upon proper terms of capitulation. This being granted them, and the ninth day come, without their having arrived at any resolution, the river *Kowaik*, which runs by the town, that day overflowed its banks, laid a considerable extent of territory under water, carried away all the baggage and military chest of the *Franks*, drowned a vast number of them, and, in fine, obliged them to raise the siege. The defenceless state of *Aleppo*, which was hindered from falling into the hands of the *Franks* only by the aforesaid unexpected event, induced *Balac Ebn Babram* to make himself master of it, lest it should soon be intirely lost to the house of *Artak*. The place, however, sustained a siege, before it submitted to him, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*; his army being probably much inferior, both in number and goodness of troops, to that of the *Franks*<sup>3</sup>.

f THE following year, being the 518th of the *Hejra*, which began *Feb.* 19th, 1124, *Balac Ebn Babram Ebn Artak* marched against *Manbij*, or *Manbej*, took it, and then formed the siege of the castle. This, for some time, he carried on vigorously; but was at last killed by an arrow, in one of his attacks; upon which, his forces immediately dispersed. The

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 379. RENAUD. ubi sup. AL BERJENDI, NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Artak & Ortok*, p. 130, 131. & art. *Caracum*, p. 253. WILH. TYR. p. 820. f. & p. 824. MARIN. SANUT. p. 158. Numismat. quæd. cujusc. form. & met. mus. HONOR. ARIGON. Venet. &c. tom. tert. Tarvisii, 1745.

<sup>2</sup> AL MAKÎN, ubi sup. p. 297. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Artak & Ortok*, p. 131. RENAUD. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. AL MAKÎN, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad an. *Hej.* 517.



same year, *Aksankar Al Borsaki* reduced the city of *Aleppo*, as the *Franks* did *Sár*, or *Tyre*.<sup>a</sup> The inhabitants, however, and the *Moslem* garison, of the latter of these places, defended themselves with so much bravery, and made so stout a resistance, that the *Franks* lay before it five months. Nor could they at last have possessed themselves of it, had they not starved it to a surrender: which is not to be wondered at, as it was, both by nature and art, rendered one of the strongest and most impregnable fortresses of the East. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that the *Franks* granted the *Moslems* very honourable terms; permitting them to march out of the town with bag and baggage, and to carry out all their riches along with them. This year, died *Al Hasan Sabab*, the founder of the dynasty of the *Ismaelians* of *Asia*, or *Assessins*, after he had reigned thirty-five years in *Al Jebel*, or the *Persian Irak*, and was succeeded by *Buzruk Umid Al Rûdbâri*, a native of the city and castle of *Rûdbâr*; of which princes we shall hereafter give a more particular account, in the supplement to this work, to which it will more properly belong<sup>m</sup>,

Nothing remarkable happened the following year.

THE next year, being the 519th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Feb.* 8th, 1125, *Kosaimo'ddawla Aksankar Al Borsaki* remained in the peaceable possession of *Aleppo*, where his son *Mas'ûd* then resided in quality of governor, and made the proper dispositions for securing to himself that place. At this time, *Buzruk Umid Al Rûdbâri*, in imitation of his predecessor, took several assassins into his service; some of whom barbarously murdered *Al Emîr Aikankar*, the *Sâheb* of *Aleppo*, the following year<sup>n</sup>.

The most material transactions of the year 520.

THE 520th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *Jan.* 27th, 1126, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, did not prove very favourable to the *Franks*. Having assembled a very considerable force, they moved towards *Damascus*, in order to form the siege of that city, and advanced first to *Shafjab*, where they encamped. *Tagantakin*, the *Moslem* governor of *Damascus*, being informed of their approach, marched against them at the head of his troops, with an intent to give them battle. His horse soon came up with them, but were broken and dispersed by the cavalry of the *Franks*; who pursued them with so much ardor, that they left their foot to take care of themselves. The *Moslem* infantry, seeing them thus deserted by their horse, fell upon them with such fury that they put them to the rout, penetrated to the enemy's camp, plundered it, and put all the *Christians* they met with there to the sword. The cavalry of the *Franks*, upon their return from the pursuit, finding their foot defeated, and the *Moslems* in possession of their camp, betook themselves likewise to a precipitate flight.<sup>d</sup> This blow obliged the *Franks* to lay aside all thoughts of attacking *Damascus*, and in the utmost confusion to abandon the *Moslem* territories. The same year, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, *Kosaimo'ddawla Aksankar Al Borsaki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, was assassinated by some *Bâtanists*, one *Friday*, in the great *Jama'*, or royal temple, of that city. Hereupon *'Azzo'ddîn*, or *Ezzo'ddîn*, *Mas'ûd*, his son, who came from *Aleppo* for that purpose, took possession of *Al Mawfel* without opposition. It is looked upon as very wonderful by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *'Azzo'ddîn* should be apprized of his father's death by the *Sâheb*, or lord, of *Antioch*, before a courier brought him the news. However, he accounts for this by observing, that it was sooner known to the *Franks*, by reason of the diligence they used to learn the true state of affairs among the *Moslems*. *Ebn Shohnah* gives *Al Emîr Aksankar* the character of the best of governors, and of a brave magnanimous prince<sup>o</sup>.

and of the year 521.

IN the 521st year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Jan.* 17th, 1127, *'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Aksankar* sent *Al Emîr Kinaz* as his governor to *Aleppo*, to preside over the people there; he having been obliged to leave that place, in order to take upon himself the government of *Al Mawfel*, after his father's death. This year is remarkable for being the first of the dynasty of the *Atibeks* of *Irak*, founded by *Omâdo'ddîn*, or *'Amâdo'ddîn*, *Zenki*, the son of *Aksankar*; who was established in the government of the city of *Baghdâd*, by *Soltân Mahmûd*. His brother *'Azzoddîn Mas'ûd* dying, the same year, *'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki* became possessed of *Al Mawfel*, and its dependencies. *Al Emîr Kinaz* behaving extremely ill at *Aleppo*, the inhabitants deposed him, and substituted one *Solimân*, who had formerly ruled them with more equity and moderation, in his room. The famous *Kotbo'ddîn*, founder of a new monarchy, and first *Shâh* of *Khowârazm*, of whom we shall speak more largely hereafter, departed this life, the present year<sup>p</sup>.

The principal transactions of the year 522,

THE following year, being the 522d of the *Hejra*, which began *Jan.* 6th, 1128, *Soltân Sanjar*, who came for that purpose out of *Khorasân*, and *Soltân Mahmûd*, his nephew, had an interview at *Al Ray*, where they sat very amicably together upon the same throne. This

<sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 379, 380. AL MAKIN, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad an. Hej. 518. GOLDI not. ad Alfragan. p. 130, 131. EBN SHOHNAH, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad an. Hej. 518. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAR AL KAZWINI, in Nighiarist. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 218, 505. <sup>n</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. EBN SHOHNAH, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAR AL KAZWINI, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. <sup>o</sup> EBN SHOHNAH, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 520. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 380. <sup>p</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHN. ad ann. Hej. 521. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Atabekian Irak*, p. 142. & art. *Cothb-eddin*, p. 276.



a year, 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Akfankar made himself master of the city and castle of Aleppo, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. That fortress, as we are told by *Nicetas Croniates*, was besieged by the forces of the emperor *Joh. Comnenus*, who had concluded a treaty of alliance with *Raymond*, prince of *Antioch*, the preceding year; but without effect. *Al Emîr Tagantekin*, the *Sâleb*, or *Atâbek*, of *Damascus*, a person of great prudence and sagacity, died, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, in the year that we are now upon<sup>a</sup>.

THE next year, being the 523d of the *Hejra*, which commenced Dec. 26th, 1128, *Atâbek* and of the 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Akfankar, who had before, if we may depend upon *Ebn Shobnah*, year 523. reduced *Harrân*, *Senjâr*, or *Sinjâr*, *Nasîbîn*, or *Nisbîn*, and *Jazîra Ebn Omer*, in *Mesopotamia*, possessed himself of *Hama*, or *Hamah*, in *Syria*. Having sent an ambassador to b *Tawzi Ebn Tagantekin*, the *Atâbek* of *Damascus*, in order to procure his assistance against the *Franks*; the *Atâbek* dispatched his son *Sunaj*, then his deputy at *Hama*, to have a conference with him. But *Sunaj* no sooner appeared, than *Zenki* took him prisoner, and carried him to *Hama*; whither he immediately marched with a body of troops, and seized upon that city. He then returned to *Al Mawfel*, attended by his prisoner *Sunaj*; and afterwards overthrew the *Franks* with great slaughter, near the castle of *Al Atârab*, which he made himself master of, and levelled with the ground, before the end of this prosperous campaign<sup>c</sup>.

IN the 524th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Dec. 15th, 1129, *Soltân Sanjar* passed the *Jibîn*, and entered *Mawarû'nahr*, in order to reduce *Abmed Ebn Solimân*, the governor c of *Samarkand*, who had set up for himself there, and refused to pay the usual tribute. Being obliged to surrender after a vigorous siege, the *Soltân* spared his life; only depriving him of the government, which he gave to one of his slaves. But *Abmed*, finding means to get into *Sanjar's* favour, was in a little time restored. The same year, *Al Amer Beahcamî'llab Abu Ali Ebn Al Mosta'li*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt*, was assassinated by several *Bâtanists*, supposed to have been hired by some of the grandees of his court for that purpose, on the second of *Dhu'lkaada*, as he returned from taking a walk. As he left no son behind him, he was succeeded by *Abu'l Maimûn Abd'al Majîd*, the son of *Abu'l Kasem Ebn Al Mostanser*, his cousin-german, who assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Hâfedh Bedinî'llab*. However, he was not inaugurated in form, nor would the *Egyptians* take the oath of allegiance to d him, before it should appear, whether the child, of which the *Khalif's* widow was then big, were a son or not. In case the infant proved a son, *Al Hâfedh Bedinî'llab* was, however, appointed to act as his deputy. A certain author writes, that no less than ten *Bâtanists* were employed in the assassination of the *Khalif Al Amer Beahcamî'llab*, by some of the friends of *Al Afdal*, the late *Wazîr*, as was believed, in order to revenge that minister's death. This year, there were seen at *Baghdâd* scorpions with wings, and a double sting; which struck all people with terror, and did much damage in that place. *Ebn Shobnah* relates, that *Al Amer Beahcamî'llab*, the tenth *Fâtemite Khalif*, was thirty-four years old, at the time of his death; and that he reigned twenty-nine years, five months, and fifteen days<sup>e</sup>.

e THE 525th year of the *Hejra*, commencing December 4th, 1130, proved fatal to *Soltân* and in 585 *Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâb*, who died, in the month of *Shawâl*, at *Hamadan*. He was twenty-seven years old, of which he reigned thirteen, at the time of his death, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. *Khondemir*, however, as cited by *M. D'Herbelot*, affirms him either to have governed or reigned alone twenty-seven years. The author of the *Lebtârikh* makes him to have lived only twenty-five years, and yet places his birth in the year of the *Hejra* 487; which extends his life, in opposition to what he had before advanced, to thirty-eight years. In this state of uncertainty and contradiction, we cannot, therefore, help preferring to that of the other two writers the authority of *Abu'l Faraj*. And, in farther confirmation of this, *Ebn Shobnah* writes, that *Soltân Mahmûd* lived twenty-seven years, f and reigned twelve years, seven months, and twenty days. He was a prince of a very handsome person, and a generous soul; affable, prudent, and merciful; though the love of women and hunting gradually impaired the great character, and the shining reputation he had acquired. He has been particularly blamed for squandering away the best part of his finances upon his hunting equipage, which frequently rendered him short of money, and incapable of paying his troops. Notwithstanding which, he never fleeced his subjects, in order to recruit his coffers; nor would he ever suffer his favourites to offer them any injury. He forbore to punish those who spoke ill of him. No prince ever studied the art of reigning more. He is said to have been skilled in grammar, poetry, and chronology.

<sup>a</sup> EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 522. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. NICET. CRON. in Joan. Comnen. GOLI. not. ad Alfragan. p. 273.

<sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 523.

<sup>e</sup> KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 380, 381. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 524. EBN SHOHN. ad an. Hej. 524. AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sanjar*, p. 756, & art. *Amer Beahcam Allab*, p. 108. RICHARD. ubi sup. p. 495, 496.



He was also very eloquent, and wrote a beautiful hand. We are farther told, that he was a versed in the art of oneirocritic, and had by him at his death a collection of the interpretations of dreams. He left for his successor *Soltân Togrol*, his brother, surnamed *Rucno'ddîn*, or *Rucno'ddîn*, and called *Dawd*, or *David*, by *Abu'l Faraj*. His brother *Mas'ûd* nevertheless disputed the crown with him, and several battles were fought between them, in the space of three or four years, which he reigned. It appears from *Khondemir*, that *Soltân Togrol II.* had a son also named *Dawd*, whom some of his subjects at *Hamadân* endeavoured to place upon the throne, after his death; but without effect. We must not forget to remark, that *Macarius*, the patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, died, either in the beginning of this or the end of the preceding year, after he had sat in that see, according to *Al Makrizi*, twenty-six years, and forty-one days. He was buried in the church of *Muhallaca* at *Meſr*; though his body was transported to the monastery of *St. Macarius*, in the second year of the patriarchate of *Gabriel*, surnamed *Ebn Tarik*, and sometimes going under the appellation of *Abu'lola*, who was one of the best families in *Al Kabirah*, and succeeded him in the patriarchal see, after it had been vacant about two years, and two months. Whilst *Macarius* presided over the *Christians* of the *Jacobite* sect in *Egypt*, both the *Fâtemite Khalîf Al Amer Beabcamî'llah* and *Al Asdal* his *Wazîr* were assassinated by the *Bâtanists*, as has been already observed. The latter of these, if we will believe *Ebn Shobnah*, was dispatched by three of those assassins in the street called *Siakalah*, in the year of the *Hejra* 515, and succeeded by *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah Al Bataychi*, or rather *Al Batîbahi*, in the sublime post of *Wazîr*. The gentile name *Al Batîbahi* seems to intimate, that this *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah* was originally of *Al Batîba*, or *Al Batîbah*, the marshy district formed by the reſtaginations of the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of *Wâſet*.

The Atâbek  
Zenki is de-  
feated by the  
Khalîf.

THE following year, being the 526th of the *Hejra*, beginning Nov. 23d, 1131, *Soltân Sanjar* wrote to *'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki*, *Atâbek* of the *Arabian Irâk*, and *Dobais Ebn Sadeka*, the *Sâheb* of *Hella*; commanding them to march into *Irâk*, against the *Khalîf Mostarshed*. Accordingly they advanced into that province, and incamped at *Al Manâriya*, which belonged to *Dojayl*, or *Dokhayl*, the country extending itself, for some space, along the *Tigris*, to the north of *Baghdâd*. The *Khalîf*, having received advice of their approach, passed the *Tigris* with all his forces, and pitched his tents at *Al Abbâsiya*, on the western bank of that river. The armies faced each other at *Hadrâ Al Barâmaca*, and came to a general action there. *Atâbek Zenki* attacked the *Khalîf's* right wing, in which *Jamâlo'ddawla Akbâl* was posted, and put the troops of which it was composed to flight. But the *Khalîf*, supported by *Nasr Al Khâdem* (the eunuch), who commanded his left wing, fell upon the enemy's right with such fury, that, after a sharp dispute, he defeated it, killed a great number of the rebels upon the spot, and took many of them prisoners. This matter, however, seems to be differently related by *Khondemir*, who assures us, that *Dobais Ebn Sadeka*, who had been so faithful to the *Khalîf Al Mostarshed*, in the beginning of his reign, and then suppressed the rebellion excited against him by his brother *Abu'l Hasan*, was at last induced to take part with his enemies; insomuch that having joined *Togrol Al Seljûki*, he undertook, conjointly with him, to surprize the *Khalîf* in *Baghdâd*. This had actually been done, continues that author, had not *Togrol* been suddenly seized with a burning fever, and *Dobais* hindered from appearing at the place of rendezvous by a violent storm. Nevertheless the *Khalîf's* troops, availing themselves of this advantage, obliged the rebels to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. This war, adds he, was carried on till the year of the *Hejra* 526, when *Mas'ûd*, the son of *Mohammed Gayâtho'ddîn*, succeeded his brother *Mahmûd*. For, the name of this *Soltân* having been published in all the mosques, with the consent of *Al Mostarshed*, the *Khalîf* afterwards changed his sentiments, in relation to *Mas'ûd*, and, at the sollicitation of some of the grandees of his court, ordered his name to be suppressed in the public prayers; depriving him both of the title and quality of *Soltân*. This year, the *Atâbek Al Shabîd* recovered *Ma'ra Al Na'mân*, or *Maara Al Nomân*, in *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, from the *Franks*, according to *Al Makîn*. From the *Khalîf Al Mostarshed's* appearing at the head of his forces in the field, and extinguishing in person the aforesaid rebellion, we may conclude, that he was more warlike and brave than many of his latter predecessors; though he has been represented by some of the eastern historians as a mild and pacific prince. The same year, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, *Tauzi*, surnamed *Tâj Al Molûc*, that is, *the crown of kings*, the son of *Tagantakîn*, or, as he is called by *Al Makîn*, *Tagiakîn*, the *Atâbek* of *Damascus*, departed this life, in that city. He left his kingdom by will to *Shams Al Molûc*, that is, *the sun of kings*, *Ismael*, his eldest son; and to his other son, *Shamso'ddawla*, or *the sun of the state*, he assigned *Baalbec*, with its district

\* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 381. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 525. KHONDEMIR, apud D'Herbel. p. 537, 756. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. EBN SHOHNAH, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad an. 515. & ad an. 525. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in Lebtâr. p. 43. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD, ubi sup. p. 500, 501. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 225. GOLLIN not. ad Alfragan. p. 121.



- a and dependencies. As for *Shams Al Moluc Ismael*, he grew very powerful at *Damascus*, and took *Baniās*, or *Paneas*, together with its castle, from the *Franks*, by capitulation. He also wrested *Hamah* out of *Atabek Zenki*'s hands, which he carried by storm. These conquests struck the *Franks* with such terror, that they retired from the *Moslem* frontiers, and were obliged to act intirely on the defensive. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Amer Beahcami'llab*'s widow having been brought to bed of a daughter, *Al Hâfedh*, who before had been placed at the head of the administration at *Al Kâbirah*, was proclaimed *Khalif* of *Egypt*; though *Abu Ali Ahmed*, *Al Afdal*'s son, then *Wazir* and commander in chief of the *Egyptian* forces, endeavoured to set up for himself, but without effect, about the time that we are now upon <sup>u</sup>.
- b THE next year, being the 527th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Nov. 12th, 1132*, the *Khalif* *Al Mostarshed* sent a pretty sharp message to *Atabek Zenki*, by *Al Sheikh Babâ'oddin Abu'l shed besiges* *Fotâ Al Esfarâjeni*; who, relying on the power and authority of his master, added several *Al Mawfel* reproaches of his own. For which insolence, *Zenki*, having arrested him, treated him very ill. *Al Mostarshed*, having received advice of the insult offered him in the person of his embassador, marched with an army of 30,000 men from *Baghdâd* towards *Al Mawfel*; and was met by *Zenki*, at a small distance from the latter of those places, with part of his forces, the rest being left, under the command of *Nasîro'ddin*, his deputy, in the town. But not being able to make head against the *Khalif*, that prince invested the city of *Al Mawfel*, in the month of *Ramadân*, and afterwards besieged it in form: whilst he pressed
- c the place closely without, a company of plasterers within agreed to betray it to him. But being discovered, and executed, he raised the siege, after he had carried it on ineffectually about three months, and returned to *Baghdâd*. About this time, the repose of the army, as well as of the court, in *Egypt*, was disturbed by factions; one of which was headed by *Abu Ali Al Hâkem*, *Al Hâfedh*'s son, who endeavoured to excite the *Emîrs* to a revolt. The soldiers were divided into two powerful parties; some of them espousing the tenets of the *Sunnites*, and others those of the *Shiites*. This division occasioned the points in debate between those two sects to be controverted amongst the troops, already inflamed against one another by political broils, with so much heat, that from words they came at last to blows, and many on both sides were slain <sup>w</sup>.
- d IN the 528th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Nov. 1st, 1133*, a peace was concluded *A peace con-* between *Atabek Zenki* and *Al Mostarshed Bi'llah*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*. The distractions, *cluded between* owing to *Abu Ali Al Hâkem*'s conduct, still continued in *Egypt*; every thing at this time, *Zenki and* according to *Ebn Khalectân*, and other writers of good repute, being in great confusion *the Khalif.* there <sup>x</sup>.
- e THE 529th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Oct. 22d, 1134*, proved fatal to *Soltân The Khalif Al* *Togrol* and the *Khalif* *Al Mostarshed*. The former of those princes, who was the eighth *Mostarshed is* *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, died at *Hamadân*, in the month of *Al Moharram*; being about *assassinated by* twenty-five years old, of which he had reigned three, at the time of his death. He was *the Bitanists.* just and valiant, good-natured and liberal. The art of governing he perfectly well understood, and did nothing unbecoming a prince. Upon *Togrol*'s death, his brother *Mas'ûd*, then at *Baghdâd*, was invited by his friends at *Hamadân* to repair immediately to that city, in order to take the government of it upon him, and a courier was dispatched to him for that purpose. In the mean time, another party formed at court, sent an express to *Dawd*, or *David*, the son of *Togrol*, with the same view. But the uncle being more expeditious than the nephew, and reaching *Hamadân* first, *Mas'ûd* was unanimously saluted *Soltân* by the grandees, and *Dawd* no more thought of. Having been apprized in the city of *Al Ray*, where he then held his residence, that the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*, in violation of his engagements, had ordered his name to be suppressed in the public prayers, and deprived him of the title and quality of *Soltân*, he advanced at the head of a powerful army into the
- f *Arabian Irâk*; where he was met by *Al Mostarshed*, accompanied by a great number of the principal noblesse, and lords of his court. The two armies had not long faced each other, before they came to a general action, on the tenth of *Ramadân*; when the *Khalif*'s left wing deserting to the *Soltân*, he was surrounded and taken, whilst his right wing, after a slight opposition, fled. After this defeat, *Baghdâd* opened its gates to *Mas'ûd*, without making any resistance. The *Soltân*, meditating another expedition, carried *Al Mostarshed* with him into the province of *Adherbijân*. Being arrived at *Marâga*, the *Khalif* was confined in a tent at some distance from the army, near the gate of that city; where messages

<sup>u</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 526. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ad an. Hej. 526. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 293, 295. AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostarshed*, p. 654. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 503, 504, 505. <sup>w</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 381, 382. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 504. <sup>x</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 382. AL MAKRIZI, EBN KHALECTAN, RENAUD. ubi sup.



passed between him and the *Soltân* relating to peace. At length it was agreed, that *Al Mostarshed*, besides paying annually 400,000 *dinârs*, should remain in *Baghdâd*, and not raise any other troops besides his ordinary guards. The agreement being thus settled, the *Khalîf* was permitted to ride on horseback, with the harness of a horse, in token of honour, carried before him. He was even upon the point of returning to *Baghdâd*, when news being brought of the arrival of an ambassador from *Soltân Sanjar*, the people followed *Mas'ûd* to meet him, and amongst the rest some of those who had the care of the *Khalîf*. The defenceless condition of that prince, who was now left without a guard, excited twenty-four *Bâtanists* to rush into his tent, and assassinate him, by giving him no less than twenty wounds. Not satisfied with the perpetration of this horrid crime, they barbarously cut off his nose and ears, and left him, by way of contempt, naked upon the spot. Many believed, with good reason, says *Khondemir*, that *Mas'ûd* was at the bottom of this affair; and amused him with the appearance of an accommodation, on the terms above-mentioned, only in order to cover his design. *Al Mostarshed* was of a thin habit of body, but an excellent constitution. He was very eloquent, and had the talent of expressing himself so well in a few words, that he always comprehended a great deal of good sense in his discourse. *Ebn Shohnah* affirms him to have been a prince of a pacific disposition, and a fine writer. His mother's name was *Omm Walid*, as we learn from the same author. He was murdered on *Thursday*, the 17th of *Dhu'lkaada*, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned seventeen years, and seven months, near the gate of *Marâga*, where he remained till the citizens buried him. *Mirkhond*, on the other hand, relates, that this *Khalîf* was a man of a military genius, and fought several battles with *Soltân Mas'ûd Al Seljûki*, with various success. He also farther assures us, that *Mas'ûd*, having routed *Al Mostarshed*, in a decisive action near *Tauris*, or *Tabriz*, the capital of *Adherbijân*, took him prisoner; and, soon after he fell into his hands, caused him to be put to death.

Y GREG. ABU'L FAR, ubi sup. p. 382, 383. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 529. AL MAKIN, in MS. Oxon. inedit. EBN SHOHNAN, ad an. Hej. 529. EBN KHALECAN, MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 303. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostarshed*, p. 634. & art. *Tabriz*, p. 834.

## S E C T. LI.

*Al Râshed, Al Mostarshed's son, ascends the Moslem throne, at Baghdâd.*

THE *Khalîf Al Mostarshed* having been cut off by the *Bâtanists*, hired for that purpose probably by *Soltân Mas'ûd*, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, his son, was declared *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, or commander of the faithful, in his room. The new *Khalîf*, immediately after his accession, took the title, or surname, of *Al Râshed Billah*, and received the oath of allegiance from his subjects, the last Monday in *Dhu'lkaada*, the month in which his father was slain. He had before been acknowledged successor to the preceding *Khalîf*, by the people or *Baghdâd*, and therefore met with no opposition, after *Al Mostarshed*'s tragical exit, in his elevation to the Moslem throne. He had not long been inaugurated, when *Dobais Ebn Sadeka*, the *Sâheb* of *Hella*, was assassinated by a young *Armenian*, imployed by *Soltân Mas'ûd*; who cut off his head, as he was slooping with his fingers on the ground, before his tent, near the city of *Kbûnej*. For *Mas'ûd* was jealous of his power, and had only made use of him as an instrument to oppose *Al Mostarshed*. The same year, *Shams Al Mohûc* was assassinated by some of his servants, at the instigation of his mother. *Shahab'oddîn*, the son of *Tâj Al Mohûc Tarwzi*, succeeded him, at *Damascus*, which was soon after attacked by *Atâbek Zenki*; though, a truce being concluded between him and *Shahab'oddîn*, the *Atâbek* thought fit to draw off, and retire into his own dominions. The troubles in *Egypt*, occasioned by *Abu Ali Al Hâkem*'s defection, still remaining, and the minds of the soldiery being alienated from him; they solicited *Babarâm*, or *Bahrâm*, surnamed *Tâjo'ddawla*, an *Armenian*, who presided over the western part of the *Fâtemite* empire, to come to *Al Kâbirah*, take upon himself the office of *Wazîr*, as well as that of general of the *Khalîf*'s forces, and restore the public tranquillity, which had been so long disturbed. *Bahrâm*, upon their application to him, though the post of *Wazîr* by no means pleased him, found himself obliged to comply with their request, and therefore set out for *Al Kâbirah*, as soon as the solicitation reached him; where he arrived, according to some good authors, the present year. He was by religion a *Christian*, and accompanied *Bedr Al Jemâl* out of *Syria* into *Egypt*. As he had gone through all the posts in the army with vast applause, and had raised himself to the supreme command solely by his own merit, he was so beloved by the troops, and his reputation arrived at so high a pitch, that as soon as he entered *Al Kâbirah*, *Al Hâkem* abandoned the palace. This gave *Al Hâfedb*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, his father, an opportunity of repossessing himself of it; he having been, by the intrigues of his rebellious son, expelled from thence before. In testimony, therefore,



a therefore, of the grateful sense he retained of the service done him, he appointed *Babrâm* his general and *Wazîr*, the very day on which, by the assistance of this kind benefactor, he had been so happily restored <sup>2</sup>.

THE following year, being the 530th of the *Hejra*, beginning Oct. 11th, 1135; *Babrâm* <sup>The most remarkable occurrences of the year 530.</sup> *Shâh*, *Soltân* of the house of *Gazni*, whose kingdom extended from the province of *Gazna*, to the east of *Khorasân*, a vast way into *Indostân*, formed a design to shake off the *Seljukian* yoke; of which *Soltân Sanjar* receiving advice, he entered the territories of *Gazna* with a numerous army. But *Babrâm*, finding himself too weak to resist so great a force, sent embassadors to pay the usual tribute, and to do homage for his crown, by which means he diverted the impending storm. The same year, *Soltân Mas'ûd* having sent to demand of the *Khalîf Al Râshed* the money due to him for tribute from *Al Mostarsched*; the *Moslem* pontiff was so incensed at this demand, that, seeing himself supported by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*, he resolved to drive from that capital all the friends, relations, and domestics of *Soltân Mas'ûd* that could be met with there. At this juncture, happily for the *Khalîf*, *Dawd Ebn Mahmûd*, a *Seljuk*, but an enemy to *Mas'ûd*, arrived at *Baghdâd*, with a body of troops from *Adherbijân*, being likewise followed by *Atâbek Zenki*, with a reinforcement from *Al Mawfel*. The *Khalîf*, being strengthened by these succours, thought himself obliged in point of gratitude to dignify *Dawd* with the title of *Soltân*, and order his name to be published in the mosques, in the room of that of *Mas'ûd*; which he accordingly did. The *Soltân*, having been apprized of the *Khalîf's* conduct, advanced with a powerful army to *Baghdâd*, and besieged that city above fifty days. But, finding, notwithstanding all his efforts, that he could do nothing against it, he resolved to return to *Hamadân*. He was actually making the necessary dispositions for carrying this design into execution, when *Tarentây*, the *Sâheb* of *Wâset*, arriving with a great number of barks, he resumed the military operations, and pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour. At the same time, the princes who had assembled at *Baghdâd* falling out amongst themselves, king *Dawd* returned home, and the rest dispersed. The *Khalîf*, seeing himself pressed in his capital, began to think in earnest of making his escape. In order to which, he retired out of the city, took the route of *Naharwân*, which he found open and unobstructed, and arrived at *Al Mawfel*; or rather, if we chuse to follow *Abu'l Faraj*, passed the *Tigris*, directed his course to d *Atâbek Zenki's* camp, which was on the west side of that river, and was conducted by the *Atâbek* himself to his metropolis. Hereupon *Soltân Mas'ûd* entered *Baghdâd*, fixed his seat there, and assembled the *Kâdis*, or judges, witnesses, and those learned in the law, before whom he laid the oath made to him by *Al Râshed*, in his own hand-writing, and drawn up in the following terms: *I, in case I shall assemble any forces, march out, or put to the sword any of Soltân Mas'ûd's adherents, depose myself from the empire.* Accordingly he was, by their sentence, deposed; and his name suppressed in the pulpits both of *Baghdâd* and all the provinces dependent on that capital. The *Soltân* then called another council, who, after declaring *Al Râshed* unworthy of the *Khalîfat*, elected *Al Moktafi Beamr'illah*, the son of *Al Mostadher*, supreme *Imâm* and commander of the *Moslems*. This year, according to e *Ebn Shohnab*, a body of *Atâbek Zenki's* troops marched from *Hamah* and *Aleppo*, and made an irruption into the territories of the *Franks*; ravaging all the country through which they moved in a dreadful manner, and carrying off with them an immense quantity of spoil. *Al Râshed Bi'llah*, the thirtieth *Khalîf* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, if we will believe the last mentioned author, reigned only eleven months, and ten days. About this time, died *Gregory*, the *Armenian* patriarch, in *Egypt*, whither he undertook a journey, in order to pay a visit to *Babrâm*, his brother, the *Fâtemite Khalîf's Wazîr*; who governed the *Egyptians* with such prudence and moderation, as gained him an uncommon esteem. In the room of *Gregory*, one *Ananias* was pitched upon to preside over the *Armenians*, in the capacity of patriarch; who was ordained in *Egypt*, a circumstance that, according to M. f *Renaudot*, rendered his ordination irregular and invalid, as the *Armenian Jacobites* were under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Antioch*, and bore no manner of relation to that of *Alexandria*. We must not forget to remark, that *Abu Ali*, an excellent geometri- cian, and a person extremely well versed in all kinds of polite literature, a specimen of whose verses has been preserved by *Abu'l Faraj*, flourished in *Egypt* through the whole course of the present year <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 383, 384. ISM. ABU'LFED. KHONDÉMIR, MIRKHOND, AL EMIR YAYHA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKRIZI, EBN SHOHNAB, & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Rasched Ben Mostarsched*, p. 710. RENAUDOT, ubi sup. p. 505. <sup>a</sup> KHONDÉMIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 384, 385. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 530. EBN SHOHNAB, ad an. Hej. 530. AL MAKIN, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKRIZI, MIRKHOND, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 710, 756. RENAUDOT, ubi sup.



## S E C T. LII.

Al Moktafi  
Beamri'llah  
succeeds Al  
Râshed.

AFTER the juridical assembly of the *Kâdis* and doctors of the law, convoked by *Soltân Mas'ûd* for that purpose, had declared *Al Râshed* unworthy of his sublime station, by reason of his oppressive conduct, and formally deposed him, the *Soltân* consulted the grandees of *Baghdâd* about a proper person to preside over the *Moslems*, in his room. The *Wazîr* gave a high character of *Mohammed Ebn Al Mostadher*, on account of his prudence, lenity, continence, and regular performance of all religious duties, upon which, being brought before the *Soltân* and the *Wazîr*, they took the oath usual upon such occasions to him. Then *Mas'ûd* re-assembled the princes, *Kâdis*, or judges, and doctors of the law, who acknowledged him for *Khalîf* and *Imâm*, and inaugurated him, the 12th of *Db'ulhajja*, in the year of the *Hejra* 530; when he assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Moktafi Beamri'llah*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. As this *Khalîf* was intirely *Soltân Mas'ûd's* creature, he did not exercise the least power or authority during that prince's life; but, after his death, he asserted his independency, and continued the remainder of his days absolute master of the *Babylonian Irâk*.<sup>b</sup>

The principal  
events of the  
year 531.

THE next year, being the 531st of the *Hejra*, commencing *Sept.* 29th, 1136, *Al Hâfedh*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, removed *Babrâm*, a person rendered illustrious both by his virtues and the nobility of his extraction, being related to the royal family of *Armenia*, from the post of *Wazîr*; and substituted *Redwân*, *Redwân Al Wakhshi*, *Redwân Ebn Wakhshi*, or *Redwân Ebn Walahakshi*, for in different authors he goes by all these names, in his room. Though no administration was ever better calculated for the welfare and happiness of the people than that of *Babrâm*, yet some of the most rigid *Mohammedans* exclaimed bitterly against him, for filling many of the publick offices of the *Diwâns*, and the principal posts in the state, with *Armenian Christians*; especially, as this induced no inconsiderable number of *Mohammedans*, in order to get preferment, to embrace the *Christian* religion. These discontented *Moslems* raised a tumult in *Al Kâbirah*, and advanced at the head of a large body of men, armed with lances, having copies of the *Korân* affixed to them, to the palace. *Babrâm*, though with his *Armenian* cavalry and archers, who were intirely at his devotion, he could easily have dispersed them, ordered as many of his troops as were willing to attend him into the *Upper Egypt*, whither he was determined to bend his course; as he was not willing to be the cause of such an effusion of blood, as must have been occasioned by a resolution to maintain himself in his office by force. The kingdom of *Egypt* belonging to the *Moslems*, he thought it would be iniquitous to carry on a war, in order to plunder and pillage them there. Wherefore he judged it would be more expedient for him to retire into the country of *Thebais*, *Al Sa'id*, or the *Upper Egypt*, to his brother, who presided over the city and district of *Kûs*. But *Redwân*, the principal ring-leader of the seditious *Moslems*, who aspired at the charge of *Wazîr*, which he soon after obtained by force and violence, had before sent messengers to *Kûs*, to excite the *Mohammedans* there to a revolt; whose suggestions had such an effect upon them, that they cut to pieces *Yasaf*, *Babrâm's* brother, their governor, and, to treat his body with the greater indignity, buried it in a dunghill. They then shut their gates against *Babrâm*, who besieged the place for several days; but his troops gradually deserting him, he shut himself up in a monastery, and became a religious there. *Abu'lfeda* adds, that *Redwân*, who succeeded him, pursued *Babrâm* with a considerable body of troops into *Al Sa'id*, and took him prisoner; but understanding that he had entered upon the monastic state, he presently released him. The amotion of *Babrâm* from the office of *Wazîr* has been placed by that writer, as well as *Ebn Shohnah*, in the present year. The latter of these historians and *Al Makrizi* relate, that *Babrâm* treated the *Moslems* with too much contempt! which brought upon him, notwithstanding the influence he had over the *Khalîf*, his disgrace. As for *Redwân*, some of the authors, here referred to, report, that, after his return from *Al Sa'id*, he entered *Mesr* with his army, destroyed the best part of that city, gave up the houses of the *Christians* to be plundered by his troops, and pillaged all the churches both in the suburbs and the town. The *Armenian* convent, called *Zaberi*, he burnt; and, to demonstrate the hatred he bore the nation to which it belonged, massacred the patriarch, who had been lately ordained, and all the monks that fell into his hands. The deposed *Khalîf*, *Al Râshed*, not thinking himself safe at *Al Maw-sel*, retired from thence to *Hamadân*, where he found king *Dawd*, who had endeavoured to support him, the preceding year. He afterwards went to *Esfahân*, where he was assassinated by some of his domestics, who came out of the province of *Khorasân*, or, as *Khondemir* will have it, by the *Bâtanists*, at noon, while he took a nap, after his recovery

<sup>b</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKIN, KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, MIRKHOND, & EBN KHALEGAN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 507



a from a fit of sickness, towards the end of the month of *Ramadân*; being then about forty years of age. He was buried at *Shabrestân*, without the city of *Kesfahân*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. We must beg leave to observe, from *Ebn Shobnah*, that *Al Tûfeik*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, surnamed *Redwân*, his new *Wazîr*, *Mâlec Al Afdâl*, and dignified him with the title of *Mâlec Mîsr*, or the king of *Egypt*, which had never been conferred on any *Wazîr* before; and that *Atâbek Zenki* reduced *Maarra Al Nomân*, *Casar-Tûb*, and *Hems*, in the province of *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, in the year that we are now upon <sup>c</sup>.

In the 532d year of the *Hejra*, which began *Sept.* 19th, 1137, the *Atâbek Zenki* came to *Hamah*, and sent from thence to *Shâhâbo'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, desiring he might marry his mother *Zomorrod Khatûn*, daughter of *Al Jâwali*; the same lady who built the college out of *Damascus*, near the river *Baradâ*. By this means, says *Abu'l Faraj*, *Hems* and its castle fell into his hands; but, if *Ebn Shobnah* may be depended upon, he made himself master of them, the preceding year. His motive to the marriage was, that, as the affairs of *Damascus* seemed to be under her direction, he was in hopes thereby to gain that city, with the country appertaining to it; but, when he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he immediately departed from her. Either this or the preceding year, *Soltân Mas'ûd* having been informed, before his return to *Baghdâd*, that the governor of *Fârs* made some difficulty to recognize the authority of the *Khalîf Al Moktafi*, he sent his brother *Sel-jûk Shâh*, with the *Atâbek Kerafankar*, to bring him to a sense of his duty. But the *Atâbek* had no sooner made one day's march, than he gave the *Soltân* to understand, that he would proceed no farther, unless he sent him *Pîr Mohammed Khâzen*, his prime *Wazîr*, whose death he sought. This *Wazîr* managed state affairs extremely well; but was accused of being too firm and haughty in his carriage, which rendered him very disagreeable to the lords of the court. *Mas'ûd* would not consent at first to so unreasonable a demand; but, as *Kerafankar* had all his forces at his devotion, he was obliged at last to send him the *Wazîr's* head. The *Atâbek*, satisfied with this compliance of the *Soltân*, resumed his march, but did not long enjoy the fruit of his revenge; for he died a few days after he had got rid of his enemy. Hereupon the *Soltân* gave his command to *Ildighîz*, who held the first rank in the dynasty of the *Atâbeks* of *Adherbijân*, with the almost absolute government of that province and *Curdîstân*. He likewise bestowed upon him in marriage his sister-in-law, who had been promised formerly to *Soltân Togrol*, his brother and predecessor. By this princess *Ildighîz* had afterwards two sons, *Mohammed* and *Kezel*, or *Kozul*, *Arslân*; both of whom succeeded him in the dignity of *Atâbk*, and presided over the province of *Adherbijân*, with an almost unlimited power. Soon after *Ildighîz's* elevation, *Al Abbâs*, the governor of *Al Ray*, with some other conspirators, rose, in favour of *Solimân Shâh*, brother of *Mas'ûd*, and set him on the throne. But this plot was soon quashed, and *Mas'ûd* remained in peaceable possession of the *Soltânat* to the day of his death. About this time, *Redwân*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt's* *Wazîr*, excluded the *Christians* from all the offices of the *Diwâns*, and other eminent posts in the state. He commanded them all to wear girdles, that by this means they might be distinguished from the *Moslems*; forbade them the use of horses, as some of the *Khalîfs* had formerly done; and doubled their tribute, as well as that of the *Jews*. The tributaries he divided into four classes; those in the best circumstances paying annually four *dinârs* a head, and those in the meanest one *dinâr*. We must not forget to observe, that *Mâlec Hosâmo'ddîn Tarmartâsh*, *Ilgâzi's* son, the *Sâheb* of *Mâredîn*, took the castle of *Al Hetâkb*, from the last of the princes of the house of *Merwân*, settled in *Mesopotamia*, the present year <sup>d</sup>.

The following year, being the 533d of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Sept.* 8th, 1138, *Shâhâbo'ddîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, was assassinated upon his couch, by three of his domestics; one of whom escaped, but the other two were taken, and put to death. *Jamâ-lo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Tawzi*, his brother, the *Sâheb* of *Baalbec*, upon receiving advice of what had happened, repaired immediately to *Damascus*, in the month of *Shawâl*, and took upon him the government of that city. *Atâbek Zenki*, being informed of *Jamâlo'ddîn's* departure from *Baalbec*, marched with an army against that place, battered its walls with stones, discharged out of fourteen military engines he brought with him for that purpose, and, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, obliged it to surrender, by capitulation, to him. However, he was no sooner possessed of the town, than he broke the capitulation, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to death. Many violent shocks of earthquakes were felt in

<sup>c</sup> AL MAKRIZI, EBN SHONNAH, 2d ann. Hej. 531. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 386. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 531. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 710. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 505, 506, 507. <sup>d</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 387. EBN SHONNAH, ad ann. Hej. 531. KHONDEMIR, AL MAKRIZI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Messoud*, p. 563. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 507.



Syria, and particularly at *Aleppo* (T), which struck the inhabitants of the places where they happened with such terror that they abandoned their habitations, and fled into the open fields, from the 4th to the 19th of *Safar*, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, this year<sup>c</sup>.

and in 534.

THE next year, being the 534th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Aug.* 28th, 1139, *Jamâlo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Tawzi Ebn Tagantakîn*, the *Sâheb* of *Damascus*, departed this life; and was succeeded by *Mojiro'ddîn Abu Mohammed Ebn Tawzi Ebn Tagantakîn*, his brother, called corruptly, as we apprehend, *Mojiro'ddîn Atek Ebn Mohammed Ebn Buri*, or *Bûzi*, *Ebn Tagantakîn* in *Dr. Pocock's MS. of Abu'l Faraj*. About the same time, *Atâbek Zenki* laid siege to *Damascus*; but without effect. However, he afterwards took *Shabrazûr*, or *Shabrezûr*, a town placed by *Abu'lfeda* in the *Belâd Al Jebâl*, and by *Sharif Al Edrisi* in *Adberbijân*, communicating its name to the circumjacent tract, with its territory, from *Kafjak Ebn Alb*, or *Alp*, *Arslân Shâh*, the *Sâheb* of it, before the close of the campaign<sup>f</sup>.

Ebn Khâkân dies.

THE principal event of the 535th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Aug.* 17th, 1140, handed down to us by the *Moslem* writers, is the death of *Abu'l Fatab Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Khâkân*; who was killed in the ditch, or trenches, of *Mârâkesh*, or *Morocco*, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, in some part of it. He was a person of great abilities, and wrote many books. In one of these, intituled, *the golden collar*, he mentions a vast number of philosophers, poets, and learned men; who, by their valuable works, had rendered themselves famous over the whole *Moslem* world<sup>g</sup>.

Redwân, the Khalif of Egypt's Wazîr, is deposed.

IN the 536th year of the *Hejra*, which began *Aug.* 7th, 1141, *Redwân*, the *Khalif* of *Egypt's Wazîr*, who had suffered the *Mohammedans* to demolish the church of the *Christians* called *Moniat Rafti*, which *Michael*, the bishop of *Sabariet*, had caused with great expence to be repaired, was driven, by a seditious party formed against him, out of *Egypt*, and obliged to fly into *Syria*. Having assembled a body of troops, composed of *Arabs*, and others, he returned into *Egypt*; and in the first battle defeated his enemies, but was overthrown by them in the second. After which, *Al Hâfedh*, the *Fâtemite Khalif*, for his farther security, took him into the palace; but deprived him of his office, and would not permit him to exercise the least authority there. We are told, by an author of some credit, that, after the deposition of *Redwân*, the *Khalif* sent to *Babram*, his former minister, and desired him to accept of the post of *Wazîr*; but that he begged to be excused from concerning himself in public affairs, as he had entered upon the monastic state, and ought to be considered not in the light of a soldier or statesmen, but that of a religious or monk. However, continues this writer, he was prevailed upon to come to the palace, where he spent the remainder of his days; and, after his death, was carried to the church of the *Armenians* called *Zaheriat*, in great pomp, and there interred. As *Egypt* and its dependencies at this time formed so considerable a part of the *Moslem* world, we cannot intirely pass the affairs of that country over in silence here; though we forbear expatiating upon them, till we arrive at the supplement to this work, to which a particular account of them will more properly belong<sup>h</sup>.

Mohammed Ebn Dânishmand, the Sâheb of Malâtia, dies.

THE following year, being the 537th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *July* 27th, 1142, *Mohammed Ebn Dânishmand*, the *Sâheb* of *Malâtia*, or *Malatiya*, and *Al Thogur*, departed this life; upon which, *Al Mâlec Mas'ûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Koniya*, or *Iconium*, and *Aksara*, of the house of *Seljuk*, the son of *Kelj*, or *Kilij*, *Arslân*, of whom we have already given our readers some account, took possession of his territories, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. The same year, as it seems to appear from *Khondemir*, *Atsiz* was endeavouring, with more ardour than ever, to render himself independent on *Soltân Sanjar* in *Khowârazm*<sup>i</sup>.

The most material occurrences of the year 538.

THE next year, being the 538th of the *Hejra*, beginning *July* 26th, 1143, *Atâbek Zenki* concluded a treaty of peace with *Soltân Mas'ûd*. He also made himself master of all the fortresses in *Diyâr Becr*, that had been taken by the *Franks*. The same year, *Atsiz* encroaching more and more upon *Soltân Sanjar's* authority, he found himself obliged to take the

<sup>c</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 533. <sup>f</sup> EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 534. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 392. ISM. ABU'LFED. in Belâd Al Jebâl, SHARIF AL EDRISEI, ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIK, ubi sup. <sup>g</sup> EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 535. <sup>h</sup> AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 507. <sup>i</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 387. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Atsiz, p. 146.

(T) The *Arabic* manuscript of *Ebn Shohnab*, now in the possession of the reverend and very learned *Dr. Hunt*, professor of *Hebrew* and *Arabic* in the university of *Oxford*, canon of *Christ Church*, and fellow of the royal society, a gentleman of most profound erudition, to whom we think ourselves extremely obliged for several valuable extracts he has been pleased to communicate to

us out of it, exhibits *Halet*, in the passage referred to here. But, as we meet with no town in *Syria* of that name; and as the letters of which that word consists, only by an application of different diacritical points to the last of them, likewise form the word, *Halab*, the *Arabic* name of *Aleppo*; we make not the least doubt, but that city must be the place intended here (1).

(1) *Ebn Shohnab*, in MS. inedit. apud vir. eruditiss. Tho. Hunt, S. T. P. Aed. Christi. Oxon. Canon. Ling. Hebr. Prof. Reg. Ling. Arabic Prælect. Laudian. & R. S. S. ad ann. Hej. 533.



a field against him; and, having reduced several passes and strong places in the way, came and besieged him in his capital city. *Atsiz*, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, sent very rich presents to *Sanjar*, intreating pardon, which was granted by the generous *Soltân*; who, on his taking a new oath of fidelity to him, left him in possession of his government. But all this clemency had no effect on the ambitious mind of *Atsiz*. *Sanjar* receiving advice, from several parts, that he was raising forces, and paid no regard to his orders, sent *Adib Sâber*, one of his great lords, to inform himself of the conduct of *Atsiz*; who, on his arrival in *Khawârazm*, set guards over him, and sent assassins to *Merû* to kill the *Soltân*. But *Adib*, coming to the knowledge thereof, gave notice to *Sanjar*; so that the ruffians were discovered, and put to death. *Atsiz* hereupon had that lord, from whom b he concluded the intelligence came, thrown headlong from the top of his castle into the *Jikûn*, or *Amû*. This *Adib* was surnamed *Al Termedi*, from *Termed*, a city on the *Jikûn*, to the north of *Balkh*, where he was born. This year, *Dawd*, the son of *Soltân Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh*, was murdered by a gang of assassins, whose names and places of abode, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, were unknown. It must be remembered here, that the famous *Abu'l Kasem Mahmûd Ebn Amer Al Zamakhshari* (U), born at *Zamakhshar*, a city of *Khawârazm*, in the month of *Rajeb*, 467, whose works are held in such high esteem amongst the *Moslems*, and particularly the *Keshâf*, which is looked upon by them as the best commentary upon the *Korân*, died, the present year<sup>k</sup>.

THE 539th year of the *Hejra*, commencing July 4th, 1144, did not prove very favourable and of the c to the *Franks*. The *Atâbek Amâdo'ddîn Zenki* took from them the cities of *Al Robâ*; or year 539. *Edeffa*, and *Sarûj*, together with all the other places they occupied to the east of the *Euphrates*. He also formed the siege of *Al Bîra*, a strong castle of *Mesopotamia* upon the *Euphrates*; but when he was upon the point of making himself master of it, an express arriving, with an account, that *Nasîro'ddîn*, his deputy in *Al Mawfel* was slain, he broke up his camp, and departed. However, the *Franks*, fearing his return, sent to *Nojmo'ddîn*, successor to *Hosâmo'ddîn Tamartâsh Ebn Ilgâzi* mentioned above; the lord of *Maredîn*, and delivered it up to him. Nay, so intimidated were they, if we will believe *Ebn Shohnah*, at *Zenki*'s success, that they fled by night into their own territories, with the utmost precipitation. About this time, the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, endeavoured to force *Michael*, d before his ordination named *Habib*, the metropolitan there, to ordain in that country more bishops than seven, which had heretofore been always looked upon as the prescribed number. His view herein was to have a metropolitan, whenever the see should become vacant, ordained by his own bishops, for which ten were sufficient, and so to withdraw his subjection to the *Jacobite* patriarchal see of *Alexandria*. *Michael*, perceiving the *Najâshi*'s motive to this attempt, declared, that he could not do what was required of him, without the consent of the *Jacobite Alexandrian* patriarch. The *Najâshi*, therefore, wrote to *Gabriel*, the patriarch, desiring he would refuse him a favour which would prove so advantageous to his subjects. He likewise at the same time sent an ambassador to *Al Hâfedh*, the *Fatemite Khalîf*, begging he would interpose his authority in this affair, and oblige the patriarch to e comply with his request. Hereupon the *Khalîf* commanded *Gabriel* to gratify the importunity of the *Najâshi*, and dispatch his orders accordingly to the metropolitan of *Ethiopia*. But *Gabriel* excused himself, and demonstrated to the *Khalîf*, that the *Ethiopian* monarch

<sup>k</sup> EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 538. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in Chorasm. p. 25. Oxon. 1712. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 146, 147, 922, 923.

(U) The titles of this celebrated doctor were *Al Imâm*, *Al Ostad*, *Al Alamah*, *Al Imâm Al Aimah*, *Sheikh Al Arab w' Al Ajem*, *Fakhr Khawârazm*; the *Imâm*, the master, the great and illustrious doctor, the *Sheikh* of the *Arabs* and all other nations (not *Persians*, as M. D'Herbelot has inconsistently with himself asserted), the glory of *Khawârazm*. The most noted of his works, besides the *Keshâf*, are the *Rabî Al Abrâr*, or the spring of the just, at the head of which all the above-mentioned titles stand; *Al Faik*, a treatise of traditions; *Al Mofassal*, a book of distinctions; *Al Annudaj* and *Mokhtalef Al Asma*, two grammatical performances; and *Raidh fil Furâidh*, a book of successions. The *Rabî Al Abrâr* is a choice and ample collection of sentences, composed by its author in order to recreate the minds of those who should be fatigued with a long and attentive reading of his *Keshâf*, or commentary upon the *Korân*. *Abu Haïan* mentions all the aforesaid pieces in the preface of his book, intitled, *Bahr Al Mobith*. There is a copy of the *Annudaj*,

*daj*, commented upon by *Al Ardebili*, in the French king's library, num. 1089. *Al Zamakhshari* was likewise dignified with the title, or honourable appellation, of the neighbour of God, on account of the long abode he made at *Mecca*, where he composed his *Keshâf*, or commentary upon the *Korân*. Other pieces have also been ascribed to him by *Abu Haïan*, as *Al Coshtas*, or the balance, in which many difficulties that occur in the *Mohammedan* law are weighed and examined; *Al Motasafi Amthal Al Arab*, or a book of Arab proverbs; *Al Shukaik Al Neman*; *Al Manhaj*; and a commentary upon the *Abiyat* of *Sibûiyah*. The city, or town, of *Zamakhshar*, where he was born, is situated upon the *Jikûn*, or *Amû*, in long. 84°. 30'. and lat. 41°. 45'. N. to the east of the *Caspian* sea. When *Al Zamakhshari* left *Mecca*, he returned into his own country, and died at *Corcânj*, or *Jorjâniab*, then the capital of *Khawârazm* (2).

(2) *Al Zamakhshar*, in *Rabî Abrâr*, *Abu Haïan*, ap. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Zamakhshari*, p. 922, 923, 69. See before, p. 654. note (A). *Ism. Abu'lfed. in descript. Chorasm.* p. 25. Oxon. 1712.



wanted to have the number of his bishops augmented, with no other view than to render a himself thereby independent on the patriarch of *Alexandria*; which could he once effect, he would soon, as *Gabriel* told *Al Háfedh*, attack his *Moslem* neighbours. The patriarch, having satisfied the *Khalíf*, wrote afterwards to the *Najáfí*, and begged he would not persist in his design. Whilst these things were in agitation, continues the writer before us, a great part of the *Najáfí*'s palace was burnt by lightening; and a famine, drought, and pestilence raged at the same time in all the provinces of *Ethiopia*. These public calamities being ascribed to the *Najáfí*'s intention of withdrawing his obedience to the patriarch of *Alexandria*, that prince was prevailed upon to ask by letter *Gabriel*'s pardon and benediction; which having obtained, if any credit be due to this author, they immediately ceased<sup>1</sup>.

Atábek Zenki In the 540th year of the *Hejra*, which began June 24th, 1145, the 5th of the latter *Rabí*, b  
is assassinated, the Atábek 'Amádo'ddín Zenki Ebn Aksankar, the Sáheb of *Al Mawfel* and *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*,  
by his slaves; was assassinated asleep, whilst he was carrying on the siege of the castle of *Ja'bar*, by some  
of his slaves. *William* of *Tyre* relates, that he was drunk, when this accident happened. The assassins, after the perpetration of the horrid fact, fled to the castle. The besieged, rejoicing on this occasion, called out to the army; letting them know, that their general was slain. Upon which, entering his tent, they found him breathing his last, and soon after he expired. Atábek Zenki was more than sixty years old, at the time of his death. He was a prince of a fine person, though he began to grow grey, and of a swarthy complexion. With regard to his disposition, he behaved with great gravity both towards his army and his subjects, who vastly revered him, and was perfectly skilled in the art of c  
governing. The city of *Al Mawfel*, before he took it, was, for the most part, destroyed; the buildings between the old temple, the market-house, and the Sáheb's, or *Emír*'s, palace, which all appeared to a person standing in the *drummers street*, having been intirely demolished. The adjacent territory also, which in *Abu'l Faraj*'s time abounded with fruits and odoriferous plants, was the most barren in the world. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that Atábek 'Amádo'ddín Zenki Ebn Aksankar was not only possessed of *Al Mawfel*, and the district appertaining to it, but likewise of every part of *Syria*, except the country belonging to *Damascus*, and its capital. It has been before observed, that he was called *Sanguin*, which is an apparent corruption of *Zenki*, by the western historians<sup>m</sup>.

and succeeded NURO'DDIN MAHMUD EBN ZENKI, who was in the camp, when his father was slain, d  
by Nuro'ddín drawing the ring off his finger, went strait to *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and took possession of that  
Mahmúd, his city. Soon after this, *Saifo'ddín Gâzi*, Nuro'ddín's brother, hastened from *Shabrazúr*, which  
son. had been before assigned him as his share of Atábek Zenki's dominions, to *Al Mawfel*; whither he had been invited by *Zino'ddín Ali Gújec*, his father's deputy there. Upon his arrival, he was saluted Sáheb of the place, and presided over the people of it about four years. In the mean time, Nuro'ddín, who had fixed his residence at *Aleppo*, having received advice, that the *Franks*, who had been lately reinforced by a large body of fresh troops from *Al Almân*, or *Germany*, and *Constantinople*, were pushing on the siege of *Damascus*, he moved at the head of his forces to the assistance of *Mojíro'ddín Abu Mohammed Ebn Tawzi*, or, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, *Búzi*, the Sáheb, or rather Atábek, of that city. The *Franks* e  
having been informed, that the succours, under the command of Nuro'ddín Mahmúd Ebn Zenki, were advanced to *Hems*; they did not think fit to wait their approach: but immediately decamped, and retired into their own territories. That they suffered considerably in this attempt, there is great reason to believe; though *Ebn Shohnab*, who has mentioned their retreat, has handed down to us no particular account of the loss they sustained<sup>n</sup>.

What happened in the year 541, THE following year, being the 541st of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 13th, 1146, *Gabriel Ebn Tarik*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, departed this life, after he had sat fourteen years, and six months, in that see. Something above four months after his death, one *Mikháyyel Ebn Dakalti* was substituted in his room. We are assured, that *Gabriel*, one night, the preceding year, when he was extremely ill, saw in a dream several priests and monks, with the gospels, crosses, and censers, in their hands; who told him, that they were then come to visit him, but that the next year they should return, and carry him away with them. About this time, *Atsíz*, who had rebelled against *Soltân Sanjar*, in *Khowârazm*, and assumed the title of *Khowârazm Shâh*, seems to have provoked the *Seljúkian* monarch, by some particular points of conduct, which must have been very disagreeable to him; as he undertook an expedition against that rebel, the subsequent year<sup>o</sup>.

and 542. THE next year, being the 542d of the *Hejra*, beginning June 2d, 1147, *Mikháyyel Ebn Dakalti*, the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria*, was poisoned by some monks of the convent of *Ebn Haidara*; who bore him a grudge, because he introduced, not only by reproofs,

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 539. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 510, 511.  
<sup>m</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 387, 388. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 540. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 142. <sup>n</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 388, 389, 392. EBN SHOHNAB. ubi sup. <sup>o</sup> AL MAKRIZI, ABU'LBIRCAT, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 511. KHONDÉMIR, D'HEREEL. ubi sup. p. 147.



- a but likewise by stripes, a very strict and severe discipline amongst them. The *Jacobite Christians* of *Egypt*, or the *Copts*, exercised their religion, without the least molestation, either from *Al Hâfedh*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, or his *Wazîrs*, during the short interval he sat in the patriarchal see. The same year, *Soltân Sanjar* undertook once more to punish the treason of *Atsiz*. In order to which, he marched with a powerful army to the castle of *Hezar Asb*, where *Atsiz* had posted himself with a body of troops; it being the strongest place, according to *Khondemir*, in the country of *Khowârazm*. The name of this castle in the *Persian* tongue signifies a *thousand horse*. This gave occasion to the poet *Anvari*, then in *Sanjar*'s camp, to write a *Persian* quatrain upon the siege; which being fastened to the end of an arrow, was shot into the fortress, and answered by *Rashîdi*, a poet no less eminent than
- b *Anvari*, at *Atsiz*'s command, who reflected upon *Soltân Sanjar* in the most bitter terms. That answer was sent by the same canal into the besiegers camp. In the mean time, *Soltân Sanjar* gave several assaults to the place, and at last took it by storm. However, *Atsiz*, after he had acquired the glory of making a vigorous defence, found means to escape to his capital. This city, which as well as the province, bears the name of *Khowârazm*, was not in a condition to sustain a long siege; insomuch that *Sanjar*, who pursued him thither, would have possessed himself of it with much more facility than he did the castle of *Hezar Asb*. But, either by reason of his being tired with the fatigues of the campaign, or through his aversion, on all occasions, to the effusion of blood, he listened to *Atsiz*'s proposals of peace; and at last, by the intervention of a *Derwîsh*, or religious man, named *Abûpûsh*, employed by *Atsiz*
- c in the negotiation, pardoned him, on condition only that he should repair to the bank of the *Jihûn* opposite to the *Soltân*'s camp, and there, prostrating himself, kiss the earth. But the performance of this easy condition, which was so shining an instance of the *Soltân*'s moderation, notwithstanding the need he stood in of a pardon, *Atsiz* endeavoured as much as possible to evade. He came, indeed, to the place appointed; but, without alighting off his horse, only stooped forward, and bowed his head, to salute the *Soltân*. *Sanjar*, unmoved by this arrogance, granted him the pardon he had promised. After this, all hostilities ceased between them, during the remainder of the days of *Atsiz*; who died, in the year of the *Hejra* 551. It ought to be remembered here, that the ceremony of kissing the earth, which the *Persians* call *Rowi Zemin*, that is, *the visage towards the earth*, was that made use of by
- d subjects, when they did homage to their princes, and prevails in *Persia* at this very day<sup>p</sup>.

THE 543d year of the *Hejra*, commencing May 22d, 1148, did not produce many remarkable events in the *Moslem* world. However, *Modhaffero'ddîn Moshakar Ebn Marwâd* *The chief transactions of of the year. 543,*

- e *Al Salgari*, who is placed at the head of the first branch of the dynasty of the *Atâbeks* of *Fârs*, began to reign in some part of it. These princes fixed their residence at *Skiraz*, in that province. They were originally *Turkmâns*, and of the family of *Salgâr*. Invading *Fârs*, or *Persia* properly so called, they assumed the title of kings. As they were descended from *Salgar*, the *Turkmân*, they are frequently called *Salgarians* by the eastern writers. Their dynasty continued in *Fârs*, according to one of the oriental historians, about an hundred and twenty years. *Redwân*, who had formerly been the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*'s *Wazîr*, made his
- f escape out of the imperial palace, where *Al Hâfedh* had for some time detained him in a friendly state of confinement, by getting through a hole he made in the wall. Upon his arrival at *Mesr*, he was joined by the *Blacks*, and others of his old adherents, who raised a tumult there in his favour; which enabled him, without much difficulty, to seize upon the city. However, though *Al Hâfedh*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, did not oppose him, but kept himself shut up in his palace, *Redwân*, in the sedition, was cut to pieces by some of the *Blacks* themselves. After his death, according to the author followed by M. *Renaudot*, *Al Hâfedh* governed his people, without the assistance of a *Wazîr*. This year, *Yahya Ebn Abu'l Fatab*, or *John*, the son of *Abu'l Fatab*, if *Al Makrîzi* may be depended upon, was confirmed by *Al Hâfedh* in the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*; in which he had been placed
- g unanimously by the *Copts*, or *Egyptian Jacobite Christians*, over whom he presided, about four months, or, as others say, above a year, after his predecessor's death. We must beg leave here to remark, that *Al Hâfedh*, at this time, restored the *Christians* to their offices in the *Diwâns*, of which they had been deprived by *Redwân*, as has been already observed. The principal of these was *Ebn Yûnes*, whose advancement, or rather restoration, drew after it that of the rest. Nevertheless *Al Hâfedh*, excited thereto by the calumnies of certain *Samaritans*, soon after put both him and his brother to death; which fate those false accusers themselves met with, in less than the compass of a year, in the very same place<sup>q</sup>.

- In the 544th year of the *Hejra*, which began May 11th, 1149, *Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi*, the son of *Atâbek Zenki*, and *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, died in that city. He enjoyed the sovereignty of *Al Mawfel*, with its territory, and *Al Jazîra*, about four years. When he found him-

<sup>p</sup> AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 516. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 143, 748. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 518, 519.

<sup>q</sup> KHONDEMIR,



self in danger, he sent for *Awkado'zamân Abul Baracât*, a celebrated physician, then at *Baghdâd*; who prescribed for him, after his arrival at *Al Mawfel*, but without effect. He departed this life, the last day of the latter *Jomâda*, and was succeeded by his brother *Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd*. *Saifo'ddîn* has conferred upon him by *Ebn Shohnah* the character of a generous and magnanimous prince. *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, his elder brother, who presided over the people of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and *Hamah*, in *Syria*, marching into *Al Jazîra*, took *Senjâr*, without any opposition; his brother *Kotbo'ddîn*, to whom that place belonged, being not much in a condition to make head against him. But peace being afterwards concluded between them, *Nûro'ddîn* resigned *Senjâr*, and received in lieu of it *Hems* and *Rababa*, upon the *Euphrates*, in *Syria*. He then besieged *Hûrem*, invaded the territories of the *Franks*, in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, and defeated them, after a bloody battle; in which *Raymond*, the prince of *Antioch*, was slain. His son *Baymond*, or *Boamund*, being called to the succession, his mother, as he was an infant, and incapable of holding the reins of government, ruled the kingdom during his minority. The same year likewise died *Al Hâfedh Ledini'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, after he had reigned, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, twenty years, and five months. He was about seventy-seven years old, at the time of his death; after which, *Abu Mansûr Ismael*, his son, was saluted *Khalîf*. *Abu Mansûr* had no sooner ascended the *Fâtemite* throne, than he assumed the title of *Al Dhâfer Beamri'llah*, and advanced *Nojmo'ddîn Ebn Mesâl*, one of his father's greatest favourites, to the sublime post of *Wazîr*. But *Ali Ebn Selâr*, one of the grandees of the court, who was viceroy, or *Emîr*, under the *Khalîf*, of *Alexandria*, and the district appertaining to it, having drawn together a body of troops out of the western provinces, which was reinforced by the neighbouring garrisons; he formed a powerful army, with which he advanced directly to *Al Kâbirah*. Having entered that city, he expelled from thence *Nojmo'ddîn Ebn Mesâl*, and obliged the new *Khalîf*, then only about seventeen years of age, to confirm him in the *Wazîrat*; which, after the expulsion of his predecessor, he had seized. In the mean time, *Nojmo'ddîn*, having armed the *Blacks*, was determined to attempt driving *Ali Ebn Selâr* from the *Khalîf's* councils; but being soon after killed in battle, his head was cut off, and carried through all the streets of *Al Kâbirah* upon the point of a spear. We must not forget to remark, that *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein*, commonly called *Nasero'ddîn Al Arjâni*, the *Kâdi* of *Tustar*, and *Iyâd Al Sobti*, a celebrated *Kâdi* of *Marâkesb*, or *Morocco*, departed this life, the present year. The former of these learned men, who was denominated *Al Arjâni*, from *Arjân* in *Khûzestân*, wrote several poetical pieces, a specimen of which *Ebn Shohnah* has preserved, held in good esteem. The latter of them was the author of *Al Acmâl fi Sharab Moslem*, a perfect piece, explaining the principles of *Islâm*, or *Mohammedism*; *Moshârek Al Anwâr fi Garîb Al Hadîth*, an illustration of strange histories; *Al Shifâ*, a treatise of medicine; besides other performances, which we cannot here touch upon. He was born at *Marâkesb*, or *Morocco*, in the 470th year of the *Moslem* æra; and consequently was about seventy-four lunar years old, at the time of his decease<sup>r</sup>.

Little material happened in 545.

THE following year, being the 545th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *April* 30th, 1150, nothing very remarkable seems to have happened in any part of the *Khalîfat*, either of *Baghdâd* or *Egypt*. *Ali Ebn Selâr*, however, had not long taken upon him the office of *Wazîr* to *Al Dhâfer Beamri'llah*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, before he, by the advice of several of the *Mohammedan* doctors, abolished all those infamous marks of distinction, which had been imposed upon the *Christians* by some of his predecessors; hoping, by this means, to draw a considerable sum of money from them. But, finding, in three days time, that they neither opened their purses then, nor gave any reason to believe that they ever afterwards would, he revived the old edicts that had been issued against them. This *Wazîr*, surnamed *Al Adel*, or the just, was afterwards deposed and murdered, by *Nasr Ebn Al Abbâs*; whose father *Al Abbâs* presided over the city of *Belbeis*, and all the neighbouring tract. *Al Abbâs*, after *Ali Ebn Selâr's* death, moved at the head of all his forces to *Al Kâbirah*, and, by the indefatigable endeavours of his son *Nasr*, occupied the post of *Wazîr*; no one, at that time, being powerful enough to oppose him. The *Egyptian* author, followed by *M. Renaudot*, clearly intimates, that some, if not all, of these events happened in the year that we are now upon<sup>s</sup>.

The principal events of the year 546.

THE next year, being the 546th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Apr.* 20th, 1151, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* made an irruption into the territories of *Jûslîn*, or *Joscelin*, the earl of *Edeffa*, which lay to the north of *Aleppo*; and, being met by that wise and valiant knight, was, after a fierce battle, intirely defeated. A great number of *Moslems* perished in the action, and many of them were taken prisoners. Amongst the latter was *Nûro'ddîn's* armour-bearer, whom *Jûslîn* sent with *Nûro'ddîn's* arms to *Al Mâlec Mas'ûd Ebn Kelij Arslân*, g

<sup>r</sup> GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ubi sup. p. 389. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 544. AL MAKRIZI, ISM. ABU'LFER. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 544. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 519.

<sup>s</sup> AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup.



- a the *Sáheb* of *Koniya* and *Akfárâ*; saying, *This is your son-in-law's armour-bearer; after him, something more will come to you.* *Nûro'ddîn*, greatly incensed at this conduct of *Jûsûn*, resolved to be revenged on him. Accordingly, sending for some of the chiefs of the *Turkmâns*, he, by large gifts, engaged them to seize *Jûsûn*, knowing he was not able to cope with him in battle. The *Turkmâns*, therefore, keeping a watchful eye upon him, surprized him one day as he was hunting, and brought him bound to *Nûro'ddîn*; who, according to *William* of *Tyre*, confined him in the castle of *Aleppo*, where he afterwards died. *Nûro'ddîn* here-upon immediately took the castles of *'Ain Tâb*, *'Azâz*, *Kûres*, *Al Râwandân*, *Borj Al Refâs*, or the tower of lead, *Dolûc*, *Mera'sh*, *Nabr Al Jawr*, *Tel Bâshar*, or *Tel Bâsher*, *Tel Khâled*, *Hodbr Al Bârab*, *Casar Sûd*, *Casar Lâtha*, and several other places of considerable note. It
- b may not be improper to observe, that count *Jûsûn* transferred his seat from *Al Rohû*, or *Edeffa*, to *Tel Bâsher*, a castle, or fortress, of great strength, seated in a very fertile tract, about two days journey distant from *Aleppo*, and adorned with gardens and fountains, in a most beautiful manner; for which reason, we find him styled the *Sáheb* of *Tel Bâsher* by *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>1</sup>.

THE 547th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 8th, 1152, was distinguished by several very and of the remarkable events. *Soltân Mas'ûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh* died, before the close of it, year 547. at *Hamadân*. He appointed *Mâlec Shâh*, his brother *Mahmûd*'s son, to succeed him; whose name *Al Emîr Khasbec* took care to have mentioned in the mosques; and for some time had the sole management and direction of all public affairs. But aspiring at the *Soltânat* himself, he afterwards seized upon *Mâlec Shâh*'s person, and sent for *Al Mâlec Mohammed*, his brother, then in *Khûzestân*, intending to treat him in the same manner. Upon that prince's arrival, *Khasbec* placed him upon the throne, and gave him the title of *Soltân*. But notwithstanding this, *Mohammed*, having been informed of his traiterous designs, killed him, and *Zenki*, his armour-bearer, two days after, with his own hands; and exposed both their heads in the public streets, till they were devoured by dogs. *Mohammed*, having thus dispatched *Khasbec*, was saluted *Soltân*, and took upon himself the government, without opposition. *Mas'ûd*, who was about forty-five years old, at the time of his death, reigned eighteen years, and six months. He was a great lover of pious and learned men, humble and affable; but for religion, clemency, justice, and bravery, superior to all the *Seljukian*

d princes. He often defeated armies at the first onset, and killed lions with one stroke. He frequently, when a boy, was in battles, and fought himself. He always proved victorious in the wars with his brothers. The people lived in ease and plenty through the whole course of his reign. He disregarded treasures, distributing them amongst his courtiers; which was the reason that he almost perpetually wanted money, and left none in the treasury behind him. This prince was the last of the *Seljukian Soltâns*, that had any power in the *Arabian Irâk*; for, upon his demise, *Al Moktafi*, the thirty-first *Khalîf* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, deprived the *Seljukians* of all authority in the city of *Baghdâd*. For this reason, *Ebn Shohnab* places the expiration of this dynasty in 547; and adds, that *Mas'ûd*'s son, who survived him, had neither dominions nor a name. *Mâlec Shâh* II. surnamed *Mogayabo'ddîn*,

e and, by the author of the *Lebtârîkb*, *Mogayabo'ddîn Abu'l Fatab*, who succeeded *Mas'ûd*, was, according to *Khondemir*, the son of *Mohammed*, son of *Mâlec Shâh* I. But the author of the *Lebtârîkb* and *Abu'l Faraj* affirm, that he was the son of *Mahmûd*, son of *Mohammed*, and consequently great grandson of the first *Mâlec Shâh*. Be that as it will, his reign was of no long continuance, as we find intimated by *Al Emîr Yakya Ebn Abd'ollatîf Al Kazwîni* and *Khondemir*, as well as *Abu'l Faraj*; though the two former differ widely from the latter in the particulars they have handed down to us, relating to this prince. The short account of him preserved by *Abu'l Faraj*, inserted here, accuses *Al Emîr Khasbec* of an intention to depose *Mohammed*, after he had dethroned his brother *Mâlec Shâh* II. in order to seize upon the *Soltânat* himself. But from the other historians, especially *Khondemir*, we learn, that

1 *Mâlec Shâh* II. having rendered himself, by his attachment to pleasures, and indulgence of his appetite, unworthy of the crown, grew jealous of the authority of *Khasbec*, surnamed *Belingberi*, who had been in great esteem with *Mas'ûd*, and passed for one of the most valiant men of his time. Under the influence of this malevolent passion, continues *Khondemir*, he proposed to arrest *Khasbec*. But the whole court thinking such a proceeding unjust, *Al Hasan Kandar*, one of *Khasbec*'s best friends, resolved to prevent the blow; and, under the pretence of giving the *Soltân* a grand entertainment, kept him three days in a continual debauch, in the midst of which he secured his person, and shut him up in the castle of *Hamadân*. They sent then for his brother *Mohammed*, out of *Khûzestân*, and substituted him in his room. Some time after, *Mâlec Shâh*, finding means to escape out of prison,

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 373, 390. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 546. THEOPHIL. SIGEFRIID. BAYL. Hist. Ofrhoen. & Edeffen ex num. illustrat. lib. v. p. 349. Petropoli, 1734. ALF. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732.



fled to the province from whence his brother had been called to the throne; where he a remained till the death of *Mohammed*, either in the year 554, or 555: when, hastening to *Esfabân*, he was re-acknowledged for *Soltân* by his former subjects. The duration of *Mâlec Shâh* II.'s first short reign has not been determined, either by *Khondemir* or *Abu'l Faraj*; but, if the author of the *Lebtârikh* in this point merits any regard, it expired four months after *Mas'ûd*'s death. About the same time, *Hosâmo'ddîn Tamartâsh*, the son of *Ilgâzi*, or *Aylgâzi*, *Ebn Artak*, the *Sâheb* of *Mâredîn* and *Mayyâfârakîn*, likewise departed this life, according to both *Ebn Shohnab* and *Abu'l Faraj*. He presided over those cities, and their districts, above thirty years; and was succeeded by *Nojmo'ddîn Alebbi*, his son. This year also proved fatal to the race of the *Gazni Soltâns*, descended from *Sabektekîn*. The last of these princes was *Khosru Shâh*, or, as he is called in Dr. Hunt's MS. of *Ebn Shohnab*, *Hasrû Shâh*, the b son of *Babrâm*, or *Babarâm*, *Shâh*; who was stript of his territories by *Alao'ddîn Al Hosein Ebn Al Hosein Al Gauri*, and taken prisoner, with his son, by *Gayatho'ddîn Mohammed*, *Al Hosein*'s nephew. This *Alao'ddîn Al Hosein*, denominated by some *Alao'ddîn Al Hasan*, founded the dynasty of *Gaur*, or the *Gaurids*, upon the ruins of that of *Gazni*, and assumed the title of *Al Soltân Moazem*, the great *Soltân*, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be depended upon. We are likewise informed by this writer, that the monarchs of the family of *Gazni*, of whom he gives an exceeding good character, governed their large and extensive empire, and particularly the proper territory of *Gazna*, with the adjacent part of *Al Ajem*, or *Persia*, two hundred and thirteen years. He farther relates, that *Alao'ddîn*, the first *Soltân* of the *Gaurids*, or *Gaurides*, left *Gayatho'ddîn Mohammed*, one of his nephews, to take upon him c the government of *Gazna*, and *Shahâbo'ddîn*, the other, that of *Syria*; as also that the *Soltâns* of this race conquered a very considerable part of *India*, *Hind*, or *Hindostân*, which had not been subdued by any of the descendants of *Sabektekîn*, and arrived at such a height of power as none of the *Mohammedan* monarchs had ever done before. We must not forget to remark, that the kingdom of the *Hammadites* in the *African* province of *Bejayah*, or *Bujiab*, according to *Ebn Al Athîr*, in his *Al Câmel*, was abolished by *Abd'almûmen Al Garb*, or *Al Gareb*, that is, the western, surnamed *Al Mobdi*, or the director, who marched with a powerful army from *Morocco* to *Bujiab*, and drove from thence *Yahya Ebn Al Azîz Bî'llah Ebn Al Mansûr*, of the house of *Yusef Belkîn Ebn Zeir Al Sanbâji*, the last of the *Hammadite* princes, the present year d.

The most remarkable occurrences of the year 548,

In the 548th year of the *Hejra*, which began *March* 29th, 1153, *Soltân Sanjar* was led, against his inclination, unfortunately enough, to chastise the *Turkmâns*, who refused to pay the usual tribute of sheep. For his whole army was defeated, and himself taken prisoner, by that rabble, to the great dishonour of the house of *Seljûk*; which was so much revered by all the *Turkish* tribes. According to the author of the *Lebtârikh*, the *Gaz*, or *Turkmâns*, crossing the *Jibûn*, towards the end of *Sanjar*'s reign, suffered great misery; notwithstanding which, the *Soltân* resolved to attack them. The *Gaz* begged peace in the most suppliant manner; each family offering a piece of silver, with which the *Soltân* was content. But the grandees obstructing the treaty, an action, as related by *Khondemir*, immediately ensued. The *Gaz*, or *Turkmâns*, not knowing what to do with the person of so grand a e prince, placed him in the day-time on a throne, and shut him up at night in an iron cage: In which state of confinement, says the same writer, he remained till the year 551. *Ebn Shohnab*, however, has transmitted down to us a different account of this matter. He reports, that *Soltân Sanjar* entered this year into a war with the *Atrâk*, or *Turks*, in which his arms were at first attended with success; but that he was afterwards routed by them, forced to abandon his kingdom, and became a religious, or monk. He adds, that the *Gaz*, or *Atrâk*, made themselves masters of *Khorasân*, and other adjacent territories, demolished all the mosques they met with, and put many *Kâdis*, *Imâms*, &c. eminent for their learning and sanctity, to the sword. The *Moslems* hereupon applied for assistance to *Al 'Adel*, one of *Sanjar*'s slaves; who marched with a body of troops he had assembled against these barbarians, and obliged them to quit the provinces they had seized. *Al 'Adel*, continues he, f being soon after joined by *Abâkaj* another of *Sanjar*'s slaves, they grew formidable to all the neighbouring princes. The same year, the *Franks* reduced the city of *Askalân*, or *Askelon*, and expelled the *Egyptian* forces from thence, as we learn from *Abu'l Faraj*. *Abu'l Fatah Mohammed Ebn Abd'alcarîm Ebn Ahmed Al Shabraštâni*, one of the most celebrated doctors of the *Asbârians*, born at *Shabrestân*, a city of *Khorasân* between *Nisâbûr* and *Khowârazm*, in the year of the *Hejra* 477, famous for his learned performances in the metaphysics and the scholastic theology of the *Moslems*, died, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, in the year that

<sup>u</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR, ubi sup. p. 390, 391. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 547. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 547. KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, p. 44. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 544, 545, 361, 364, 998. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 387. EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câmel*, ABU MOHAMMED AB'DALAZIZ EBN SHEDAD TAMIM AL SANHAJI, in *Kitâb Al Beyan fi Akhbâr Al Kairwân*, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi sup.



a that we are now upon. The principal of his works were those intituled, *Nehaiat Al Ekdâm fi Elm Al Kelam*, which occasioned his being denominated *Al Motekellem Al Asbâri*, the school-man of the *Asbârians*, and *Al Melal wa Al Nabal*, or the means of curing melancholy and chagrin. It may not be improper to observe, that *Shabrestân*, the place of *Abu'l Fatah*'s nativity, from whence he deduced the surname of *Al Shabrestâni*, was a city, if *Ebn Shobnah* may be credited, built by *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, the third prince of the *Thâberian* dynasty, and *Emîr* of *Khorasân* <sup>w</sup>.

THE following year, being the 549th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *March* 18th, 1154, and 549. *Al Dhâfer Beamri'llah Ebn Al Hâfed Ledini'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, was assassinated, either by *Al Abbâs Al Sanbâji*, his *Wazîr*, or *Nasr*, that minister's son, in the month of *Al Moharram*. *Al Abbâs Al Sanbâji* had formerly been the governor of *Belbeis*, and, by the assistance of his son *Nasr*, found means to deprive *Nojmo'ddîn Ebn Mesâl*, his predecessor, both of his office and his life. After which, *Al Dhâfer*, being a young man, and intirely attached to his pleasures, became so desperately enamoured with *Nasr*, who was a very beautiful youth, that he could not be easy one moment, either by day or by night, without him. This induced his subjects to believe, that *Nasr* was the object of the *Khalîf*'s unnatural lust; which rendered both of them infamous, and excited *Al Abbâs Al Sanbâji*, the *Wazîr*, to persuade his son to murder the person who had brought such a disgrace upon him. To this he was farther impelled by what *Nasr* had told him; viz. that *Al Dhâfer* had instigated him to kill his father, promising him, if he would perpetrate so horrid a crime, to make him *Wazîr* in his room. *Al Abbâs* and *Nasr*, therefore, in pursuance of the plan they had formed for the destruction of the *Khalîf*, invited him and two of his most intimate favourites to a private entertainment one night at the *Wazîr*'s house, dispatched them all three, and threw their bodies into a well. The next morning *Al Abbâs* went to the imperial palace, and asked for the *Khalîf*; who not appearing, the *Wazîr* ordered *Yusef* and *Gabriel*, his brothers, to be executed, together with *Sâteh*, their cousin-german, for having imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereign. He also cut off a great number of other persons, whom he pretended to suspect of being accessory to the same crime. He then went to the seraglio, took *Al Dhâfer*'s son *Isa*, then only five years old, from amongst the women there, gave him the title or surname of *Al Fayez Benasri'llah*, or, if we chuse to follow Dr. *Hunt*'s MS. copy of *Ebn Shobnah*, *Al Kayem Benasri'llah*, and placed him upon the throne. The boy, to whom *Al Abbâs* obliged all the grandees of the court to take the oath of allegiance, seeing the carcases of those whom the *Wazîr* had commanded to be slain, was so shocked at the sight, that he became perfectly stupified thereby, and could never afterwards exercise his reason in a proper manner. As for *Al Abbâs* himself, he did not long remain unpunished. For it being soon rumoured over the whole *Fâtemite* empire, that *Al Abbâs Al Sanbâji* and his son *Nasr* were the real authors of the *Khalîf*'s murder; the principal officers of the army, and even the ladies of the seraglio, who were all vastly concerned at the barbarous treatment *Al Dhâfer* and his brothers had met with, applied to *Talâý' Ebn Zarîc*, the *Armenian*, then possessed of *Al Kâbirah*, for his assistance. Upon which, the *Wazîr* and his son fled into *Syria*; carrying their jewels, money, and every thing valuable acquired by *Al Abbâs*, during the course of his administration, along with them. Of which *Al Dhâfer*'s sister being apprized, she immediately wrote to the generals of the *Franks*, who had lately made themselves masters of *Askalân*, and promised them a great reward, if they would seize upon the two traitors, and secure them in such manner, that they might be brought to condign punishment. Upon the receipt of the letter, some small detachments were sent out of *Askalân* to intercept them; one of which came up with, and attacked, the party that escorted them. *Al Abbâs Al Sanbâji* himself was killed in the action, and *Nasr* taken prisoner; after which, all the rich spoils belonging to them fell into the hands of the *Franks*, who immediately sent *Nasr* under an escorte to *Al Kâbirah*. The ladies of the seraglio soon getting possession of him, he was there put to a most cruel death. The sister of the late *Khalîf* crush'd his right hand, with which he had assassinated that prince, to pieces. The other ladies beat and bruised him most unmercifully with their shoes, and even ate his flesh; which was pulled off the bones with pincers, before his face. He was then affixed alive to a gibbet, erected for that purpose; and, after his death, his body was reduced to ashes. We are told, that the women of the seraglio cut off locks of their hair, and sent them, fastened to lances, to *Talâý' Ebn Zarîc*, as a token of their grief, and to excite that commander to revenge the barbarous murder of the *Khalîf*. *Al Fayer Benasri'llah* conferred the sublime post of *Wazîr* upon *Talâý' Ebn Zarîc*; who, by the direction of one of *Al Abbâs Al Sanbâji*'s servants, discovered *Al Dhâfer*'s body, together with those of his two favourites, who had been assassinated with him. That of the *Khalîf* he soon after

<sup>w</sup> KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 391. EBN SHOHNAH, 3d ann. Hej. 548. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 756, 757, 1020, 1021.



caused to be interred, with exceeding great funeral pomp; and was no sooner confirmed in a his office, than he assumed, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, the title, or surname, of *Al Málec Al Sáleh*. The same year, in the month of *Safar*, *Núro'ddín Mahmúd Ebn Zenki* obliged *Mejro'ddín Artak Ebn Mohammed Ebn Tawzi*, or *Bázi*, *Ebn Tagtakin*, or *Tagantakin*, the *Sáheb* of *Damascus*, to surrender that city to him; having before received advice, that the *Franks* were advancing towards the place, in order to annex it to the territories they occupied in *Syria*. As *Mejro'ddín* did not give *Núro'ddín* much trouble in the reduction of *Damascus*, he first conferred upon him the government of *Hems*, and afterwards that of *Bális*, a small town of *Syria* upon the *Euphrates*, about seven stations from *Salemiyah*. He did not, however, remain long at *Bális*, but retired from thence to *Baghdád*; where, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, he at last ended his days \*. b

What happened, the following year.

THE next year, being the 550th of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 7th, 1155, *Kbofrú Sháb*, the son of *Babrám*, or *Bakarám*, *Sháb*, the last of the *Gazni Soltáns*, according to *Khondemir*, as cited by *M. D'Herbelot*, departed this life, in a certain castle, where for several years he had been confined. That author, however, in another extract, inserted in his valuable work by *M. D'Herbelot*, makes this *Kbofrú* to have died in the year of the *Hejra* 555. But as, upon the former supposition, *M. D'Herbelot*, after *Mirkhond*, *Khondemir*, and *Al Emír Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini*, computes the dynasty of the *Gaznevids* to have remained 155 years, and consequently seems in some measure to evince what he had just before laid down, in relation to the time of *Kbofrú's* death; that event may, as we apprehend, with sufficient propriety, be placed in the present year. *Taláy' Ebn Zaríc*, the *Fátemite Khalíf's Wazír*, rendered himself odious to the *Egyptian Moslems*, as well as the *Copts*, by his infamous exactions; fleecing his master's subjects, in order to gratify his avarice, after a most shameful manner. He was also a bitter enemy both to the *Christians* and the *Jews*; obliging all of them to wear certain marks of distinction on the tops of their turbans, or caps, that they might thereby be distinguished from the *Mohammedans*, and listening to every false accusation that was brought to him against them. At this time a powerful prince reigned over the *Kera-its*, *Kara-its*, *Karits*, *Kerits*, *Karites*, or *Kerites*, a tribe of oriental *Turks*, or *Tartars*, settled in the remotest part of *Turkestan*, bordering upon *Khotan*, *Katay*, which comprized the northern provinces of *China*, and the kingdom of *Tibet*, styled *Onk*, or *Awank*, *Khán*. This prince, the third who bore that title, together with all his subjects, professed the *Christian* religion, and made a very considerable figure. Some years before, he overthrew in a great battle the *Seljúks*, or *Moslems* that occupied *Al Jazíra*, *Fárs*, *Belád Al Jebál*, and *Adherbiján*; and, according to some good authors, extended his frontiers from the farthest limits of the eastern *Tartary* to the banks of the *Tigris*. This conqueror was likewise named by the *Arab* writers *King John*, and by *European* travellers *Prester John*. His son *David*, who succeeded him, was vanquished and killed in battle by *Jenghíz Khán*. The princes of this family were also dignified with the title of kings of *India*. But as a place will be assigned the history of the kingdom of *Prester John* in the supplement to this work, it would be both improper and superfluous to expatiate any farther upon it here \*. c

Atsiz and Tarkán Khán die.

THE 551st year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Feb.* 24th, 1156, was rendered memorable by the death of *Atsiz*; who departed this life in the valley of *Khabískán*, one of the most delightful places of *Asia*. During his last illness, he once heard the voice of a man reading; upon which, he ordered the people about him to listen to it. This had not long been done, before the following passage of the *Korán* reached their ears, "No man knows in what country he shall die." These words made such an impression upon his mind, that he did not doubt but his death would happen on the very spot where they were heard. And this sorrowful thought, during the short remainder of his life, grew every day stronger and stronger upon him. *Reshído'ddín Abd'aljelil*, the *Persian* poet, generally called *Reshídi*, or *Rashídi*, who was a native of *Balkh*, followed his corpse to the grave, and pronounced his funeral elogy in verse. Amongst other insolent amplifications, favouring of the oriental genius, made use of herein, *Rashído'ddín* scrupled not to affirm, that the heavens themselves trembled, when his hero was angry; that, on all occasions, they were obedient to him; and that no one could be found so ignorant as not to know, that this prince's glorious actions intitled him to the empire of the whole world. *Atsiz* is said to have reigned twenty-nine years; though, according to some of the eastern writers, he ruled only eighteen years f

\* GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 391, 392. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 549. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 519, 520, 521. ISM. ABU'LFED. in descript. Arab. p. 20. Oxon. 1712. Y KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 564, 996, 256. MIRKHOND, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 3 4. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 550. AL MAKRIZI, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 521. YWEN SHU, GREG. ABU'L FAR. in chron. Syriac. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. iii. par. ii. p. 495—497. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN ibid. p. 488—498. Romæ, 1728. GREG. ABU'L FAR. in hist. dynast. p. 427, 428, et alib. JO. LAURENT. MOSHEM. histor. Tartaror. ecclesiastic. p. 23—27. Holmstadii, 1741.



- a with an absolute and unlimited sway. He was not only famed for his bravery and military skill, but likewise for his learning and liberality. As he gloried in nothing more than in being the patron and protector of learned men, his praises were celebrated by the principal writers of the age. He had almost completed his sixty-first year, at the time of his death; and was succeeded by *Il-Arslân*, his son. The word *Il*, prefixed to this *Soltân's* name, denotes *strong* and *brave*, in the language of *Khowârazm*. He bore the title of *Khowârazm Shâh*, which was hereditary in his family, reduced part of the *Transoxanian* provinces and *Khorasân*, and made a very considerable figure. The same year, died likewise *Tarkân Khatûn*, the *Soltâna* of the *Seljuks*; who governed *Sanjar's* dominions, during the confinement of that prince. However, soon after her death, *Soltân Sanjar*, by the assistance of *Al Emîr*
- b *Elias*, one of his confidants, and *Al Emîr Ahmed Komaj*, the governor of *Termed*, escaped out of the hands of the *Turkmâns*, who had detained him as a prisoner amongst them, ever since the year of the *Hejra* 548, and was conducted by *Ahmed's* troops to *Merû*, at this time the capital of *Khorasân*. The *Soltân* finding the city of *Merû*, and all the country through which he passed, in a very bad condition, on account of the incursions made by the *Turkmâns* during his captivity, fell first into a deep melancholy, and afterwards into a distemper which proved fatal to him. Some authors relate, that *Atsîz*, in conjunction with *Mahmûd*, *Sanjar's* nephew, during the *Soltân's* detention among the *Turkmâns*, presided over the state. According to a writer followed by *M. Renaudot*, the *Khalîf Al Moktafi* conferred the dignity of *Soltân* upon *Solimân Shâh*, the son of *Mohammed Al Seljûki*, on condition that
- c he should intirely cede to him the province of *Irâk*, though this runs counter to what has been advanced by *Abu'l Faraj*, the present year<sup>2</sup>.

In the 552d year of the *Hejra*, beginning Feb. 13th, 1157, *Soltân Sanjar* departed this life at *Merû*, as it should seem from *Khondemir*, in *Khorasân*. He was carried off by the cholic and a diarrhœa, in the former *Rabî*. The author of the *Nighiariştân* has preserved a distich made upon this *Soltân's* death, wherein the words *Shâh Merû*, alluding to the place of his demise, clearly point out the year in which he died; the letters of which those two words consist forming exactly, amongst the *Arabs*, the number 552. *Sanjar* fought nineteen battles, of which he gained seventeen; and was much feared by all, though his clemency and liberality not a little endeared him to his subjects. He was diligent in matters

d of government, but hated kingly pride; wearing, for the most part, a coat made only of skins. However, he lived with great magnificence; appointing *Kotbo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Tacash Ebn Arslân* and his son *Atsîz*, *Shâhs* of *Khowârazm*, successively his cup-bearers, and assigning them the revenues of the large province of *Khowârazm* for the salary of their office. We meet with the elogy of *Soltân Sanjar* in several parts of the works of *Selmân*, the *Persian* poet, drawn up with great elegance and beauty. It has been remarked, that this prince established *Saad Ebn Zenki*, who had been his governor, lieutenant-general of all his dominions, under the title of *Atâbek*; which signifying *father of the prince*, and being given to the tutors of the *Seljukian* princes, became afterwards a title of dignity. This *Saad* must

e have been either *Omâdo'ddîn*, or *'Amâdo'ddîn*, *Zenki*, the first *Atâbek* of *Irâk*, who began to preside over that province, in 521, or *Modhaffero'ddîn Moshakar Ebn Mawdûd*, the first *Atâbek* of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, that is, *Persia* properly so called, who set up for himself there, in 543; both of whom arrogated to themselves the supreme authority, in *Sanjar's* reign. All the oriental historians praise this *Soltân* for his valour and justice, magnanimity and goodness. As a proof of this, they write, that he was so well beloved by his subjects, that they continued to publish his name in the mosques for a whole year after his death, as if he had been still alive, and on the throne. They gave him also the surname of *Eskander Thani*, that is, *Alexander the Second*; and his name of *Sanjar* has passed for that of *Alexander* amongst his posterity. After this prince's decease, *Mahmûd*, his sister's son, according to *Khondemir*, succeeded in *Khorasân*; but, at the end of five years, *Moyedabia*, one of his lords, who

f had formerly been *Sanjar's* slave, rebelled against him, fought several battles with him, seized his dominions, and deprived him of sight. The *Soltân*, or *Shâh*, of *Khowârazm*, whose dynasty rose whilst *Sanjar* swayed the sceptre of the *Seljuks*, taking advantage of these divisions in *Khorasân*, made himself master of a considerable part of that country, whilst the other remained in the possession of the rebels, and the *Soltâns* of the race of *Gaur*. So that the *Seljuks*, who still maintained their power in both the *Irâks*, had no longer any footing in *Khorasân*. But, notwithstanding the authority of that writer, *Mogayâtho'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh*, who had also the surname of *Abu'l Kasem*, is said by the *Lebtârikh* to have ascended the *Seljuk* throne, the same year that *Sanjar* died. This is, however flatly contradicted by several authors of good repute; as we shall hereafter more clearly

<sup>2</sup> *Khondemir*, *Al Emîr Yayha Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini*, in *Lebtârikh*, *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini*, in *Nighiarişt*. *Reshido'ddîn Abd'aljelil*, apud *D'Herbel*. *Biblioth. orient.* tit. *Arabs*, p. 147. ut ipse *D'Herbel*. *ibid.* & p. 715. *Renaud.* ubi sup. p. 529. Vide etiam *D'Herbel*. *art. Sangiar*, p. 757. & alibi. *Creg. Abu'l Far.* ubi sup. p. 393.



evince, in a future part of this work. *Sanjar*, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, was born in the year of the *Hejra* 479, and was consequently about seventy-three years old, at the time of his death. This writer likewise reports, that *Sanjar* was prayed for, in the mosques within his jurisdiction, as *Soltân*, forty years; and twenty, as king, or rather governor, of *Khorasân*, before he succeeded *Soltân Mohammed*. The same year, if *Ebn Shobnah* may be depended upon, *Abu Sa'id Ebn Abd'almûmen*, who commanded the forces of the *Al Moâbedun*, or, as they are called by the western historians, the *Al Mobades*, reduced the city of *Korthoba* in *Al Andalus*, or *Cordova* in *Andalusia*, and afterwards drove the *Al Morabeta*, or *Al Moravides*, out of *Spain*. He also took *Al Rayab* from the *Franks*, after it had remained in their hands about twenty years. Whilst the *Al Moâbedun* were extending their conquests in the western parts of the world, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* dispossessed *Sahâc Al Bokâ'ye* of *Baalbec*, in the territory of *Damascus*. Many violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in *Syria* (X), this year, in the month of *Rajeb*, which almost entirely destroyed *Hems*, *Hama*, *Shaizar*, *Casar Tâb*, or *Caser Tâb*, *Al Ma'ra*, or *Al Marra*, *Afâmia*, or *Apamia*, *Hîsn*, *Al Acrâd*, 'Arkâ, *Al Lâdikiya*, or *Laodicea*, *Trâbolos*, *Trâblos*, or *Tripoli*, and *Antâkiya*, or *Antioch*. An incredible number of people perished on this occasion, who were all buried under the ruins of the above-mentioned towns. In order to give some sort of idea of this dreadful calamity, it may not be improper to observe, that a school fell down at *Hama*, or *Hamab*, the master being then absent on some particular business, and crushed to pieces all the scholars that were therein; none of their parents coming afterwards to enquire for any of them, which renders it probable, that they all likewise met the same fate. When the last shock happened at *Shaizar*, the *Sâheb* of that place was circumcising his child; the whole family of the *Beni Monkad*, who were masters of the town, being assembled at his house, in order to attend the ceremony. When the house being thrown down, only one of them escaped; who was afterwards killed by the kick of a horse, as he attempted to go out at the gate. Of which terrible disaster *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* receiving advice, he detached a body of troops to take possession of that city; which, upon their arrival there, they immediately occupied, without the loss of a man. *Ebn Al Athir*, in his *Al Câmel Al Tawarîkh*, or general history, affirms the *Beni Monkad* to have been settled at *Shaizar*, when *Sâleb Ebn Mardâs* obliged it to submit to him, in the year of the *Hejra* 414; but, if we may credit *Ebn Khaledân* and *Al Makîn*, *Sedîd'ddawla Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Moklad*, the great grandson of *Monkad*, wrested it out of the hands of the *Greeks*, either in 473, or 474. We must not forget to observe, that the *Khalîf Al Moktafi* ordered the old gate of the *Caaba*, now greatly decayed through age, to be removed, and a new one, covered with silver plates, to be erected in its room; as also commanded a coffin to be made for himself out of the former, in some part of the year that we are now upon. It appears from one of the writers followed by *M. Renaudot*, that *Mohammed Shâh*, the son of *Mahmûd Shâh*, who aspired at the *Soltânat*, in order to carry his point, about this time, laid siege to the city of *Baghdâd*.

and of the  
year 553.

THE following year, being the 553d of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Feb. 2d*, 1158, seems not to have been very fruitful in memorable events, at least not many accounts of such events have been handed down to us by the eastern writers. However, that the affairs of the *Seljûks* continued to decline, and those of *Il Arslân* (Y), the third *Soltân*, or *Shâh*, of *Khorwârazm*, to wear a promising aspect, through the whole course of it, we may infer from what has been observed by *Khondemir*, the *Persian* historian.

The principal  
transactions of  
of the year  
554.

THE next year, being the 554th of the *Hejra*, which began *Jan. 23d*, 1159, *Mohammed*, surnamed *Gayâtho'ddîn*, having received advice, that his uncle *Solimân Shâh* had assembled a powerful army in *Mazanderân*, and been joined by the *Khalîf Al Moktafi* and the *Atâbek Ildigîz*, who became afterwards the first *Atâbek* of *Adherbijân*, with all their forces; he

<sup>a</sup> KHONDEMIR, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 392. AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtarikh*. p. 43. SELMAN, apud D'Herbel. p. 757. ut & ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. & art. *Atabrkan Fars*, p. 143. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 552. EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câmel Al Tawarîkh*. ad an Hej. 414. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 284, 285. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 552. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 529, 530. <sup>b</sup> KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Il Arslân*, p. 489. & art. *Atsiz*, p. 148.

(X) Some writers intimate, that *Bayrût*, or *Berytus*, *Saidân*, or *Sidon*, *Sûr*, or *Tyre*, 'Accâ, or *Ptolemais*, and *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, were likewise almost intirely reduced to heaps of ruins by the violent concussions mentioned here (3).

(Y) This *Il Arslân* had a younger brother, named *Solimân Shâh*, who would have disputed the crown with him. He did in effect possess himself of part of his fa-

ther's dominions; but *Il Arslân* did not give him time to strengthen himself, in the territories he had acquired. He surprized him, took him prisoner, and kept him in a state of confinement through the whole course of his reign. He also extended his conquests, both in the *Transoxanian* provinces beyond the *Jihûn*, and in *Khorasân*. This *Soltân*, or *Shâh*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 557, and left for his successor his son *Soltân Shâh* (4).

(3) Vid. *Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup.* p. 530.

(4) D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 488, 489, 826, 827.



- a met him on the banks of the *Arras*, or *Araxes*, overthrew him with great slaughter, and obliged him to retire to *Al Mawfel*. After this victory *Soltân Mohammed* was inclined to have attacked *Al Moktafi*, who took *Solimân Shâh* under his protection; but considering, that he had another enemy, *Malec Shâh* II. his brother, to fear, he judged it requisite to make up matters with the *Khalif*. Upon which, that prince gave the *Soltân* his daughter, named *Kermân Kbûtân*, in marriage; who set out, with a splendid equipage, from *Baghdâd* for *Mohammed's* court. The *Soltân* himself went to meet her; but an hectic fever, which attended him, put an end to his days, after he had lived thirty-two years, and reigned seven, on the road to *Hamadân*. With regard to his character, *Mohammed* has always passed for a most accomplished prince, who possessed all the virtues military and civil. He was esteemed, through the whole course of his reign, as an uncommon patron of men of learning, piety, and merit; in which, say the historians, he was the very reverse of his brother *Malec Shâh*; who re-ascended the throne, after his decease, and survived him not many days. This last *Soltân* was succeeded by his uncle *Solimân Shâh*, surnamed *Moazzo'ddîn*, or *Moezzo'ddîn*, *Abu'l Hâreth Kasem*, the son of *Soltân Mohammed Ebn Malec Shâh*. Being at *Al Mawfel*, when his two immediate predecessors died, the great lords, after some debate amongst themselves, sent for him, and placed him upon the throne. *Mohammed* is reported to have quitted life, in the month of *Dbu'lhajja*, the present year, with extreme regret; insomuch that, before he expired, he ordered his troops, his court, and all his treasures, to pass before him, as it were in review, and, after he had considered all these things, said, *How is it possible that a power as formidable as mine is not able to diminish the weight of my disorder one single grain, nor to prolong my life only for a moment?* He then, according to the same author, concluded his reflection with the following remarkable words; *Unhappy is that person who spends his time in amassing those things which he must leave, and does not make the principal object of his attention and regard that being in whom all things are to be found.* This year, on the eighth of the latter *Rabî*, there happened a dreadful inundation of the *Tigris*; which laid under water, and destroyed, a very considerable part of the city of *Baghdâd*. *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that *Abd'mûmen*, the general, or chief, of the *Al Moâbedûn*, took *Al Mohdia*, at this time, from the *Franks*, after it had remained in their hands about twenty years <sup>c</sup>.

- THE 555th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Jan.* 12th, 1160, was rendered memorable by the death of *Al Moktafi Leamri'llah*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*. That prince, who reigned twenty-four years and three months, was sixty-six years old, at the time of his decease. We are told, that as he owed his elevation to the credit and authority of *Mas'ûd*, he had no share in the government of his state, during the life of that *Soltân*; but that, after his death, he asserted his independency, and would not permit *Malec Shâh* II. to have any power, or command, in the *Soltânat* of *Baghdâd*. He remained sole master in his dominions, which comprehended *Arabia* and the *Babylonian Irâk*. In short, it was under this *Khalif* that the power of the *Seljuks*, who had been masters of all the forces and possessions of the *Khalifs*, began to decline, and, by degrees, became extinct. On this occasion, it has been remarked by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Al Moktafi* was the first who reigned in the *Arabian Irâk* without a *Soltân*, and governed his armies, as well as subjects, according to his own will, since the time that the *Mamlûks*, or slaves, that is, the *Turkish* militia, began to dispose of every thing in the *Khalifat*, and consequently to deprive of their just authority the successors of *Mohammed*, under *Al Montaser Bi'llah* (Z), the eleventh *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*. It appears from *Mirkhond*, that *Al Moktafi* recovered almost all that *Soltân Mas'ûd* had possessed himself of in the provinces of *Fârs* and *Al Jebâl*, or the mountainous part of the *Persian Irâk*; and that no considerable tumults, or commotions, disturbed his repose, during the remainder of his prosperous reign <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> KHONDEMIR, *TARIKH AL BENAKITI*, HAMDALLA EBN ABU BECR EBN AHMED EBN NASR AL MASTUFI AL KAZWINI, in *Târikh Khozidah*, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 392. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 245; EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 554. <sup>d</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 555. AL MAKIN, in op. part. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 555. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 555. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 393. KHONDEMIR; MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 303. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 592. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 530.

(Z) We have taken the liberty here to substitute *Al Montaser* in the room of *Al Mostanser*, exhibited in the passage referred to by Dr. Pocock's manuscripts of *Abu'l Faraj*. That *Al Montaser* is the true reading, is plain from hence, that the *Khalif Al Mostanser Bi'llah* did not ascend the *Moslem* throne before the year of the *Hejra* 623; and that the *Khalif Al Montaser Bi'llah* was saluted *Emir Al Mûmenîn*, or commander of the faithful, by the officers of the *Turkish* militia, after they had assassinated his father *Al Motawakkel*, in the year of the *Hejra* 247. Then commenced the power and usurpation of the supreme authority in the *Khalifat* of those insolent troops as very clearly appears from all the best oriental writers. It is true, *Al Montaser* is named *Al Mostanser* in the printed copies of the *Moslem* history of *Al Makin*; but then it is as true, that this is a fault, as has been rightly observed by M. D'Herbelot, either of the manuscript or the impression (1).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Faraj, in *hist. dynest.* p. 267, 393, 463. Vid. etiam Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohnab, Al Makin; alioq. scriptor. oriental. quamplurim. nec non D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 622. & alib. pass.



## S E C T. LIII.

Al Mostanjed  
Bi'llah is  
raised to the  
Khalifat.

THE KHALIF AL MOKTAFI LEAMRI'LLAH appointed his son *Yusef* to succeed him, a little before his death, in the year that we are now upon. One of his concubines, by whom he had a son, surnamed *Abu Ali*, finding that he grew worse and worse in his last illness, formed a design to assassinate *Yusef*; hoping, by such a step, to advance to the supreme dignity her own son. For this purpose, she armed a great number of the women of the palace with knives, and hired them to kill him when he went to see his father. But the conspiracy being discovered to *Yusef*, by a little eunuch, whom he constantly sent to enquire how the old *Khalif* did, and who once on his return saw them with the knives in their hands; he put on a coat of mail, took his sword in his hand, and went directly to the imperial palace. This he no sooner entered, than the women attacked him; but he defended himself so well, that he wounded several of them, and at last, by the assistance of the governor of the palace, to whom he had before communicated the affair, and some of the grooms of the *Khalif's* bed-chamber, put them to flight. *Abu Ali* and his mother, who both fell into his hands, he caused afterwards to be imprisoned; but the female assassins he treated in a more severe and rigorous manner. Some of them were publicly executed, and others thrown into the *Tigris*. *Al Moktafi* dying, on the second of the former *Rabi*, *Yusef* was saluted *Khalif*, and inaugurated in form; after which, he assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mostanjed Bi'llah*. The foregoing plot is represented as antecedent to *Al Moktafi's* demise by *Abu'l Faraj*; though *Khondemir*, as consulted by M. *D'Herbelot*, seems to intimate, that *Abu Ali* and his mother conspired against *Al Mostanjed Bi'llah*, in the manner related here, after he was settled upon the *Moslem* throne<sup>a</sup>.

Al Fâyez Isa  
Ebn Al Dhâ-  
fer, the Khalif  
of Egypt, dies.

THIS year, died *Al Fâyez Isa Ebn Al Dhâfer Ismael*, the *Sâbeb* of *Egypt*, styled also the *Fâtemite Khalif*, after he had presided over the *Egyptian Moslems* about six years. He was succeeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Hâfedh*, who took upon him the title, or surname, of *Al 'Aded Ledini'llah*, and according to *Ebn Shohnah*, the prænomen of *Abu Mohammed*. He was the eleventh and last of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt*. We must not forget to observe that *Al Moktafi* has a very good character given him by *Ebn Shohnah*; who likewise informs us, that *Al Mostanjed Bi'llah's* mother went under the denomination of *Al Tâwas*, or the peacock. It must also be remembered, that *Mâlec Shâh II.* the *Soltân* of the *Seljuks*, who after his brother *Mohammed's* death hastened to *Esfahan*, in order to resume the government of the *Seljukian* dominions, died, in the beginning of the present year. If we will believe the author of the *Lebtârikh*, he swayed the sceptre the first time he sat on the *Seljukian* throne only four months, and the second time no more than nine days<sup>f</sup>.

The most me-  
morable occur-  
rences of the  
year 556,

IN the 556th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Dec. 31st, 1160, and the month of *Safar*, *Solimân Shâh*, the twelfth *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, departed this life, at the age of forty-five. He succeeded his nephew *Mâlec Shâh II.* in the beginning of the preceding year. But as he gave himself up intirely to voluptuousness, and the company of women, without minding the affairs of the kingdom, the noblesse seized and imprisoned him at the end of six months; advancing in his room, his nephew *Arslân*, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe. Setting aside *Solimân's* bad conduct, for which he was deposed, he did not want some good qualities. He was very familiar with those about him; and excelled as to behaviour, person, and eloquence. His successor, *Soltân Arslân*, was the son of *Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh*, and surnamed *Zeyno'ddîn*, or *Zîno'ddîn*, by *Khondemir*; but he is stiled *Rucno'ddawla*, or *Rocno'ddawla*, by the author of the *Lebtârikh*. He is commonly called *Mâlec Arslân* by the eastern historians. He was proclaimed *Soltân* at *Hamadân*, by the influence of *Ildighîz*, the first *Atâbek* of *Adherbijân*, who began to reign the very same year. From the time he ascended the throne, *Kîmar*, the governor of *Esfahan*, and *Enbanj*, or *Inanj*, who presided over the people of *Al Ray*, revolted against him; setting up for *Soltân* one of his cousins, named *Mohammed Seljuk Shâh*; with whom, at the head of a great army, they advanced to *Hamadân*. *Arslân* went to meet them as far as *Kazwîn*, engaged them in the neighbourhood of that city, and gained a complete victory. For the new *Soltân* was killed in the battle, and his two supporters fled to *Al Ray*; from whence they were constrained afterwards to retire into the province of *Mazanderân*. *Arslân* had no sooner put an end to this war, than he found himself obliged to enter upon another. For the prince of the *Abkhâz*,

<sup>a</sup> KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. MIRKHOND, & EBN SHOHNAH, ubi sup. EBN KHALECAN EDN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 397, 398. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostanjed Billah*, p. 632. <sup>f</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 398. ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, & 'AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, p. 44. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Malekshah fils de Mohammed fils de Malekshah*, p. 543, 545. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 522, 530.



who was a *Christian*, situated between *Georgia* and *Gherkassia*, invading *Adherbijân*, ravaged that country as far as *Kazwîn*. The *Soltân*, turning his victorious arms on that side, defeated him near the strong castle of *Kâk*, which he had taken and fortified; but, being afterwards forced by the *Seljuk* troops, was demolished. This year, in the month of *Ramâdân*, *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb Talây' Ebn Zarîc Al Armeni*, or the *Armenian*, surnamed *Abu'l Gârât*, that is, *the father of expeditions*, *Al 'Aded Ledini'llab's Wazîr*, was assassinated by some ruffians, whom *Al 'Aded's* aunt had hired to murder him, when he entered the palace. They were armed with knives, and attacked him at the time and place appointed. He did not die upon the spot; but, being carried home, dispatched a messenger to *Al 'Aded*, to upbraid him with being the cause of his death. *Al 'Aded* denied with an oath, that he had been either consenting, or in any manner privy, to the horrid design; and, in order the more effectually to disculpate himself, put his aunt, who had been the sole contriver of the execrable scheme, into *Talây' Ebn Zarîc's* hands. The *Wazîr*, having got the impious woman into his power, immediately cut off her head; and, after he had obtained of *Al 'Aded Ledini'llab*, the last *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, the post of *Wazîr* for his son, who assumed the title, or surname, of *Al Mâlec Al 'Aded*, or *the just king*, almost instantly expired. It appears from *Ebn Shohnah*, that *Talây Ebn Zarîc* was not only extremely well versed in the military art, but likewise very well acquainted with poetry; and that he was even the author of several poetical compositions, a specimen of which has been preserved by that *Moslem* historian. We must not forget to remark, that *Soltân Alâo'ddîn Al Hosein Ebn Al Hasan Al Gauri*, called also *Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein*, and surnamed *Jehânsûz* (A), or *the person who set the world on fire*, the first monarch of the dynasty of *Gaur*, a country lying between that of *Gazna* and *Khorasân*, represented by some of the eastern writers as a very just and excellent prince, departed this life, and was succeeded by his nephew *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed* in the sovereignty of the territories of *Gaur*, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, the present year<sup>e</sup>.

THE following year, being the 557th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Dec. 21st 1161*, and of the seems not to have produced many remarkable events. However, during the course of it, year 557. *Shâwer*, who had been employed by *Talây' Ebn Zarîc*, met with very injurious treatment from *Al Hasan*, the prefect of *Moniat Beni Khasib*, *Talay' Ebn Zaric's* sister's son; and thereupon made his complaints to *Zarîc*, *Razîc*, or, as he is denominated in some of the MS. copies of *Ebn Shohnah*, *Arzîc*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf's Wazîr*, but without effect. *Al Hasan*, finding he might repeat his insolence with impunity, sent *Shâwer*, as a present, a little chest of elegant workmanship, with some thongs of leather in it, such as the *Moslems* at that time used, when they scourged their slaves. This giving *Shâwer* to understand, that he had every thing to fear from *Al Hasan*, who was supported by the *Wazîr*; he retired, with some of his adherents, into the solitude of *Lowakat*, and maintained himself there against all the forces the *Wazîr* sent to reduce him, for the space of three months. From thence he marched, through the desert of *Alwak*, to the pool, or fishpond, near *Alexandria*, and posted himself at *Mehallet Abd'alrahmân*; moving from that place to *Belkina*, a neighbouring village, a little after the close of this year. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Sheikh Adi Ebn Mosâfer Al Zahed*, a native of *Baalbec*, who resided for the most part in the country called *Al Haccâr*, appertaining to the *Jazîrat Ebn Omar*, or *Jazîrat Beni Omar*, one of the dependencies of *Al Mawfel*, died, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, in the year that we are now upon<sup>h</sup>.

THE next year, being the 558th of the *Hejra*, which began *Dec. 10th, 1162*, in *What happens* the month of *Safar*, the *Khalîf Al 'Aded Ledini'llab* advanced *Shâwer*, one of *Talây' Ebn ed in the year* *Zarîc's* eunuchs, to the sublime office of *Wazîr*. This *Shâwer* had been at *Belkina* scarce 558.

<sup>e</sup> AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABDO'LLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtarikh*, p. 45. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. in *chron. ad ann. Hej. 556*. EBN SHOHNAH, *ad ann. Hej. 556*. D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient. art. Arslan Ben Togrul*, p. 129, 130. & *art. Gaurian*, p. 361. RENAUD. *ubi sup.* p. 530. <sup>h</sup> TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'llatâfa*, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhâr Al Thamîn*, EBN SHOHN. *ad ann. Hej. 557*. GOLII *not. ad Alfragan.* p. 234. ALB. SCHULT. in *geographic. in vit. Salad. Lugd. Bat. 1732*. RENAUD. *ubi sup.* p. 522, 523.

(A) This *Jehânsûz* having entered *Khorasân* with a numerous army, in the year of the *Hejra* 544, with a design to make himself master of that province, was overthrown in a great battle by *Soltân Sanjar*, and, together with his general, named *Ali Tcheteri*, taken prisoner. As *Ali* was one of *Sanjar's* subjects, and had been formerly loaded with favours by him, that prince ordered him to be put to death for his ingratitude and infidelity; but soon after sent *Jehânsûz* home, that is,

to *Gaur*, in order to govern that country under his authority. *Jehânsûz* was the grandson of *Sam Ebn Sourî*, descended from the tyrant *Zhobak*, who usurped the crown of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, that is, *Persia*, and was defeated by *Ieridûn*, king of *Fârs*, of the dynasty of *Pishdâd*. But of the princes of the house of *Gaur* our readers may expect a full and ample account, in a future part of this work, to which it will more properly belong (1).

(1) *Klondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient, p. 749, 756.*



three days, when he was joined by a great number of *Arabs*, and soldiers that flocked a to him from the western parts of *Egypt*, and other places, especially the desert; insomuch that he soon found himself at the head of an army, consisting of 10,000 horse. The *Arabs*, addicted to rapine, and accustomed to robberies, he detached, in different parties, to ravage and plunder all the lands belonging to those who persisted in their attachment to *Zaric Ebn Talay*, *Al 'Aded's Wazir*; giving them the spoils they should acquire on this occasion, that they might be the more active in their depredations. The *Arabs*, animated by this concession, executed *Shawer's* orders with great alacrity and success; who thereupon pursued his march almost to the very gates of *Al Kabirah* and *Mesr*, and there incamped. The *Wazir* and his friends were so terrified at *Shawer's* approach, that they immediately abandoned the metropolis, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. But before his departure, b he put all his jewels, of almost inestimable value, and even equal to the annual revenues of *Egypt*, into one little bag, or purse, and a thousand *dinars* into another, which he placed under the saddle of his horse; and then fled towards the desert, alone, with the utmost precipitation. Falling into the hands of the *Arabs*, he was stript and plundered by them, and left naked in the desert; where he remained, till he was almost perished with hunger and cold. However, being at last known, *Yakub*, the *Arab Emir*, commanded him to be brought into his tent, and to be conducted from thence under an escorte to *Shawer* at *Al Kabirah*. Here he was received as a friend, had proper apartments assigned him in the *Wazir's* palace, enjoyed the company of his favourite concubine, as well as that of his sons, and was attended by some of his own domestics. Nay, *Shawer*, who had succeeded him in the c post of *Wazir*, and assumed the title of *Emir Al Juyush*, that is, *the commander of armies*, frequently conferred with him, and even invited him to his table. But being some time after accused of meditating a flight, and of exciting the *Egyptian Emirs* to a revolt, he was thrown into irons; which endeavouring to file off, *Tay*, *Shawer's* son, entered the place of his confinement with a sword in his hand, and, to the vast regret of his father, who was not privy to the affair, immediately cut off his head. *Shawer* had not been long possessed of the supreme authority, before *Al Dargam*, an officer of rank, endeavoured to drive him from the *Fatemitic Khalif's* councils; and, at last, after a decisive action, in the month of *Ramadan*, obliged him to fly into *Syria*. Here he implored the assistance and protection d of *Nuroddin Mahmud Ebn Zenki*; promising to remit him yearly the third part of the annual revenues of *Egypt*, if he would march a formidable army into that country, and re-instate him in the sublime office of *Wazir*. In the mean time, *Al Dargam*, who killed *Tay*, *Zaric Ebn Talay's* son, in the first engagement between him and his predecessor, took upon himself the government of the *Fatemitic* empire, and dignified himself with the title of *Al Malec Al Afdal*; conferring upon one of his brothers that of *Al Molhem Al 'Adel*, and upon the other that of *Nasr Al Moslem*. This is said to have happened, in the month of *Shawwal*. As for *Shawer*, after his arrival at *Damascus*, he lived with *Nuroddin Mahmud Ebn Zenki* there, and was treated with uncommon marks of distinction by that prince. *Abulfeda* relates, that *Al Dargam*, after he was vested with the supreme authority, cut off e many commanders who were in *Shawer's* interest, in order to secure to himself the power he had acquired; and that, by this measure, he so weakened the kingdom, or empire, of *Egypt*, that it afterwards slipped out of his hands. *Ebn Shobnah* writes, that a very considerable number of the *Egyptian Emirs*, at this time, lost their lives; which proved such a blow to the *Fatemitic* power, that the *Khalifat* erected by the descendants of *Ali* in *Egypt* was thereby reduced to a feeble and languishing condition. The same year, according to the last mentioned historian, *Abd'almumen Al Garbi* departed this life, in his capital, after he had reigned a month above thirty-three years. He put *Casbiab Ebn Tomart* to death for a slight offence, and occasioned an incredible effusion of human blood. In the main, however, if *Ebn Shobnah* may be credited, he was a good governor; and drew many of the *Al Garbians*, f or people of the west, over to the tenets of *Malec Ebn Ans* in jurisprudence, and to those of *Ebn Al Hasan Al Ashari* in *Affil*, or metaphysics. He farther informs us, that *Abd'almumen* killed upon the spot every *Moslem* in the mosque, whose attention was not fixed upon his devotions. But, as our curious readers will meet with a full and ample account of that puissant monarch in the supplement to this work, it would be superfluous to expatiate largely upon his reign and character here<sup>1</sup>.

and in the  
year 559.

THE 559th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Nov. 30th, 1163, produced several actions of note, a brief account of which has been handed down to us by the oriental writers. *Shawer* informed *Nuroddin*, a most implacable enemy of the *Christians*, in order to bring

<sup>1</sup> TAKIODDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MANASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredollatâfa*, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamîn*, ISM. ABU'LFED. in *chron. ad ann. Hej. 558*. EBN SHOBNAB, *ad ann. Hej. 558*. RENAUD. *ubi sup. p. 523*. D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient. art. Adbed Ledinillab*, p. 60, 61. & *art. Schirgorsch*, p. 788.

him



- a him into his views, that the *Franks* had penetrated into *Egypt*, and made a very considerable progress in the conquest of that opulent kingdom; and therefore begged he would send an army, not only to expel them from thence, but likewise to re-instate him in the office of *Wazir*. As an inducement to that prince to comply with his request, *Shâwer* now engaged both to remit to *Damascus* the third part of the annual revenues of *Egypt*, in case success attended their arms, and to defray the whole expence of the expedition. Hereupon, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* ordered a strong body of his troops, under the command of *Asado'ddîn* (B) *Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi*, who was accompanied by *Shâwer*, to advance towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. *Shairacûb* entered that country without opposition, overthrew *Al Dargâm* at a place called the sepulchre of *St. Naphisa*, and fixed *Shâwer* once more at the
- b head of the *Fâtemite Kbalîf's* councils. That minister being possessed of his former post; and in a state of independency, scrupled not to (C) violate the engagements he had entered into with *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, by refusing to pay him any part of the stipulated sum. Whereupon, *Asado'ddîn*, justly incensed at his infidelity, seized *Al Sharkiâb* and *Belbeis*, *Balbais*, or *Pelufium*. This excited *Shâwer* to conclude a treaty with the *Franks*; who, in consequence of the principal article of it, sent some forces to support him. The combined army shut up *Asado'ddîn Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi* three months in *Belbeis*, with an intention to starve him to a surrender. But *Nûro'ddîn* having found means to make himself master of the strong fortress of *Hârem*, in the prefecture of *Aleppo*; the *Franks* thought fit to listen to terms of accommodation, and to permit *Asado'ddîn* to retire without molestation
- c to *Syria*. They had been intirely defeated by *Nûro'ddîn* in a pitched battle, and lost a prodigious number of men, killed and taken prisoners in the action; which accelerated the reduction of *Hârem*. Amongst the latter were the *Sâheb* of *Antâkiyah*, or *Antioch*, called *Al Bornas* by the *Arab* writers, and *Al Kûmes* (the count), the *Sâheb* of *Trâblos*, *Trâbolos*, or *Tripoli*. The spoil acquired by the *Moslems* on this occasion was immense, if *Ebn Shobnah* and *Abu'lfeda* may be depended upon. Whether or no the treaty lately signed with *Asado'ddîn*, or rather *Nûro'ddîn* himself, was to extend to the territories of the *Franks* in *Syria*, or to be confined to the military operations in *Egypt*, does not certainly appear, either from the last mentioned historians or *Abu'l Faraj*; though it should seem as if the war still continued in *Syria*, *Nûro'ddîn* having carried *Bâniâs*, or *Paneas*, after it had been in
- d the hands of the *Franks* above sixteen years, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, by storm. But,

(B) The title, or surname, of *Asado'ddîn*, assumed by *Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi*, brother of *Ayûb*, and uncle of the famous *Salâh'addin*, signifies, in the *Arabic* tongue, the lion of the faith, or of the religion; and, in the *Persian* language, the word *Shairacûb* is equivalent to the lion of the mountain. It may not be improper to remark here, that *Shairacûb* was the son of *Shâdi*, and not of *Ayûb*, as *M. D'Herbelot* is pleased to assert; and that this writer is inconsistent with himself, when, in one place he makes this general to have been the uncle of *Salâh'addin*, and, in another, his brother (1).

(C) We have here followed *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shobnah*, two *Moslem* writers of exceeding good repute; though a different account of *Shairacûb's* conduct at this juncture, has been handed down to us by other authors. According to the latter, after *Nasr Al Moslemîn*, *Al Dargâm's* brother, had been overthrown, though his forces were much superior in number to those of the enemy, by *Shâwer* and *Shairacûb*, *Shâwer* immediately advanced to the suburbs of *Al Kâbirah*, and was received into the city. Upon this revolution, *Dargâm*, or *Al Dargâm*, endeavoured to make his escape; but having been killed by a person who did not know him, his head was cut off, and exposed to the view of all his adherents. In the mean time, *Shâwer*, having been informed, that *Shairacûb* was endeavouring to circumvent him, in order to render abortive his design, refused to admit him within the walls of the capital. This occasioned a terrible ferment amongst the soldiery; who plundered the citizens houses, took by force their wives from them, sold for slaves many *Christians*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Egyptians*, and committed a vast number of murders in *Al Kâbirah*. In this tumult, one *Shanûfa*, a monk belonging to the convent of *St. Macarius*, was inhumanly butchered, for persisting in his profession of the *Christian* faith; and was honourably buried, after his mar-

tyrdom, in the church of *St. Sergius* at *Mesr*. All the *Christian* churches in and near the metropolis were pillaged, and many of them demolished; amongst the latter of which were those of *Hamarah* and *Zahara*, at a small distance from *Al Kâbirah*. In the mean time, *Almeric*, the king of the *Franks*, having been prevailed upon by large presents to march to *Shâwer's* relief, moved with the utmost expedition towards the capital of *Egypt*, then besieged by *Shairacûb*; who had ravaged all the adjacent district, in a most dreadful manner. *Shairacûb*, having received advice of *Almeric's* approach, and not being in a condition to make head against him, abandoned the siege, and fled into the country, or province, of *Al Sa'id*. The *Franks*, after they had remained about a month in their camp at *Belbeis*, pursued the fugitives, and at last came up with them near a place called *Al Banîn*, upon the frontiers of *Al Sa'id*. The two armies had not long been in sight of each other before a battle ensued, that was by no means decisive, though both sides sustained a very considerable loss. *Shairacûb* was afterwards shut up, during a considerable term, in *Alexandria*, by the combined army of *Egyptians* and *Franks*; but found means to escape from thence to *Al Kâbirah*, and even to make himself master of that city. *Almeric*, perceiving himself between two fires, his forces being in a manner surrounded by two *Moslem* armies, set on foot a negotiation between the contending powers; which, by his activity and address, terminated in an accommodation. *Shâwer*, by punctually performing his engagements with *Almeric*, denominated *Meri* by the *Arab* historians, and paying *Shairacûb* a stipulated sum of money, for which he was to return home, settled himself immoveably in the *Wazirat*, and enjoyed the dignity annexed to that sublime office until the year of the *Hjre* 564 (2).

(1) *D'Herbel. orient. p. 60, 742, 788.* (2) *Takia'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Ma'âssir Yusuf Ebn Targui Wîrîdî, in Mawerû'ilutâfa, Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmâk, in Al Jauhar Al Kamîl. Roum. l. iii. p. 1. 523, 524.*



however that may be, as both *Al Dargâm* and his brother were put to the sword, *Shâwer* had now no competitor to dispute with him the post of *Wazîr* to the *Fâtemite Khalîf*. We are told by *Abu'lfeda*, that *Al Sâheb Talây' Ebn Zarîc* reposed great confidence in this minister, made him governor of *Al Sa'id*, or the Upper Egypt, and advised his son *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel*, a little before he expired, never to remove him from that government; which rendered him extremely powerful, and even next in dignity to the *Wazîr*. But *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel*, continues that writer, after his father's death, rejecting this salutary advice, ordered *Shâwer* to retire out of the province of *Al Sa'id*; upon which, he assembled all the forces under his command, marched against the *Wazîr*, drove him from *Al Kâbirab*, and at last, having secured his person, put him to death. After which, he seized all the treasures that had been amassed by the house of *Zarîc*; the glory and lustre of which, by this catastrophe, intirely vanished. Towards the close of this year, *Soltân Arslân* made a progress to *Esfabân*. He was met by the *Atâbek Zenki Salgari*, who commanded in that city, and took the oath of allegiance to him. This so pleased the *Soltân*, that he confirmed him in his government, of which he extended his limits as far as the province of *Fârs*. Before the end of the present year, died *Jamâlo'ddîn Abu Jaasar Mohâmméd Ali Mansûr Al Esfabânî*, *Wazîr* to *Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*. *Ebn Shohnab* remarks, that none of his slaves (D) or domestics survived him a whole year. After his death, *Asad'oddîn Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi*, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki's* general, his faithful friend, carried his corps, through *Mecca* to *Medina*, where he desired to be inhumed; it having, in *Jamâlo'ddîn's* life-time, been agreed between them, that the survivor should conduct the body of the other to that place, and bury it there. *Asado'ddîn Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi* appointed persons to attend the corps, and proclaim prayers in every town they came to for the repose of the deceased's soul. They were also ordered to read certain portions of the *Korân*, both upon the road, and at every village where they proposed to stop. Upon their arrival at *Mecca*, the body was carried round the *Caaba*. From thence it was conveyed to *Medina*, and deposited in a little chapel, built by *Jamâlo'ddîn* himself for that purpose, about fifteen cubits, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, from the tomb of prophet. At the time of his interment, after prayers had been said over him, some verses were pronounced in his praise, which have been preserved by *Ebn Shohnab*. *Jamâlo'ddîn* repaired, or rather rebuilt, the mosque on the *'Akaba*, or eminence, in the valley of *Mîna*, denominated *Al Kaif* (E), about a parasang from *Mecca*, and settled a very considerable annual sum both upon the *Khalîf Al Moktâfi*, the supreme pontiff of the *Moslems*, and the *Sâheb* of *Mecca*; for which benefactions he was dignified with the title, or surname, of *Jamâlo'ddîn*, that is, the beauty, or excellency, of the religion. He likewise ornamented the *Caaba*, erected the mosque on mount *Arafât*, with the stairs up to it, raised several other edifices on the same hill, surrounded the city of *Medina* with a wall, and constructed a bridge over the *Tigris*, at the island of *Ebn Omar*, of iron, lead, mortar and stone; though this last work was not finished, at the time of his death. *Nasr Ebn Khalaf*, the king of *Sejîstân*, also departed this life, after he had lived above an hundred, and reigned eighty years, being succeeded by his son *Abu'l Fatab Ahmed Ebn Nasr*, in the year that we are now upon \*.

Abu'l Hasan  
Hebatallah  
died.

In the 560th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Nov. 18th, 1164, died *Abu'l Hasan Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Al Talmîd*, a *Christian* physician of *Baghdâd*, known by the surname of *Emîr Al Dowlab*, in the month of *Sâfar*, when he had almost completed the hundredth year of his age. He was a person of immense erudition, and commonly styled the phoenix of the age. He served in the quality of physician the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, and acquired great honour and reputation in their service. The success that attended his practice was equal to the skill he always discovered in his profession. *Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Al Talmîd* was an old man of a comely aspect, an handsome person, an admirable

\* TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'llâtafa*, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamin*, EBN KHALECAN, EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câmel Al Tawarikh*, ad ann. Hej. 559. ISM. ABU'LFED. in *chron.* ad ann. Hej. 559. GREG. ABU L FAR. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 559. RENAUD. ubi sup. 523, 524. GOL. lex. Arab. p. 781, 782, 1613.

(D) The original *Arabic* of *Ebn Shohnab*, translated literally, is, *And all that served Jamâlo'ddîn were gathered to him in the space of one year*; a similar expression to which sometimes occurs in holy writ, as very clearly appears from the passages here referred to. From whence in conjunction with numberless other instances, that might with equal facility be produced, the great affinity between the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, even as the latter is still spoken in the East, may be very easily perceived (1).

(1) 2 Kings c. xxii. v. 20. 2 Chron. c. xxxiv. v. 28.

(E) *Khaif* properly signifies the lower part, or descent, of a mountain; and is translated in *Latin* by *Golius*, *clivus montis*, *depressior ejus pars*, *collis*. This mosque, therefore, received the name of *Al Khaif* from its situation. The following words of *Golius*, *Al Khaif, delubrum in monte Mina prope Meccam, quod in ejus clivo extructum*, put the point here insisted on beyond dispute (2).

(2) *Golii lex. Arab.* p. 781, 782. 1613.

disposition,



- a disposition, excellent conversation, deep thought, uncommon sagacity, consummate prudence, and a most sublime genius. He was also happy in his conjectures, and wrote exceeding fine verses; a few of which have been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. He possessed the favour of the most powerful princes, and particularly the *Khalifs* of *Baghdâd*, in a vast degree; who loaded him with riches and honours, notwithstanding he professed a different religion. His virtues and learning were so conspicuous, that the *Mohammedans*, says *Ebn Shohnah*, were astonished that he never became a convert to *Islamism*. But, continues the same author, God illuminates whom he pleases, and whom he pleases he permits to go astray. He waited once a week on the *Khalif Al Moktafi*; who, on account of his age and experience, ever paid him the highest regard. His understanding
- b remained sound and perfect to the last. *Hebatallah Ebn Malcâ Abu'l Baracât*, another celebrated physician, who was originally a Jew, but in the latter part of his life turned *Mohammedan*, excelled likewise at this time in every branch of antient literature. He composed the book, intituled, *Al Mo'tabar*; which treats, in a clear and perspicuous manner, of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics, without touching upon any mathematical subjects. *Abu'l Baracât* having cured one of the *Soltâns* of the *Seljuks*, who sent for him from *Baghdâd* for that purpose; he was amply rewarded with money, horses, rich cloaths, and other valuable presents, by that prince. After this, he returned to *Irâk*. But, notwithstanding the wealth and reputation he had acquired, being lampooned by *Ebn Aflab*, who published some satyrical verses upon him, that have been preserved by *Abu'l Faraj*; he professed himself a *Moslem*, in order to be the more revered. He performed so many admirable cures, that the *Mohammedans* surnamed him *Abu'l Baracât*, that is, *the father of benedictions*. Before his death, he was both blind and deaf, and was rendered by an inveterate leprosy a most miserable object. He ordered the following short epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb, *Here lies Abu'l Baracât, the author of the book Al Mo'tabar*. It may not be amiss to observe, that these two eminent physicians seem to have been confounded by *Ebn Shohnah*; from whom, however, we may infer, that one of them penned the physical treatise bearing the title of *Akrâbâdhîn*, that is the book of *antidotes*, or *compound medicines*, though to which of them this piece is to be ascribed he has not certainly determined. But to whichever of them it is to be attributed, it was held by the gentlemen of the faculty in the East, if this writer may
- d be credited, in no small esteem. *Hebatallah Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Al Esfabâni*, a physician of transcendent merit, who practised at *Esfabân*, and has been represented by *Abu'l Faraj* as the ornament of the age in which he lived, was also one of *Abu'l Hasan Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Al Talmid's* cotemporaries. He was a *Mohammedan*, and died suddenly of an apoplexy, after the year of the *Hejra* 530, according to *Abu'l Faraj*; having been buried, probably, before he was dead, in a vault of his house, as he was found sitting upon one of the steps leading thereto, some months after the accident happened. His poetical performances are said to have been elegant and neat; of which a distich, inscribed on the walls of a bath, in a friend's house, has been preserved as a specimen, by the last mentioned author. In the *Khalifat* of *Al Moktafi*, when *Abu'l Hasan Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Al Talmid*
- c flourished, *Abu'l Helm Al Magrebi*, or *Mogrebi*, *Al Andalusi*, a *Spanish Moslem* physician, esteemed as one of the most learned of his cotemporaries, made likewise a considerable figure. He undertook a journey from *Andalusia* to *Irâk*, and settled for some time at *Baghdâd*. Here he soon grew famous, being as much distinguished by his knowledge of *Euclid*, as by his chearful and facetious conversation, and read to a vast number of scholars. Retiring afterwards from *Irâk*, he seems to have been drawn into the neighbourhood of *Damascus* by the surprizing fertility of the district appertaining to that delightful city. Here he kept an apothecary's shop, and prescribed to many patients as a physician, with good success to the end of his days. With regard to *Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Al Talmid's* sons, one of them, named *Ebn Al Masîhi*, was a *Catholic*, an ecclesiastical officer, next in dignity to the patriarch; *Abu'l Khair*, another of them, was an archdeacon; and *Abu'l Hasan Sa'id Al Hadîri*, the third, was physician to the *Khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah*, and acquired a good deal of reputation in his art; which his brother, the archdeacon, also professed. The pride and insolence of *Hebatallah Ebn Malcâ Abu'l Baracât*, as well as the humility of *Abu'l Hasan Hebatallah Ebn Sa'id Ebn Talmid*, have been taken particular notice of by *Abu'l Faraj*<sup>1</sup>.

THE same year, if we can depend upon what has been advanced on this head by M. *Other events*  
*Renaudot*, *John*, the patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, departed this life, and was buried *of the year*  
 in the church of St. *Mercury* at *Mesr*. Whilst he sat in the patriarchal see, the *Najâshi*,<sup>560.</sup>  
 or king of *Ethiopia*, wrote to *Ali Ebn Selâr*, the *Fâtemite Khalif's Wazîr*, to beg he would  
 compel him to ordain a new metropolitan of *Ethiopia*; though *Mikhâyel*, formerly called

<sup>1</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 452, 453, et alib. EBN SHOHNAN. ad an. Hej. 560. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Hebatallah, p. 440.



*Habib*, the metropolitan, was then living. This the patriarch absolutely refused to do, <sup>a</sup> as such a procedure would have been contrary to the usage and discipline till that time observed in the *Jacobite* church. The metropolitan had not only disapproved of the conduct of the *Ethiopian* monarch, who was an usurper, but likewise reproved him in very sharp terms for his usurpation. The *Najâshi*, therefore, desired to have him deposed, and a creature of his own substituted in his room; which induced him to write upon that subject both to the patriarch and the *Wazîr*; but without effect, as the *Wazîr* could not constrain the patriarch to obey his commands. *John* was succeeded by *Mark*, the son of *Zaraa*, named before *Abu'l Faraj Ebn Abu Sabad*, a learned Syrian of extraordinary great merit, and extremely well versed in ecclesiastical affairs; who was elected unanimously, not long after his predecessor's decease. It may not be improper to remark, that *Khosrû Mâlec* reigned at *Lahâwar*, the capital of *Hend*, or *Hind*, according to *Mirkbond*, the present year. He was, if that writer may be credited, the last prince of the house of *Gazna*. <sup>b</sup>

Nûro'ddîn  
takes the castle  
of Al Moneidera.

THE following year, being the 561st of the *Hejra*, which commenced Nov. 7th, 1165, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, took from the *Franks* the castle of *Al Moneidera* in *Syria*; which was a place at no great distance from *Tripoli*, of considerable strength. This year, *Enbanej*, who still kept his ground in *Mazanderân*, entered into an alliance with the *Shâh* of *Khawârazm*; by whom being assisted with a large body of troops he penetrated into the *Persian Irâk*, and ravaged the country about *Abber* and *Kazwîn*. But *Arslân*, attended by *Ildighîz*, the *Atâbek* of *Adherbijân*, coming on him by surprize, obliged him to fly to his old retreat. We must beg leave to remark, that *Bobâ'oddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, who wrote <sup>c</sup> the life of the famous *Salâb'addîn*, places the reduction of *Al Moneidera* in the year of the *Hejra* 362; though *Abu'lfeda*, with an equal appearance of truth, affirms it to have happened the preceding year <sup>n</sup>.

Shairacûh  
undertakes another expedition into  
Egypt.

THE next year, being the 562d of the *Hejra*, which began Oct. 27th, 1166, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* having received advice that *Shâwer* had concluded a treaty with the *Franks*, and being afraid that this would enable the *Christians* to make themselves masters of *Egypt*; he sent *Asado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi* with a body of 1000, as *Abu'lfeda* will have it, or, according to some copies of *Ebn Shobnab*, 2000 horse into that country. *Bobâ'oddîn* seems farther to intimate, that a body of infantry likewise at this time acted under his command. *Shairacûh* was attended by his nephew *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, much against <sup>d</sup> his inclination, if *Bobâ'oddîn Ebn Sheddâd* may be credited, in this expedition. *Nûro'ddîn's* troops entered *Egypt* the 12th of the former *Rabî*, and soon after *Shairacûh* possessed himself of *Al Fiza* with inconsiderable loss. *Shâwer*, having been joined by the *Franks*, after that junction, put himself at the head of the combined army, went in quest of the enemy, and at last came up with them near a town called *Al Abwân*. A sharp engagement hereupon ensued, which ended in the defeat of *Shâwer* and the *Franks*. This victory put the whole district of *Al Fiza* into *Shairacûh's* hands, and facilitated the reduction of *Alexandria*, before which he in a short time presented himself. Here he left his nephew *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* with a proper garrison, and then moved with his forces towards *Al Sa'id*. After his departure the enemy shut up *Salâb'addîn* in *Alexandria*, and kept him there closely <sup>e</sup> besieged for the space of three months. *Shairacûh* therefore returned, in order to force the *Franks* and *Egyptians* to raise the siege; upon which a negotiation was set on foot, and an accommodation effected between the contending powers upon the following terms. 1. *Shâwer* shall pay *Shairacûh* a stipulated sum of money, in order to enable him to defray the expence of the expedition. 2. Upon the payment of this sum, that general shall immediately withdraw his garrison out of *Alexandria*, and return into *Syria*. Both which conditions were punctually performed, and the *Egyptian* troops retook possession of *Alexandria*, in consequence of this pacification, about the middle of the month *Shawâl*; and *Shairacûh* reached *Damascus* with his army, extremely weakened by his conflicts with the enemy, as well as the other casualties of war, the 18th of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year. *Shairacûh* and *Salâb'addîn* had no sooner evacuated *Egypt*, than a new convention was signed between the *Egyptians* and *Franks*; the principal articles of which were, that the *Franks* should be permitted to have at *Al Kâbirah* a commandant and a garrison of horse, and that they should receive annually out of the public revenues of *Egypt* 100000 *dinârs*. We must not forget to relate, that *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* took *Sâfitâ* and *Al Oreiba*, or *Al Oreima*, in *Syria*, this campaign; and that the progress of his arms in that country obliged the *Franks*, according to *Bobâ'oddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, to retire out of *Egypt*, and repair <sup>f</sup>

<sup>m</sup> TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'llatâfa*, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamin*, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 525, 526. MIRKOND, apud Teixeira. p. 305. NASSIR AL TUSI & ULUGH BEIKH, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Lahawar*, p. 509, 510. <sup>n</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 561. KHONDEM'R, BO-MAO'D. EBN SHED. in vit. et reb. gest. Salad. ab Alb. Schult. edit. p. 32. Lugd. Batav. 1732. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Arslan Ben Thogrul*, p. 130.



a to Syria, to defend their territories there. About the same time, *Gâzi Ebn Al Hasan*, the *Sâheb* of *Manbij*, rebelled against *Nûro'ddîn Ebn Zenki*, in that city. He was therefore driven from thence, by a body of *Nûro'ddîn's* forces, that he found himself too weak to oppose, and the government of *Manbij* was conferred upon *Kotbo'ddîn Yanâl Ebn Al Hasan*, his brother. It appears from *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, that *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* demolished the fortrefs of *Acâf* in the desarts of *Shâm*, and pillaged the town of *Honein* on mount *'Amila*, after he had been reinforced by his brother *Kotbo'ddîn* and *Zîno'ddîn Ali Ebn Sabektekîn*, in the month of *Shawâl* of the year that we are now upon °.

THE 563d year of the *Hejra*, commencing Oct. 17th, 1167, produced two or three remarkable events, according to the eastern writers. *Zeno'ddîn*, or *Zinoddîn Ali Ebn Sabektekîn*, *Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki's* deputy at *Al Mawfel*, left that city, and retired to *Arbel*, the *Arbela* of the antients. The latter of these places is now corruptly called *Irbil*, and has a situation assigned it by *Abu'lfeda* in the district of *Shabrezâr*; of which it is denominated the metropolis by that author. *Zîno'ddîn* was the *Sâheb* of *Arbel*, and possessed of very considerable territories; all of which, except *Arbel* and its dependencies, he ceded to *Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*, at the time of his departure from *Al Mawfel*. He died at *Arbel*, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year. With regard to his character, he has been represented as brave, prudent, upright in all his actions, of an excellent disposition, and extremely liberal, by *Abu'l Faraj*. As an instance of his liberality, that author mentions the presents he made to *Al Hîs Bîs*, a *Moslem* poet, who wrote a copy of verses in praise of him; which consisted of 500 *dinârs* in money, a sumptuous vest, and other costly garments, the whole amounting to the value of 1000 *dinârs*. This year, *Enbanej*, who had rebelled against *Soltân Arslân*, and set up for himself in *Mazanderân*, invaded the country about *Al Ray*, and defeated *Mohammed*, the son of *Ildighîz*, the *Atâbek* of *Adherbijân*, who was sent against him. Hereupon *Ildighîz* himself marched at the head of *Arslân's* forces, in order to re-establish his affairs. Being arrived at *Al Ray*, he made several propositions to *Enbanej*; who thereupon agreed to go with him, and make his submission to the *Soltân*: but the night before this ceremony was to be performed, *Enbanej* was killed in his lodgings, no one being ever afterwards able to discover either the cause or the author of this unexpected event. The *Soltân*, on this news, gave the government of *Al Ray* to the son of *Ildighîz*, who soon after married the only daughter of *Enbanej*. The fruit of this marriage was *Kâtlûk*, or *Cotlûk*, surnamed *Enbanej*, or rather *Fakbro'ddîn Enbanej*, and denominated *Kiligh* by M. D'Herbelot. It appears from *Mirkbond*, that *Khosru Mâlec*, the last of the family of *Sabektekîn*, who had reigned at *Lahâwar*, in *Hend*, or *Hind*, that is, *India*, died at *Gazna*, to which place he had been conducted as a prisoner by *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Al Gauri*, after he had taken *Lahâwar*, the present year °.

IN the 564th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Oct. 5th, 1168, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* sent an army, under the command of *Fakbro'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Abu Ali Al Za'frânî*, to reduce the castle of *Ja'bar*, a place of considerable strength upon the *Euphrates*, in the province of *Diyâr Becr*, and opposite to *Seffein*. *Fakbro'ddîn*, having been reinforced by a body of troops, under the orders of *Majdo'ddîn Abu Becr Ebn Al Dâya*, *Nûro'ddîn's* foster-brother, laid siege to that fortrefs, and for some time attacked it with great vigour; but without effect. However, *Nûro'ddîn* having gotten *Shahâbo'ddîn Mâlec Ebn Ali Ebn Mâlec*, descended from *Al Mosayyeb*, the *Okeilite Arab*, then the *Sâheb* of *Ja'bar*, into his hands; he obliged that prince to cede it to him, for the city of *Sarûj*, with its dependencies, *Al Malûb*, in the territory of *Aleppo*, *Bâb Bezâga*, in the prefecture of *Kinnîsrîn*, and 20,000 *dinârs*. It may not be improper to remark, that the family of *Al Mosayyeb Al Okeili*, or *Al Okaili*, had been possessed of the castle of *Ja'bar*, ever since the days of *Mâlec Shâh* °.

THE same year, the *Franks* having taken (E) *Belbeis*, or *Pelusium*, the first of *Safar*, and being grown superior to the *Moslems* in *Egypt*, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* sent *Asado'ddîn* *Shaira-*

• ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 562. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 562. BOHAO'UDDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 33. TAKIO'UDDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâfa, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 531, 532. P GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 399, 400. BOHA'ODDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. YAKUT, EBN SA'ID, ISM. ABU'LFED. apud Alb. Schult. in ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. ut et ipse ALB. SCHULT. ibid. STRAB. geogr. lib. ii, xii. xvi. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. 1. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. vi. c. 13. KHONDEMIR, MIRKOND, apud Teixeira. p. 305. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 130, 998, et alib. ° ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 564. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 564. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 400, 401.

(E) We are told by some writers, that the *Franks*, taking advantage of the discords and dissensions which at this time prevailed amongst the *Moslem* princes, made an irruption, under the command of *Almeric*, king of *Jerusalem*, into *Egypt*, and took by storm the city of *Belbeis*. If these writers may be credited, *Almeric* treated the inhabitants of that place, both *Christians* and *Moslems*, as

well as the garrison, on this occasion, with uncommon cruelty; the town being given to up the soldiers to be plundered, and all the troops and people in it being either carried into captivity or put to the sword. *Shawer*, continue they, having received advice of *Almeric's* having traversed the vast desert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, and entered the latter of those countries



themselves  
masters of  
Egypt.

*Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi*, his general, to drive them from thence, with an army of 80,000 horse. <sup>a</sup> After the *Franks* had carried the city of *Belbeis* by storm, they advanced to *Al Kâbirab*; which they invested the tenth of *Safar*, and then formed the siege of that capital. *Shâwer*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf's Wazîr*, had set on fire the antient city of *Mesr*, and ordered all the inhabitants to depart from thence to *Al Kâbirab*, before the *Franks* appeared in the neighbourhood of that place. This step had been taken, in order to prevent them from occupying *Mesr*. The *Khalîf Al 'Aded*, being reduced to great distress by this irruption of the *Franks*, had implored the assistance and protection of *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*; who thereupon commanded his troops to move, with the utmost expedition, towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. In the mean time, *Shâwer* endeavoured to amuse the *Franks*, by paying them 100,000 *dinârs*, and promising them 900,000 more, if they would raise the siege; <sup>b</sup> not being able, as he pretended, to collect the last-mentioned sum, as long as they continued before *Al Kâbirab*. Hereupon, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the *Franks* immediately decamped, and returned home. *Khondemir*, however, seems to intimate, that the approach of the *Moslem* forces under *Shairacûb* obliged them to retire out of *Egypt*. Be that as it will, *Nûro'ddîn's* army entered *Egypt* in the former *Rabî*; being received by the *Egyptian Moslems* as their deliverers, with open arms. *Asado'ddîn Shairacûb Ebn Shâdi*, having met with nothing to impede his march, reached *Al Kâbirab*, then abandoned by the *Franks*, the 4th of the latter *Rabî*, to the great joy of the *Khalîf Al 'Aded*; who invited him to the imperial palace, had a conference with him, and made him a present of the *Soltân's Kaftân*, or royal vest. He had before received from *Nûro'ddîn* no less than 200,000 *dinârs*, besides a <sup>c</sup> sumptuous *Kaftân*, arms, and many beasts of burden, for his own particular use. The *Fâtemite Khalîf* also loaded him with presents, as well as the principal officers of the troops under his command. *Shairacûb* was attended by *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, his nephew, fore against his will, in this expedition. *Shâwer*, *Al 'Aded's Wazîr*, who had egregiously failed in the performance of his engagements, by not remitting to *Nûro'ddîn* the third part of the public revenues of *Egypt*, waited every day upon *Shairacûb*, made him large promises, and endeavoured to excuse his iniquitous conduct. He likewise expressed the highest regard for *Shairacûb*, *Salâb'addîn*, and all *Nûro'ddîn's* other *Emîrs*; though he had formed a design to invite them to a splendid entertainment in the *Wazîr's* palace at *Al Kâbirab*, and secure all their persons there. But this soon transpiring, *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* and <sup>d</sup> *Jardîc* took an opportunity of seizing him, as they were conducting him to *Shairacûb*, who went that morning to visit the famous *Al Shâfeî's* tomb. *Shâwer's* servants, seeing what had happened to their master, immediately betook themselves to flight. After which, he was brought bound to *Shairacûb*, the 7th of the latter *Rabî*. The *Khalîf Al 'Aded* was no sooner informed of *Shâwer's* perfidy and imprisonment, than he dispatched a messenger to *Shairacûb* to demand his head; which was instantly cut off, by *Shairacûb's* order, and sent him without delay. *Al 'Aded* then honoured *Shairacûb* with the robe worn by the *Wazîr*, and dignified him with the title of *Al Mâlec Al Mansûr*. Adorned with this robe, *Shairacûb* repaired directly to the *Wazîr's* palace, where *Shâwer* had lived; and was, by an instrument drawn up for that purpose, by the *Khalîf* himself, part of the form of which *Abu'lfeda* has preserved, settled in the sublime post of *Wazîr*. <sup>e</sup> After the return of the messenger, with *Shâwer's* head, to *Al Kâbirab*, it was fixed upon the point of a spear, and carried through all the streets of that city. When *Shairacûb*, however entered the metropolis, both the populace and the soldiery rose upon him, and attacked him with unparalleled fury. Upon which, in order to pacify them, he cried out "The *Khalîf* has given you all the " immense treasures that *Shâwer* has amassed." This diverted their rage against *Shairacûb*, and drove them to *Shâwer's* palace; which they thoroughly plundered, and stript of every thing valuable belonging to it. *Shairacûb* was now received every-where with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy. He was also congratulated in verse, upon his elevation to the *Wazîrat*, by *El Yamâd*, the *Syrian*, and the other most celebrated poets <sup>f</sup> of the age. Some of the verses published on this occasion by *Al Yamâd*, as well as by *'Arkela* of *Damascus*, have been handed down to us by *Abu'lfeda*, in the piece so often refer-

with a numerous army, sent an ambassador to *Nûro'ddîn* to implore his assistance against the enemies of their common religion. Hereupon *Shairacûb*, by *Nûro'ddîn's* order, set out at the head of a formidable army for *Egypt*; and, by forced marches, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Al Kâbirab*, then besieged by *Almeric*, before *Shâwer* was reduced to the last extremity by the *Franks*. *Almeric*, being informed of *Shairacûb's* approach, raised the siege, and advanced to give him battle. But *Shairacûb*, being more intent upon occupying *Egypt* than defending it, declined an engagement, and joined the *Egyptian* forces under *Shâwer*; of which *Almeric* receiving advice,

he made the best of his way home. *Shâwer's* conduct on this occasion has been considered in two different lights, by the historians of this age; some accusing him of perfidy and infidelity to the *Franks*, and others acquitting him of that imputation. But however this may be, several authors do not scruple to affirm, that *Almeric* might very easily have made himself master of *Al Kâbirab*, had he not shamefully loitered away his time, after the reduction of *Belbeis*, before *Shairacûb* could possibly, notwithstanding the celerity of his march, have arrived with all his forces before that place (1).

(1) Vid. Will. Tyr. aliosque scriptor apud Renaud. ubi sup. p. 532.



a red to here. *Al Cāmel*, *Shāwēr*'s son, lived as a private person in the palace, to the time of his death; so that *Shairacūb* enjoyed the high dignity to which he had been advanced, without any opposition, or fear of a competitor. Notwithstanding which, the supreme authority he had acquired was not, according to the eastern historians, of any considerable duration. For, if they may be credited in this particular, he died, as some say, of a debauch, after he had governed the *Fātemite* empire only two months, and five days, on the twenty-second of the latter *Jomāda*, being *Saturday*, in the year that we are now upon<sup>r</sup>.

WITH regard to the origin of *Shairacūb*, and his brother *Ayūb*, the father of *Salāh'addīn*, *The origin of* or *Salāh'addīn*, who attended his uncle in the aforesaid expedition, they are universally *Shairacūb and* allowed to have been *Rawādīan* *Curds*, and originally of the city of *Dawīn*. They afterwards removed into *Irāk*, and offered their service to *Babrūz*, the *Seljūkian* governor of *Baghdād* and the province of *Irāk*. *Babrūz*, finding them men of merit, made *Ayūb*, the elder of them, commandant of *Tecrīt*, and appointed his brother *Shairacūb* to serve under him there. However, they did not arrive at this preferment, before they had gone through all the military posts with great honour and reputation. *Ebn Al Fārṣī*, an antient oriental writer of considerable note, relates, that their father *Shādi* entered first into *Babrūz*'s service, and took care to get them advanced in the army, at a proper time; though the former opinion has been adopted by *Ebn Shohnah*, *Ebn 'Al Athīr*, and *Abu'l Faraj*, as well as by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makīn*. The *Atābek 'Amādo'ddīn Zenki*, having been routed by the *Khalīf*'s forces, fled to *Tecrīt*, and met with many civilities and good offices, both from *Ayūb* and *Shairacūb*. Some time after, *Shairacūb* killed a *Christian* scribe, or secretary, at *Tecrīt*; which so incensed *Mojābedo'ddīn Babrūz*, who was a great lover of justice, that he expelled both him and his brother *Ayūb* that city. This happened in the year of the *Hejra* 532, the very night, if *M. Renaudot*'s authors may be depended upon, that *Salāh'addīn* was born. After their expulsion from *Tecrīt*, the two brothers retired to the *Atābek 'Amādo'ddīn Zenki*'s court, and took on in his service. That prince, remembering the favours he had formerly received from them, loaded them with presents, and bestowed some of his territories upon them. They had not been long at *Al Mawṣel*, then *'Amādo'ddīn*'s residence, before the *Atābek* conferred upon *Ayūb* the post of commandant of the citadel of *Baalbec*, which he had lately made himself master of. After *Zenki*'s violent death, the troops of *Damascus* besieged *Baalbec*; which *Ayūb* delivered into their hands, by way of exchange for several other territories and districts, that were ceded to him. This so conciliated to him the affections of the *Damascenes*, that he was thenceforth considered as their general and commander in chief. As for *Shairacūb*, he remained with *Nūro'ddīn Mahmūd*, *Zenki*'s son; who assigned him the government of *Rahaba* upon the *Euphrates*, *Hems*, and other cities. Being likewise acquainted with his bravery, and skill in the military art, he constituted him generalissimo of all his forces. *Nūro'ddīn* being afterwards desirous of annexing *Damascus*, with its dependencies, to his dominions; he employed *Shairacūb* to write to his brother *Ayūb*, for his assistance in this affair. *Shairacūb* took his measures so well, and managed this arduous point with so much address, that *Ayūb* prevailed upon the *Damascenes* to recognize the authority of that prince. These two able ministers, and great captains, presided over *Nūro'ddīn*'s councils, till the first expedition he undertook into *Egypt*; when none of his other generals being found so capable of conducting an enterprize of such importance as *Shairacūb*, he was pitched upon to command the troops to be employed in that expedition. What happened to him from that time to the day of his death, it would be superfluous, as this has been already related at large, even barely to touch upon here<sup>s</sup>.

THOUGH there were many *Emīrs*, superior both in years and reputation to *Salāh'addīn*, *Salāh'addīn* who aspired at the dignity or *Wazīr*, such were *'Aino'ddawla Al Yārūki*, *Kotbo'ddīn Yanāl Al* *Manbijī*, *Saifo'ddīn Ali Ebn Ahmed Al Māsbūb Al Haccāri*, and *Shāhābo'ddīn Mahmūd Al* *Hāremī*, *Salāh'addīn*'s uncle; yet the *Khalīf Al 'Aded* thought fit (F) to promote to that high *post of Wazīr*;

<sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAN, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawreda'llatāfa*, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, in *Jawhar Al Thamīn*, BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 33, 34, 35. D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* art. *Schirgoueh*, ou *Schirkoueh*, p. 788, 789, et alib. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 532, 533. <sup>s</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 400, 401. EBN SHOHNAN, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Cāmel*, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. EBN AL FARSI, apud Renaud. ubi sup. p. 533, 534. ut et ipse RENAUD. ibid. BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 3. AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, & EBN DAKMAK, ubi sup.

(F) It has been observed by *Abu'l Faraj*, that the grandees of *Al 'Aded*'s court advised him to make *Salāh'addīn* his *Wazīr*; because, as he was younger than, and inferior in dignity to, the other *Emīrs*, he would not, as they apprehended, be so likely to lift up his head above theirs, and treat them with contempt. Another author

pretends, that *Al 'Aded* advanced him to the post of *Wazīr*; imagining that his elevation would so incense all the elder and principal *Emīrs*, that they would be tempted to destroy him. This, if true, seems to shew, that *Al 'Aded* was then afraid of him (1).

(1) Greg. *Abu'l Far.* ubi sup. p. 401. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 534.



imploiment *Salâb'addîn*, and to dignify him with the title of *Al Mâlec Al Nâfir*. The title <sup>a</sup> imports, *the king the defender*. But, notwithstanding *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* had been honoured by the *Khalîf Al 'Aded* with the sublime office of *Wazîr*, the above-mentioned *Emîrs*, who envied him the supreme authority, refused to obey his orders, and to act in concert with him. However, they were at last all brought over by the *Fakîh Isâ Al Hacâcri*, except *'Ainô'ddawla Al Yârûki*; who declared he would never submit to *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, and returned to *Nûro'ddîn's* court at *Damascus*. In the mean time, though *Salâb'addîn* acted as *Wazîr* to the *Khalîf* of *Egypt*, he considered himself as *Nûro'ddîn's* deputy in that kingdom. Nor did that prince himself view him in any other light. When he wrote to *Salâb'addîn*, he gave him only the title of *Al Emîr Al Esfahselâr*, or *generalissimo of his forces*, and prefixed his seal to the head of the letter, without inserting his name. Nor did <sup>b</sup> he ever dispatch his orders to him alone, but addressed them to him in the following terms: *Let Al Emîr Al Esfahselâr, Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb and our other Emîrs in Egypt do so and so*. When *Salâb'addîn* had secured to himself the charge of *Wazîr*, and found himself master of the *Khalîfat* of *Egypt*, he distributed all the immense treasures of *Shairacûb*, and those which he had extorted from the *Fâtemite Khalîf*, amongst the *Emîrs* and the troops; by which instance of liberality, he won their hearts, and absolutely conciliated their affections to him. He likewise abstained from wine and gaming, to which he had been before extremely addicted; and, as it should seem, in order to expiate his former crimes, resolved to enter upon a holy war, and attempt to drive the *Christians* out of the *Moslem* territories they had possessed themselves of. He also circumvented and cut off the <sup>c</sup> commander of the *Blacks*, or *Negroes*, that guarded the imperial palace, and garrisoned the citadel of *Al Kâhîrab*; putting, after a sharp engagement, the greatest part of those troops to the sword. That officer, though an eunuch, was a person of uncommon resolution and magnanimity, and for some time singly opposed the power of the new *Wazîr*. The destruction, or rather excision, of this corps opened a passage for *Salâb'addîn* into the castle; who thereupon appointed *Bohâo'ddîn Karâkûsh*, a white eunuch, commandant of that place, and assigned him a proper garrison for its defence. *Salâb'addîn*, being thus master of *Egypt*, begged *Nûro'ddîn* would send his father *Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb Ebn Sbâdi*, and all the members of his family then at *Damascus*, to him; which request being granted, upon their arrival in *Egypt*, he treated them with uncommon marks of distinction, made them <sup>d</sup> many rich presents, and settled upon them lands and possessions of very considerable value. Nay, if *Bohâo'ddîn* in this point merits any regard, he offered to resign the *Wazîrat* itself to his father *Ayûb*, who declined accepting that arduous post; though this runs counter to *Abu'l Faraj*, who clearly intimates, that *Nûro'ddîn* insisted upon *Ayûb's* family's submission to *Salâb'addîn*, as the essential condition of his permitting them to fix their residence in *Egypt*. This year, died *Abu Mohammed Al Irâki*, the *Sâheb* of the exterior *Karâmat*, or *Karâmata*; as did likewise *Bârûk*, the son of *Arslân Al Turkmâni*, a man of prodigious parts, who dwelt in the suburbs of *Aleppo*, where he went under the appellation of *Al Bani-kia*, and was held amongst the people of that city, of all ranks and degrees, in vast esteem.

The most material events of the year 565.

THE following year, being the 565th of the *Hejra*, which commenced Sept. 25th, 1169, proved fortunate and prosperous to *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, the *Fâtemite Khalîf's* *Wazîr*; whose power still increased, whilst that of *Al 'Aded* went more and more to decay, in *Egypt*. This year, the *Franks* formed the siege of *Dimiyât*, or *Damiata*; which, as they had a vast train of military engines with them, for some time they carried on with extraordinary vigour. However, *Salâb'addîn* having taken care to furnish the place with a numerous garrison, and to supply it copiously with all kinds of provisions and military stores; the besiegers were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after they had lain before the town fifty-four days, and sustained a very considerable loss. Their retreat nevertheless seems to have been in some measure owing to an impression made by *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* upon their territories in *Syria*. But, though ill success attended their arms in *Egypt*, they reduced the castle of *'Acâr*, or *Accara*, in *Syria*, and loaded with irons *Khot-lakh*, one of *Nûro'ddîn's* slaves, who commanded there, in the latter *Rabî*; which induced *Nûro'ddîn*, in order to make a diversion, to besiege *Al Carac*, or *Al Crac*, in *Arabia Petraea*, in the month of *Shaabân*, though without effect. For, a strong body of *Franks* advancing out of *Palestine* to the relief of that fortress, he thought fit to decamp, without venturing a battle. This misfortune was immediately followed by the death of *Majdo'ddîn Ebn Al Dâya*, who departed this life at *Aleppo*, to the great regret of *Nûro'ddîn*, in the month of *Ramadân*. He was that prince's foster-brother, had vast influence over him, as he was a <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> person

<sup>1</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, EBN AL ATHIR, BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, & IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 401. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schirgouch*, ou *Schirkouch*, p. 788, 789, & art. *Salaheddin Josef Ben Aïoub*, p. 742. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 534.



- a person of consummate abilities, and presided over the people of *Aleppo*, *Ja'bar*, and *Hârm*. *Majdo'ddîn Abu Becr Ebn Al Dâya* being dead, *Nûro'ddîn* conferred the government of those places upon *Ali*, that *Sâheb's* son. About this time, an earthquake made dreadful havock in *Syria*; *Aleppo*, and several other towns, being almost intirely destroyed by the violence of the shocks. This excited *Nûro'ddîn* to make a progress through that part of his dominions; but being informed at *Tel Bâsher*, or *Tel Basbar*, a castle of prodigious strength, with a prefecture belonging to it, two days journey, or two mansions, N. of *Aleppo*, that his brother *Kotbo'ddîn* died the 22d of *Dbu'lhajja* at *Al Mawfel*, he hastened towards that city. *Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki Ebn Aksanker*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, was carried off by an acute or ardent fever, after he had lived forty, and reigned twenty-one years. He has been represented both by *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnab* as one of the best princes, in all respects, of the age in which he lived. In his last illness, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, he first appointed his eldest son '*Amâdo'ddîn Zenki* to succeed him; but afterwards, as we find intimated by the same author, at the instigation of *Fakbro'ddîn Abd'al Masîh*, the eunuch; his prime minister, who hated '*Amâdo'ddîn*, on account of his attachment, to *Nûro'ddîn*, he transferred the succession to *Al Moezz Saifo'ddîn Gâzi*, his younger son. *Khâtûn Bint Hosâmo'ddîn Tamartâsh*, the mother of those young princes, by acting in concert with *Fakbro'ddîn* in this affair, not a little contributed to the exclusion of her elder son '*Amâdo'ddîn* from the throne. *Abu'lfeda* does not precisely agree in the point before us with *Abu'l Faraj*. If he may be credited, the noblesse elected *Saifo'ddîn* for their prince, after his father's demise. But however that may be, *Amâdo'ddîn*, as soon as the aforesaid injury had been offered him, fled to his uncle *Nûro'ddîn*, who hated *Fakbro'ddîn Abd'al Masîh*, in order to solicit succours, whereby he might be enabled to assert his right to the crown. Before the close of this year, died *Abu Hâshem Mohammed Ebn Dhâfar Al Mekki*, sometimes denominated by the eastern writers *Abu'l Hasan Al Moâzzi*, the author of a piece intituled *Solwân Al Motâa*, the comfort of resignation, a book of morality and devotion, held in the highest repute amongst the *Moslems*. It contains the principal motives of consolation in all the evils of life. The work is divided into five chapters, comprehending the five sources from whence consolation is to be derived. The first of these bears the title of *Tafwîd*, the resignation of one's self into the hands of God; the second that of *Bas*, the forces of the soul and the courage; the third that of *Sabr*, the patience; the fourth that of *Ridha*, the conformity to the will of God; and the fifth that of *Zehed*, the retired and austere life. M. D'Herbelot tells us, that this treatise was composed in the year of the *Hejra* 565; and that the author thereof died in the 568th year of that æra; which runs counter to what we have extracted here from *Ebn Shohnab*. A manuscript copy of the *Solwân Al Motâa* is preserved in the French king's library, num. 923. This celebrated piece was turned into verse by *Tâjo'ddîn Abu Abd'allah Ebn Ali Al Sakhawî*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 769. It has likewise been translated into *Persian*, under the title of *Riâhin Al Molûk fi Riadbat Al Solûk*. Dr. Hume's MS. of *Ebn Shohnab* makes *Abu Hâshem Mohammed* to have been born in *Sicily*; but as the authors followed by M. D'Herbelot, with a much greater degree of probability, affirm him to have been a native of *Mecca*, and as the *Moslems* had been driven out of *Sicily* an hundred years before the time of this writer's death, that must undoubtedly be a mistake. The *Khalîf Al 'Aded* sent to *Salâh'addîn*, his *Wazîr*, for the use of the garison of *Dimiyât*, whilst the *Franks* lay before that place, out of his own private treasury, no less than 1,000,000 *dinârs* <sup>u</sup>.

The Khalîf Al

- THE next year, being the 566th of the *Hejra*, which began Sept. 14th, 1170, *Al Imâm* *Al Mostanjed Bîllah Abu'l Modhaffer Yusef Ebn Al Moktâfi*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*, departed this life, the ninth of the latter *Rabî*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 510, and reigned about eleven years. This prince was a great lover of justice, and one of the best of the *Khalîfs*. Having thrown a certain calumniator; or false accuser, into prison, and detained him long there; one of the grandees of his court offered him the sum of 10,000 *dinârs*, if he would release this prisoner. Upon which, the *Khalîf* said to him, "If you can find me another man with all his bad qualities, I will presently pay you down the same sum; for I should be extremely glad to purge my dominions of such a pestiferous fellow." His death was effected in the following manner, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. Having commanded his physician *Ebn Safiya* to write in his name to the *Wazîr*, and order him to affix to a gibbet, erected for that purpose, *Kotbo'ddîn Kâymâz* and the prefect of the palace; *Ebn Safiya*, his master then being at the point of death, shewed them the letter. Perceiving their fate therefore to be inevitable, if the *Khalîf* recovered, they entered his apartment, attended by some of their friends, carried him from thence by force, and shut

Mostanjed Bîllah dies.

<sup>u</sup> BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 35, 36. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 565. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 401, 402. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 565. EBN AL ATHIR, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDÎ, in Mawredo'llatâfa, Ibrahîm EBN MOHAMMED EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Tîzmîn, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Solwan Almotâa, p. 825. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 534, 535.



him up in a bath he sometimes used; where, in a short time, with dismal out-cries, he expired<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 402, 403. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. H. j. 566. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 566. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, in op. part. inedit. KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikb*. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 305. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostanged Billah*, p. 632. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 535.

## S E C T. LIII.

Al Mostadi Ebn Al Mostanjed is proclaimed Khalif.

**T**HE same day that *Al Mostanjed* died, that is, the 9th of the latter *Rabi*, 566, *Abu Moham-med Al Hasan*, his son, was by all *Al Mostanjed*'s domestics saluted *Khalif*; and, the next day, the principal lords of the court, in the portico, or piazza, belonging to the imperial palace, called *Al Taj*, or *the crown*, took the oath of allegiance to him. He then assumed the title or surname of *Al Mostadi Beamri'llah*; and was afterwards more eminent for his distribution of justice amongst his subjects than even *Al Mostanjed* himself, who so greatly excelled in this particular. He was also extremely liberal, and gave away vast sums of money, whilst he sat on the *Moslem* throne. The arts and sciences likewise flourished, in every part of his dominions, throughout the whole course of his reign<sup>x</sup>.

Nûro'ddin reduces the principal towns of Mesopotamia.

THE same year, *Nûro'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* receiving advice, that his nephew *Saïfo'ddin Gâzi* was intirely under the direction of *Fakbro'ddin Abd'al Masîh*, who governed his kingdom with an absolute sway, and being resolved to dislodge that minister from the young prince's councils; he advanced at the head of a body of horse to *Ja'bar*, passed the *Euphrates* there (F), occupied *Al Rakka*, *Al Khâbûr*, and *Nasîbin*, and laid siege to *Sanjâr*. This soon after surrendering to him, he delivered it into his nephew *'Amâdo'ddin*'s hands. From thence he marched first to the city of *Balad*, and afterwards to the castle of *Nînûi*, or *Nineveh*, where he incamped. He then crossed the *Tigris*, and presented himself before *Al Mawfel*. *Fâkbro'ddin* finding himself not in a condition to sustain a siege, a very considerable part of the walls of that city having fallen down the very day that *Nûro'ddin* appeared; he thought fit, on the first summons, to capitulate. The principal articles of the capitulation were, that *Saïfo'ddin* should remain in peaceable possession of *Al Mawfel*, with the territories belonging to it, in consideration of his paying annually by way of tribute a stipulated sum; that no violence should be offered either *Fakbro'ddin*, or any of his domestics; and that this minister should depart with *Nûro'ddin* into *Syria*. The town being put into his hands, he immediately possessed himself of the citadel, and gave orders to have the *Jâma' Al Nûri* erected without delay. He then acknowledged *Saïfo'ddin* for the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, annexed the city of *Senjâr*, with its dependencies, to the territories he had assigned *'Amâdo'ddin*, and took *Fakbro'ddin* with him into *Syria*, after he had staid at *Al Mawfel* only four-and-twenty days. The tribute at first exacted of *Saïfo'ddin*, if *Abu'l-feda* may be depended upon, was afterwards remitted by *Nûro'ddin*; so that *Saïfo'ddin* enjoyed the sovereignty of *Al Mawfel*, and the districts appertaining to it, in the most full and plenary manner. But, notwithstanding this, the division of *Kotbo'ddin Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*'s states between his two sons, as has been observed by *Kemâlo'ddin Al Shabrezûri*, proved a mortal blow to the family of the *Atâbeks* of *Irâk*. For *'Amâdo'ddin*, being *Kotbo'ddin Mawdûd*'s elder son, could not be prevailed upon to submit, in any respect, to the younger brother; who, being adorned with the title of king, insisted upon *'Amâdo'ddin*'s obedience to him. Hence discords and dissensions arising between them, their enemies were thereby excited to attack and overthrow a divided power; which united under one prince, as it formerly had been, would have baffled and frustrated all their designs<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, & MIRKHOND, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mostadhi Beemrillah Ben Mostanged Billah*, p. 630. RENAUD, ubi sup. <sup>y</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 403, 404. BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 37. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 566. KEMALO'DDIN AL SHAHREZURI, apud Ism. Abu'lfed. ibid.

(F) It appears from *Bohâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, that *Nûro'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* reduced the cities of *Al Rakka* and *Nasîbin*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, the present year; that, after the reduction of *Senjâr*, he moved towards *Al Mawfel*, and posted himself upon the hill *Al Hîsn*, opposite to that city, which surrendered, without putting him to the trouble of a siege; and that he entered *Al Mawfel* the 3d of the former *Jomâda*, his nephew *Saïfo'ddin*, called by this author *'Azzo'ddin*,

*Gâzi* then being the *Sâheb* of the place. He adds, that *Nûro'ddin* did not only confirm *'Azzo'ddin Gâzi* in the sovereignty of *Al Mawfel*, but likewise gave him his own daughter in marriage. After which, continues he, that prince ceded to his nephew *'Amâdo'ddin* the city and territory of *Senjâr*, departed from *Al Mawfel*, and reached *Alippo*, whither he bent his march, in the month of *Shaabân*, the same year (1).

(1) *Bohâo'ddin Ebn Sheddâd*, ubi sup. p. 37.



- a** THIS year, *Salâb'addîn* made an irruption into the territories of the *Franks*, penetrated as far as *'Askalân* and *Al Ramla* in *Palestine*, which for some time he kept blocked up, and then moved towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. He afterwards laid siege to *Ela*, or *Aila*, a maritime town on the coast of the sea *Al Kolzom*; which he took by storm, in the latter *Rabî*, and gave up to his troops to be plundered. With the last exploit he finished the campaign; and, at the conclusion of it, returned home. He also converted two of the public buildings at *Al Kâbirah* into schools, or colleges, for the disciples of the famous *Sonnite* doctor *Al Shâfeî*; turning at the same time all the *Kâdis*, or judges (G), of the *Shiite* persuasion out of their places, and substituting those that professed the tenets of *Al Shâfeî* in their room. This happened, according to *Abu'lfeda*, the 20th of the latter *Jomâda*. *Takî-*
- b** *o'ddîn Omar*, *Salâb'addîn*'s nephew, likewise purchased a most superb palace, and founded at his own expence some houses of learning or education for the youth trained up in the principles of *Al Shâfeî*, in the capital of *Egypt*, the present year<sup>2</sup>.

*Salâb'addîn gains some advantages over the Franks, and disconcerts the Shiites.*

- THE 567th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Sept. 4th, 1171, proved fatal to the *Fâtemite* empire in *Egypt*. *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, who was a great favourer of the *Sonnites*, having been informed that *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* had posted a body of troops in the castle of *Al Kâbirah*, under the command of *Karâkûsh Al Asadi*, and was absolute master of the kingdom of *Egypt*; he sent him an order to issue an edict, injoining an omission of the name of the *Khalîf Al 'Aded* in the public prayers, and requiring the *Egyptians* to mention in the room of it that of *Al Mostadi Beamrî'llah*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd*. In answer
- c** to *Nûro'ddîn*'s letter, *Salâb'addîn* wrote him word, that, as the *Egyptians* were for the most part followers of *Ali*, he was afraid such a step might occasion an insurrection, and prove extremely prejudicial to his affairs, in *Egypt*. But *Nûro'ddîn* letting *Salâb'addîn* know that his order was peremptory, and that he would be obeyed; the name of *Al 'Aded* was omitted, for the first time, on the second *Friday* of *Al Mobarram*, and that of *Al Mostadi* mentioned, in the mosques, throughout the *Egyptian* territories, in the time of divine service. When the edict issued by *Salâb'addîn* on this occasion was carried into execution, *Al 'Aded* was sick, and soon after expired; neither *Salâb'addîn* nor any of the *Egyptian Emîrs* having thought fit to acquaint him with the deprivation of his authority, by *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*'s express command. *Al 'Aded* was no sooner dead, than *Salâb'addîn*
- d** occupied the imperial palace, and took possession of all the treasures, which were immense, as well as the most rich and invaluable furniture (H), found therein. To the latter appertained a noble library of books, collected by the *Fâtemite Khalîfs*; a jacinth weighing seventeen *Methkâls*, or *Arabic* drachms, and denominated from its enormous size the *jacinth-mountain*; and a vast number of presents, made by many sovereign princes to *Al 'Aded* and his predecessors. With regard to the jacinth above-mentioned, *Ebn Al Atbîr*, in his *Al*

*The Khalîfat of the Fâtemites is abolished in Egypt.*

<sup>2</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 566. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 566. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Salâb'addîn Josef Ben Aioub Ben Schadi*, p. 742. RENAUD. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. in geographic. in vit. *Salad. Lugduni Batavorum*, 1732.

(G) *Ebn Shohnab* relates, that he likewise ejected all the *Kâdis* of *Kâdis*, or *chancellors*, who made profession of the sect of *Ali*, of which the *Fâtemite Khalîf* was the chief; and appointed others, who had adopted the principles of *Al Shâfeî*, to succeed them. We are also told, that he displaced all the governors of *Egypt*, who were *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*; and filled their posts with persons of the *Sonnite* persuasion, professing the same tenets that he himself had espoused (2).

(H) Some writers inform us, that this furniture consisted of a vast quantity of the richest tapestry, of sumptuous garments of every sort, of porcelain and crystal cups of great price, of jewels and pearls of immense value, amongst which was an emerald a palm and an half long, a string of large rubies, weighing seventeen *Egyptian Methkâls*, and a union pearl as big as a pigeon's egg, besides many other things equally rare and valuable. The library in particular is said to have contained no less than 100,000 volumes, bound and written in the most beautiful manner. The books were distributed, by the order of the *Fâtemite Khalîfs*, amongst as many of the doctors of the law, and other learned men, as had occasion to consult them. Nor can this be matter of surprize to any one, who considers the prodigious number of pieces, formed of the works of the *Moslem* divines, who have interpreted the *Korân*, of the productions of the most eminent tra-

ditionists, professors of jurisprudence, philologers, grammarians, critics, poets, philosophers, physicians, and historians, besides the learned labours of other authors that cannot so properly be ranged under any particular class, in vogue amongst the *Mohammedans*. To render this the more probable, it may be observed, that the library of *Hadji Kalifa*, who lived not a vast number of years since, at *Constantinople*, consisted of above 40,000 different books; many of which, according to M. *Renaudot*, contained several volumes. Nor did this most ample collection exhibit any of either the writings of the antients or the *African* authors. As for the *Christians*, who excelled in any branch of literature, none of their works were here to be found. The *Moslem* philosophers; mathematicians, and astronomers, made likewise in this library a very inconsiderable figure. The *Fâtemite Khalîfs* therefore, in the course of so many years, might, without any great difficulty, have collected the number of volumes specified by some of the writers now in view. We are informed by *Ebn Khalecân*, that *Nûb Ebn Al Mansûr Al Sammâni* invited one *Ismael Abu'l Kasem* to come and reside with him; but that he excused himself from accepting of the invitation, because he could not bring his books along with him, 400 camels being scarce sufficient to carry them to that prince's court (3).

(2) *Ebn Shohnab*, ad ann. Hej. 566. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Salâb'addîn Josef Ben Aioub Ben Schadi*, p. 742.

(3) *Takî'oddîn Ahmed Al Makrîzi*, *Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yusef Ebn Tangri Wîrdî*, in *Maavre-do'llatâfa*, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Daknak*, in *Al Jawhar Al Thamin*, *Renaud ubi sup* p. 535, 537.



*Câmel*, relates, that he saw it, and weighed it; and represents it as a most valuable curiosity. *Abu'lfeda* writes, that there was also in the palace a strange and wonderful drum; which if any one struck, when he had a fit of the cholic upon him, he was presently cured. This drum, continues he, was unluckily broken, by some who were strangers to the salutary virtue it contained. *Al 'Aded's* family *Salâb'addîn* removed to a private and retired part of the palace, and placed a guard upon them. Of the *Khalif's* slaves some were sold, some manumitted, and others given away. As to the circumstances attending the suppression of *Al 'Aded's* authority in *Egypt* and his death, the *Arab* authors of the best repute are not perfectly agreed. Some of them affirm, that a *Persian Sâfi*, or religious, was the first that prayed for *Al Mostadi Beamri'llah*, the *Khalif* of *Baghdâd*, in one of the mosques at *Al Kâbirah*, no other person daring to do the same, for fear of exciting a tumult amongst the people; and that *Salâb'addîn* performed the last offices, usual on such occasions, to *Al 'Aded*, at his request, in his dying moments. Others say, that *Salâb'addîn* ordered *Al 'Aded* to be shut up in a certain tower, and afterwards put to death there. Lastly, others intimate, that *Salâb'addîn* destroyed the *Fâtemite Khalif*, by obliging him to suck poison out of the bezil of his brother *Tûrân Shâb's* ring. With respect to the person who first had the courage to mention *Al Mostadi's* name in one of the mosques of *Al Kâbirah*, we are told that he was a blind man, and went under the appellation of *Al Emîr Al 'Alem*, by *Abu'l Faraj*. According to *Abu'lfeda*, *Al 'Aded* earnestly desired to have a conference with *Salâb'addîn*, when he was so bad that there were scarce any hopes of his recovery; but the *Wazîr*, suspecting treachery on the part of the *Fâtemite Khalif*, refused to see him. However, finding, after his death, that there was no foundation for such a suspicion, he was vastly concerned that he had not waited upon him. That prince departed this life, if *Bohâo'ddîn* may be credited, the 12th of *Al Mobarram*; but, if we chuse to follow *Abu'l Faraj*, his death happened on the 10th of the same month. Thus ended the empire of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* in *Africa*, after it had continued about 271 years; above 200 of which, as appears from the preceding part of this work, they had maintained themselves upon the throne of *Egypt*. The princes that formed this dynasty were *Shiites*, who asserted *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to have been the first lawful *Khalif*, and *Imâm*; and maintained, that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belonged to his descendants. Nay, they deduced their origin from *Ali* himself and *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*; and, in consequence of this pretension, assumed the name of *Fâtemites*. They also styled themselves *Imâmians*, and *Imâms*; intimating thereby, that they were descended in a right line from the head of that family which alone supplied the *Moslem* world with true and rightful *Imâms*. They bore an implacable hatred, and utter aversion, to the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs*; whom they considered as intruders and usurpers, not in the least related to the family of *Mohammed*, and as propagators of false traditions wherever their power prevailed. As *Nûro'ddîn*, therefore, was a zealous *Sonnite*, entertained the highest regard for the *Khalifs* of *Baghdâd*, and detested the *Shiites*; 'tis no wonder the abolition of the *Khalifat* of *Egypt*, at this juncture, should have been his principal care. Besides, he might not only have been influenced by religious but likewise by political motives in this affair. He might think, that nothing could contribute more to the humiliation of the *Franks*, who were then grown formidable to him, than a re-union of the *Moslems* under one common spiritual head<sup>a</sup>.

As soon as the news of the abolition of the *Fâtemite Khalifat* in *Egypt* arrived at *Baghdâd*, and it was known there that the *Khalif Al Mostadi Beamri'llah* was prayed for throughout all the *Egyptian* provinces, public rejoicings, for several days, were made in that capital. *Al Mostadi* also dispatched *'Amâdo'ddîn Sandal*, one of his ministers of state, with royal vests to *Nûro'ddîn*, *Salâb'addîn*, and those preachers who had mentioned his name in the mosques of *Egypt*. He also sent them magnificent presents, and ordered the black standards, used by the house of *Al Abbâs*, to be carried to *Al Kâbirah*, where his authority was now recognized, by people of all ranks and denominations. It is worthy of observation, that this revolution was brought about without any effusion of *Moslem* blood, or, as the *Arab* writers express it, *without so much as two goats butting each other*; though the *Egyptians* had been, for above two hundred years, intirely attached to the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*. For the reflections made by *Abu'lfeda* upon this great event, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to that author himself, in the passage pointed out to them here<sup>\*</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 38. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 567. EBN SHOHN. ad ann. Hej. 567. TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâfa, IBRAHIM MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 404, 405. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 742. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 535, 536. Vid. etiam WILL. TYR. lib. xx. c. 12. & SHAHABO'DDÎN ABU ASHAMA, apud Renaud. ubi sup. p. 535. \* EBN SHOHN. ubi sup. ISM. ABU'LFED. in excerpt. Alb. Schult. p. 13, 14. Lugd. Batav. 1732.



- a Not long before the suppression of his authority in *Egypt*, the *Khalif Al 'Aded* saw in a <sup>Al 'Aded's dream.</sup> dream a scorpion coming out of one of the mosques at *Mesr*, called the mosque of *Al 'Aded*; which made directly towards him, and pricked him. This so terrified him, that he instantly awaked in a great fright; and sent the next morning for the most eminent interpreters of dreams to be met with, in order to consult them. Upon hearing his dream, they unanimously agreed, that some person who should come out of that mosque would do him a mischief. He then commanded the governor of *Mesr* to send to him the person or persons residing in that temple; who thereupon brought before him a *Sheikh* of the *Sûfis*, whose name was *Nojmo'ddin Al Khûbasnâni*. The *Khalif* asked him whence he came, and why he inhabited that mosque? To which he gave such plain and simple answers, that *Al 'Aded* could not apprehend himself to be in any danger from him. He, therefore, dismissed him, with some handsome presents; and, at his departure, begged he would pray for him. However, *Salâb'addîn*, soon after aspiring at the *Khalifat*, and meditating the demolition of the *Fâtemite* power, consulted many of the *Moslem* sages upon the legality of the point he had in view; who, by their decisions, excited him to carry into execution his design. Amongst others that attended the *Wazîr's* levee, on this occasion, *Sheikh Nojmo'ddin Al Khûbasnâni* appeared; and expatiated so much upon the perfidious abandoned conduct of the *Fâtemites*, and represented in such strong colours the many mischiefs they had been the authors of, that he not a little contributed thereby to their downfall in *Egypt*. This, continue *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnah*, was looked upon as a clear accomplishment of the prediction exhibited by the *Khalif Al 'Aded's* dream<sup>b</sup>.

- SALAH'ADDIN* being master of all *Al 'Aded's* treasures, which amounted to a prodigious sum, sent part of them to *Nûro'ddin* in *Syria*, and the rest he distributed amongst the troops; reserving not a single *dinâr*, according to the authors here referred to, for his own use. Not long after the *Fâtemite Khalif's* death, *Salâb'addîn* moved at the head of a large body of troops towards the frontiers of *Syria*, and at last sat down before *Al Shawbec*, a fortress of the *Franks* on the confines of *Hejâz*; but, upon *Nûro'ddin's* approach, he raised the siege, lest the reduction of this place should have opened a passage directly for that conqueror's numerous forces into *Egypt*. This was highly resented by *Nûro'ddin*; who from that time grew jealous of *Salâb'addîn*, and entertained a suspicion of his real attachment to him. Some writers intimate, that *Salâb'addîn* was apprehensive of being deserted by the *Syrian* officers of his army, as soon as their old master *Nûro'ddin* should appear; and that this induced him to abandon the siege of *Al Shawbec*, and retire into *Egypt*. But however that may be, *Nûro'ddin* was so incensed at this point of conduct, that he caused it to be given out, that he intended soon to undertake an expedition against *Salâb'addîn* with all the forces he could assemble. Upon the arrival of this news at *Al Kâbirah*, *Salâb'addîn* summoned all his great officers, and amongst the rest his father *Ayûb*, whom he had made his lord treasurer, to attend him in the palace. When they were come, he imparted to them the advice he had received of *Nûro'ddin's* intention to invade *Egypt*, and asked them, with no small concern, what course they would advise him to take? "If *Nûro'ddin*," said *Takîo'ddin*, "should dare to attack us, we will repel force by force." "By no means," replied the old crafty *Ayûb*; "if *Nûro'ddin* should do us the honour to pay us a visit here, "I would prostrate myself before him." Then directing his discourse to *Salâb'addîn*, "Son," said he, "write to our master *Nûro'ddin* without delay, and tell him, that if he will "be pleased to send any of his slaves with a towel to tie about your neck, in order to draw "you after him into *Syria*, you will follow him with the utmost alacrity to your sovereign's "court." The council then (I), that had been called on this occasion, broke up. *Ayûb*, however, waited upon *Salâb'addîn* in his own apartment, and addressed him in the following terms: "Be of good courage, son; if *Nûro'ddin* attempts to penetrate into *Egypt*, I "myself will head your forces against him. But, let us keep our counsel to ourselves. "For, though you shall not send him so much as a single sugar-cane, if he demand it, "you must not openly assert your independency on him. If this should be done, he will "lay aside all his other designs, and particularly the war he is now meditating against the "Franks, and attack you with his whole power; the consequence of which, as the issues "of war are uncertain, no man can foresee. Whereas, by pretending to persist in your "allegiance to him, you will gain time; and be thereby enabled, with the divine assistance,

<sup>b</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. & EBN SHOHNAH.

(I) A certain author pretends, that *Ayûb* declared publicly at this council, in order to carry on the farce, that they were all *Nûro'ddin's* slaves; that no army was necessary to keep his son within the limits of his duty; and that he himself would cut off *Salâb'addîn's* head, if *Nûro'ddin* commanded him so to do (4).

(4) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 537.



“to weather the impending storm.” This salutary advice was fully justified by the event, as will hereafter more clearly appear<sup>c</sup>.

Nûro'ddîn  
takes 'Arkâ  
from the  
Franks.

NûRO'DDÎN, being satisfied with *Salâb'addîn's* assurance of his fidelity to him, continued his military preparations, for a war with the *Franks*, in pursuance of the plan he had formed, with the utmost vigour. He dispatched his orders to *Saif'eddîn Gâzi*, the *Sâbeb* of *Al Mawfel*, his nephew, to join him with all the forces he could assemble, that he might be thereby enabled to enter upon action without delay. After the junction of *Nûro'ddîn's* troops and those of *Al Mawfel*, that conqueror advanced to 'Arkâ, a town with a pretty strong castle in the territory of *Damascus*, laid siege to it, and at last took it by storm, in the month of *Al Moharram*, the present year. 'Arkâ is adorned with many beautiful gardens, and a rivulet running by it; being, according to the eastern geographers here referred to, about 12 miles S. of *Tripoli*, 60 of *Baalbec*, and a parasang from the sea<sup>d</sup>.

The Katayans,  
or Khatayans,  
make an ir-  
ruption into  
Khowârazm.

THE same year, the *Katayans*, *Khatayans*, or eastern *Tartars*, passed the *Jibân*, and made an irruption into *Khowârazm*. The news of this invasion being brought to *Arslân Ebn Akfar*, the *Shâb* of *Khowârazm*, he advanced at the head of all his forces to *Amarwayb*, in order to give them battle; but was there taken ill, and died. However, an *Emîr*, or general, of great note amongst the *Khowârazmians*, took upon him the command of the army, came up with the enemy, and engaged them; but was defeated, taken prisoner, and carried by the *Katayans* into *Mawarâ'lnabr*. As for the *Shâb* of *Khowârazm* himself, he was carried from *Amarwayb*, where he fell sick, to his capital, and there in a few days expired; being succeeded by *Soltân Shâb Mahmûd*, his younger son. This so incensed 'Alâo'ddîn *Tacash*, or *Takash*, his eldest son, who was then at *Jondi*, that he repaired directly to the king of *Katay's* court, and solicited his assistance; who thereupon sent an army under the conduct of *Fûmâ*, his general, to penetrate into *Khowârazm*, and place 'Alâo'ddîn *Tacash* upon the throne. *Fûmâ* moved to the frontiers of *Khowârazm*, without meeting with any obstruction in his march; of which *Soltân Shâb Mahmûd* and his mother having been informed, they immediately abandoned the kingdom of *Khowârazm*, and retired into *Khcrâsân*. This enabled 'Alâo'ddîn *Tacash Shâb* to ascend the throne of *Khowârazm*, without striking a stroke. It may not be improper to remark, that the country called *Kitay*, *Katay*, or *Khatay*, by the oriental writers, contained the northern provinces of *China*, and a great part of *Tartary*, to the north and north-west of it. The capital of this vast region was *Cambalu*, or *Khân-balik*, denominated by the present *Chinese* *Pekin*, *Pe-king*, and *Shun-tein-fu*, the metropolis of the whole empire, and the residence of the emperor himself; of which we shall have occasion to speak more largely, in a future part of this work<sup>e</sup>.

A body of  
Turks take  
Tripoli in  
Africa.

IN the 568th year of the *Hejra*, beginning August 23d, 1172, *Karâkîsh*, the *Mamlûk*, who had been one of *Takio'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâbînshâb Ebn Ayûb's* slaves, marched with a body of *Turks* out of *Egypt* to *Tripoli* in *Africa*, formed the siege of that city, and at last made himself master of it. He also reduced to his obedience several provinces, or districts, in that part of *Africa*, before the close of the campaign<sup>f</sup>.

Nûro'ddîn  
leads an army  
against the  
Soltân of Al  
Rûm.

THIS year, *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki* led an army against *Kilij Arslân II.* the son of *Mas'ûd*, the *Seljukian Soltân* of *Al Rûm*, penetrated into his dominions, and possessed himself of *Mar'ash*, *Babnesâ*, *Marzabân*, and *Saywâs*, or *Sîwâs*, without having sustained any considerable loss. *Kilij Arslân* finding himself not able to make head against the *Atâbek's* forces, and fearing to be driven even from his capital, sent an embassy to *Nûro'ddîn*, desiring peace. This *Nûro'ddîn* refused to grant him, unless he would restore *Malatîa* to *Dhu'lnûn Ebn Al Rânesbmend*, whom he had unjustly deprived of it. The restitution of *Malatîa* being by no means relished by *Kilij Arslân*, *Nûro'ddîn* proposed to him in lieu thereof the cession of *Sîwâs* to *Dhu'lnûn*. This proposal proving more agreeable to *Kilij Arslân*, he readily complied with it; upon which, *Nûro'ddîn* concluded a treaty of peace with him, and then returned into *Syria*. But, notwithstanding this treaty, after *Nûro'ddîn's* death, *Kilij Arslân* made an irruption into *Dhu'lnûn Ebn Al Rânesbmend's* territories, besieged *Sîwâs* with a body of troops that *Dhu'lnûn* could not oppose, and in fine expelled him from that place<sup>g</sup>.

Salâh'addîn  
besieges Al Ca-  
rac, or Crac.

THE same year, *Salâh'addîn*, having conciliated to himself the affections of the *Egyptians*, by his liberality, and the lenity of his administration, to a very wonderful degree, invaded the districts of *Al Carac* and *Al Shawbec*; sitting down before the former of those places.

<sup>c</sup> TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, & ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 537. <sup>d</sup> BOHAO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 38. ISM. ABU'LFED. in tab. Syr. SHARIF AL EDRISI, par. 5. clim. 3. p. 118. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salâd. Lugd. Bat. 1732. <sup>e</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 405. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Turk, p. 897. & art. Khatbai, p. 991. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Syr. Nestorian. p. 534. Romæ, 1728. DU HALDE's descript. of the empire of China, &c. p. 66. <sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 568. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.



- a But receiving advice, that *Nûro'ddîn* was advanced to *Al Rakim*, near *Al Carac*, in order to have an interview with him; he raised the siege of *Al Carac*, and retired with great precipitation towards the borders of *Egypt*. However, he sent *Nûro'ddîn* some very rich presents, and acquainted him with his father *Ayûb's* illness, and the danger he was in of losing *Egypt*, if that consummate statesman should die; which he assigned as a reason for his hasty retreat. This *Nûro'ddîn* thought fit to admit, though he was no stranger to the motive of *Salâh'addîn's* conduct. As for *Ayûd Ebn Shâdi*, his father, a man of an exceeding good character, famed for his wisdom and rare virtues, whose death was occasioned, or at least accelerated, by a fall from his horse, he died on the 20th of *Dhu'lhajja*, after he had languished in his palace a few days, in the year that we are now upon <sup>b</sup>.
- b THIS year, according to *Khondemir*, the mother of *Mâlec Arslân Ebn Togrol*, *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, a princess of transcendent virtue, likewise died in the house of *Ildighîz*, the first *Atâbek* of *Adherbijân*; and that great man himself, of whom we shall give a more particular account in a proper place, followed her not long after. The *Soltân*, afflicted at two such great losses, fell sick of a languishing illness, which at last carried him off. *Abu'l-feda* intimates, that *Karâkûsh* the *Mamlûk*, who had been one of *Takîo'ddîn's* slaves, made himself master of *Tripoli* in *Africa*, the present year; but another writer expressly affirms, that one of *Salâh'addîn's* brothers, with a body of troops under his command, then reduced that place. We must beg leave to observe, that *Salâh'addîn* abandoned the siege of *Al Carac* at *Nûro'ddîn's* approach, because the reduction of that fortress, which must have been delivered into the *Atâbek's* hands, would have opened a passage for his troops into *Egypt*; *Salâh'addîn*, not without reason, suspecting that he had projected an expedition thither <sup>1</sup>.

The mother of  
Mâlec Arslân  
dies.

- THE following year, being the 569th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *Aug. 12th, 1173*, *Nûro'ddîn Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Shâm* and *Al Jazîra*, or *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, as well as of several other provinces, departed this life. He died, according to *Abu'l-feda* and *Ebn Shohnab*, on *Wednesday*, the eleventh of *Shawâl*, of a quincy, or squinancy, in the castle of *Damascus*. If *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, however, may be credited, his death (K) happened on the 21st of that month. He was then upon the point of invading *Egypt*, in order to deprive *Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* of the sovereignty of that kingdom; having appointed *Saifo'ddîn Gâzi*, his brother's son, to command the army destined to act against the *Franks*, whilst he undertook the *Egyptian* expedition. By his demise, therefore, *Soltân Salâh'addîn* was delivered from all apprehension of so formidable an enemy and competitor, and fixed upon the throne of *Egypt*. *Nûro'ddîn* was tall, of a comely majestic person, and a swarthy complexion. He had no whiskers, but only a small beard on the lower part of his chin. His dominions were very extensive; he having been prayed for not only in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Al Yaman*, when that country was subjugated by *Tûrân Shâh Ebn Ayûb*, and the two *Harâms*, or *sacred cities*, that is, *Mecca* and *Medina*, but likewise in *Egypt*. He passes amongst the *Moslems*, even at this day, not only for one of their greatest princes, but also for one of their saints. For, he acquired the highest reputation for his justice and probity; having united in his person piety and valour, qualities which seldom meet in the same subject. *Ebn Shohnab* has handed down to us the following eulogy of him, which was given him in his life-time, and confirmed after his death. "To an incomparable greatness of soul he had joined the most profound humiliation of heart before his lord; and exhibited to the view of his subjects, when performing his devotions in the mosque, one sanctuary within another." He spent much of the night frequently in prayer, and amidst his immense riches considered himself only as the depositary (L) of the public treasure; from whence he drew an exceeding small sum for his household expences, insomuch that his domestics not seldom complained of being in want of common necessities. Notwithstanding which, with respect to every thing regarding the public, he was liberal to a vast degree. He built several colleges for the disciples of the

<sup>b</sup> BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 38, 39. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. TAKÎO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, & IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 537, 538. <sup>1</sup> KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Arslân Ben Togrol*, p. 130. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 537.

(K) *Abu'l Faraj* differs from all the authors here mentioned, in this point; placing *Nûro'ddîn's* death on *Wednesday*, the fourteenth of *Shawâl*, the present year (5).

(L) In confirmation of what is here observed, we are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Nûro'ddîn's* wife once complaining to him of her poverty, he gave her three work-houses, or rather public offices, in the city of *Hems*,

which brought her in about twenty *dinârs* a year. But thinking this too small a matter, she demanded something more of him. Whereupon he said to her, "This is all that I can strictly and properly call my own. For, all the money in my hands belongs to the body of the *Moslems*. I am only their treasurer. I will not defraud them of any thing, nor will I for your sake enter into hell-fire (6)."

(5) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 405.

(6) *Greg. Abu'l Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 406.



celebrated *Imâms Abu Hanîfa* and *Al Shâfeî*. He adopted himself the principles of the sect <sup>a</sup> of *Abu Hanîfa*; but without any tincture of bigotry, according to some of the best *Moslem* writers. He raised the walls of the cities of *Damascus*, *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, *Hems*, *Hamah*, *Shaizar*, *Baalbec*, and others, which had been thrown down by the violent shocks of earthquakes, at his own expence. Some authors relate, that he was the first *Moslem* prince who established a chamber of justice against the violence offered the lower part of his subjects by the noblesse, and gave the name of *Dar Al 'Adel*, or *the house of justice*, to this commission. *Nûro'ddîn* having made *Damascus* his residence, and his court there being composed of many *Emîrs*, or commanders of his troops, who kept a vast number of servants; *Shairacûb*, *Salâb'addîn's* uncle, one of the principal of them, allowed those belonging to him a <sup>b</sup> good deal of liberty, who thereupon arrived at such a pitch of insolence, that complaints were carried to the *Kâdi Kemâlo'ddîn* of their behaviour every day, without his being able to apply any remedy, by reason of their masters powerful protection. The *Soltân* being informed of these disorders, and having a mind to bring back the *Emîrs* themselves to a sense of their duty; he ordered the commissioners, he had nominated on this occasion, to inquire with the utmost rigour into the injuries and wrongs suffered by the people from the <sup>c</sup> grandees, and to punish the guilty, with all possible severity, without any regard to the rank and quality of the offender, *Shairacûb*, perceiving that this tribunal was levelled particularly at him, ordered all his domestics upon pain of death to pay an exact obedience to the ordinances of the police issued by the *Kâdi*, that they might not be brought before this court of justice, of which he himself was even afraid. Such a prudent and equitable institution could not but indear the *Soltân* to his subjects, and render his memory in the highest degree grateful to them. This to a demonstration appeared from the following accident that happened some time after his death. A man of *Damascus* having received some outrage, for which he could meet with no redress, cried out, as if he had been imploring his assistance, "O *Nûro'ddîn*, where are you?" *Salâb'addîn*, who then reigned, having been apprized of the action, commanded immediate satisfaction to be made him, and every subject of complaint to be removed. But neither did this reparation, however ample it might seem, dry up the complainant's tears; who answered the persons demanding the cause of them in these terms: "I lament the loss of that great king, who was so just, and so <sup>d</sup> equitable; for, since his death we have not lived the life of men, but that of beasts." The above-mentioned colleges, erected at *Damascus*, *Al Mawfel*, *Hems*, *Aleppo*, and other places of note under his jurisdiction, he very richly endowed. He also built a large number of splendid mosques, and settled very considerable revenues upon them. Nor was he less conspicuous for his temperance, than for his justice, liberality, and solid piety. *Ebn Shobnab* has preserved a distich in *Arabic*, celebrating his praises, and importing, that he was valiant, submissive to his God, and constant, as well as fervent, in his devotions. The many hospitals he founded, for the reception both of the poor and the infirm, in several parts of his dominions, were monuments of his extensive charity. In fine, he seems to have wanted nothing requisite to the formation of one of the best, as well as one of the greatest, princes that ever lived, as he was adorned with many rare virtues, and void of <sup>e</sup> every vice, but a profession of the true religion. He was born, according to the *Moslem* historians, in the year of the *Hejra* 511<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael Mahmûd*, his son, then only eleven years old, was appointed to succeed him, in the sovereignty of his vast dominions; and the troops of *Damascus*, where he proposed to reside, accordingly took the oath of allegiance to him. *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, having received advice of his accession, acknowledged himself his vassal, and ordered prayers in all the mosques within the *Egyptian* territories to be put up for him. Money likewise, notwithstanding his tender age, was coined in his name: but, being incapable of holding the reins of government, *Al Emîr Shams'o'ddîn Mokammed*, commonly called *Ebn Al Mokaddem*, had the management and direction of all public affairs. *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh* had not long ascended the throne, before *Saïso'ddîn Gâzi Ebn Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, invaded *Al Fâzîra*, or *Mesopotamia*, and possessed himself of every part of that large province. *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael Mahmûd*, the son of *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, is considered by the oriental writers as the third *Atâbek* of *Irâk*<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *SALAH'ADDIN YUSEF EBN AYUB*, having been informed, that *Nûro'ddîn* was making the necessary preparations to attack him, and being desirous of having a place to retire to, in case he should be obliged to abandon the kingdom of *Egypt*, projected the conquest of

<sup>k</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 569. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 505, 506. BOHAR'ODDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 39, 40. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 569. AL MAKIN, in op. part. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 569. KHONDEMIR, EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 679, 680, & alib. RENAUD ubi sup. p. 538. <sup>l</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHN. KHONDEMIR, EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 142. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 541.



- a Nubia; and sent his brother *Mâlec Shamsô'ddawla Tûrân Shâb*, with a powerful army, thither for that purpose. But *Tûrân Shâb*, after he had penetrated into that barren and uncultivated tract, finding Nubia not worth conquering, on account of its sterility, returned with his forces into Egypt; and was ordered by *Salâb'addîn* to undertake an expedition into *Al Yaman*, which then groaned under the tyranny of *Abd'alnabi*, an *Emîr* that was descended from the antient inhabitants of that country. *Tûrân Shâb* having entered *Al Yaman*, without opposition, and brought *Abd'alnabi* to a general action, intirely defeated him, took him prisoner, and threw him into irons. He likewise made himself master of *Zabîd*, overthrew *Yasîr*, the *Sâheb* of *'Aden*, and imprisoned him. He also carried the city of *'Aden* itself by assault, plundered it, and reduced to the obedience of *Salâb'addîn*
- b about eighty castles, or fortresses, of considerable strength. Some authors pretend, that *Salâb'addîn* employed his brother *Tûrân Shâb*, a man of a turbulent and haughty disposition, with the troops under his command, that were extremely prone to mutiny and sedition, in this war, lest they should have meditated a revolt. The same writers observe, that *Nûro'ddîn* himself approved of this enterprize; though he soon after dispatched one *Ebn Al Kaiser* to *Al Kâbirah*, with an order to *Salâb'addîn* to send him a minute and particular account of all the treasures, and valuable curiosities, amassed by the *Fâtemite Khalîfs*. *Salâb'addîn* did not only comply with this order, but likewise made *Nûro'ddîn* a present of a vast sum of money; though he had before sent him many things (M), out of the imperial palace in *Al Kâbirah*, of almost inestimable value. To this he was excited by the conduct of the
- c Egyptians, who had conspired against him, and formed a design to restore the *Fâtemite* family to the *Khalîfat* of Egypt. But, the conspiracy being detected, *Salâb'addîn* caused all the persons concerned therein to be crucified; and amongst the rest *Abd'alsamad*, the secretary, *Al Kâdi Al Owayres*, and the first crier, as also *'Amâra Ebn Ali Al Yamani*, the poet, who had written many elogies on the descendants of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, of whose verses specimens have been preserved by some of the most celebrated Moslem historians. *Bohâo'ddîn*, one of *Salâb'addîn*'s contemporaries, seems to intimate, that *Tûrân Shâb*, whom he represents as a person of transcendent merit, notwithstanding what has been given out to the contrary by another writer, entered *Al Yaman*, in the month of *Rajeb*, and put *Abd'alnabi Ebn Mohdi*, whom he accuses of rebellion, to the sword, after he had fallen into his
- d hands. *Abu'lfeda* relates, that *Shamsô'ddawla Tûrân Shâb Ebn Ayûb* acquired a large quantity of spoil at *'Aden*, as well as all the immense riches collected by *Abd'alnabi Ebn Mohdi*, in this successful expedition <sup>m</sup>.

THE next year, being the 570th of the *Hejra*, which began Aug. 2d, 1174, *Al Canz*, or *Al Cand*, called by some authors *Kenaz*, or *Kenazo'ddawla*, the governor of *Aswân*, having assembled a considerable body of Blacks, rebelled against *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, the *Sâheb*, or *Soltân*, of Egypt. The Egyptians flocking to him from all parts, he formed a powerful army, and advanced into the territory of *Kûs*. But here the rebels were met by *Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Saifo'ddîn*, *Salâb'addîn*'s brother; who attacked them with so much bravery, that he put them to flight, killed a great number of them upon the spot, and so effectually dispersed them that they could never afterwards be rallied. This battle, which extinguished the rebellion, was fought, according to *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the 7th of *Safar*, the present year. We must not forget to remark, that *Bohâo'ddîn* denominates the

<sup>m</sup> TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, IBRAHIM EBN MOHAM. EBN DAKMAK, ISM. ABU'LFED. BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, EBN AL ATHIR, & EBN SHOHNAH, ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 538.

(M) The following list of these presents has been handed down to us by *Al Makrizi*. Five tents made of silk imbroidered with gold, having golden rings, clasps, and joints; some jewels of an unusual size; fifty vials of most exquisite balsam; forty vases, or vessels, of porcelain of Chinese workmanship, extremely beautiful to the eye; a large piece of odoriferous *lignum aloes*, with which the orientals perfume themselves; and two fragments of amber, one of which weighed thirty, and the other twenty pounds. Hence it appears, that the Egyptians, at this time, carried on a flourishing commerce both with the Indians and the Chinese; the former supplying them with odoriferous *lignum aloes*, from the peninsula of *Comar*, from whence the promontory called by the Europeans cape *Comorin* derives its name, and the latter with the most beautiful earthen ware. But that the Moslems trafficked with the Indians and the Chinese, three hundred years before the period that we are

now upon, and that all these nations kept their ports open to one another, is most evident, from a piece written upon this very subject by *Mohammed Al Sirâfi*; whose native city *Sirâf*, upon the Persian gulph, was then the great emporium of the East, and the place to which the riches, that were the produce of those remote countries, at that time came. As for the *aloes*, or *lignum aloes*, above-mentioned, this was either brought to Egypt directly from the Indian ocean, by the way of the Red Sea; or else it was carried from the Persian gulph to the port of *Al Kofr*, a town about three days journey, through a frightful desert, from *Kûs*, a famous city of *Al Sai'd*, or *Thebais*, and conveyed from thence into the Lower Egypt by means of the Nile. The aforesaid presents, which were returned to *Salâb'addîn*, after *Nûro'ddîn*'s death, were valued, according to *Al Makrizi*, at no less than 200,000 *dinârs* (7).

(7) Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi, in *Ma'wredô'llatâf*. Moham. Al Sirâfi, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 814.



Blacks, who first joined *Canz*, *Al Sūdān*; from whence we may infer, that they were some of the black natives of *Al Sa'id*, or the *Upper Egypt*, and neither proper *Negroes*, or *Nigritians*, nor *Abissinians*, or *Ethiopians*. As for *Al Canz*, or *Kenaz*, himself, he fell upon the field of battle. *Al Makrīzi* calls him *Habas Ebn Shādi*, and tells us, that he took the city of *Kūs*; which seems to imply, that at first he met with good success. The *Egyptians* were excited to this revolt, which was easily suppressed, by the prospect of placing one of the late *Khalif Al 'Aded's* sons upon the *Fātemite* throne<sup>a</sup>.

The Franks  
raise the siege  
of Alexandria.

THE same day that *Al Canz* was defeated by *Salāb'addīn's* troops in the territory of *Kūs*, if *Bokāo'ddīn Ebn Sheddād* may be depended upon, the *Franks*, under the command of *William II.* king of *Sicily*, raised the siege of *Alexandria*; abandoning their camp with so much precipitation, that they left all their baggage and military engines behind them. *William*, as this writer assures us, appeared off that place with a fleet of 600 sail, having 30,000 land forces on board. He carried on his attacks with great vigour and resolution for three days, but without effect. For, *Salāb'addīn* advancing with a formidable army to the relief of the town, the *Franks* did not think fit to wait for him; but, being struck with a sort of panic on his approach, immediately abandoned the siege, after they had sustained a very considerable loss. *Al Makrīzi* writes, that the *Christians* having been exceedingly harrassed by the sallies of the *Moslem* garrison, and lost several of their ships, either sunk or burnt, found themselves obliged to draw off. *William of Tyre* informs us, that this expedition, which he places in the 1173d year of *Christ*, or the 569th of the *Moslem* æra, continued only six days; and that it miscarried, through the ill conduct of the officers who commanded the *Christian* troops. It may not be amiss to observe, that some authors refer this expedition to the year of the *Hejra* 572<sup>o</sup>.

Salāb'addīn  
reduces Da-  
mascus, and  
several other  
places in Syria.

THIS year, *Shams'o'ddīn Ebn Al Dāya*, who resided at *Aleppo*, invited *Sa'do'ddīn Camosh Takīn* and *Al Mālec Al Sāleb Ismael Ebn Nūro'ddīn Mahmūd Ebn Zenki* to that city. Soon after their arrival at *Damascus* there, *Al Mālec Al Sāleb Ismael* took upon himself the government of *Aleppo*, and fixed his residence in that place; but as he was incapable of conducting public affairs, by reason of his tender age, he not being above twelve years old, *Sa'do'ddīn Camosh Takīn*, his prime minister, ruled with an absolute sway. Being jealous of *Shams'o'ddīn Ebn Al Dāya*, *Camosh Takīn* ordered both him and his brothers to be put under an arrest. He also secured the persons of *Ebn Al Khefāb*, the prefect of *Aleppo*, and his brothers; which giving *Al Mokaddem* and the other officers of the troops at *Damascus* dreadful apprehensions of his power, they immediately wrote to *Salāb'addīn*, and begged that he would accept of the sovereignty of their city. This application was no sooner made, than *Salāb'addīn* posted away with the utmost celerity to *Damascus*, at the head of a chosen detachment of 700 horse. Upon his arrival there, he was received by the citizens with open arms, and instantly repaired to the house of his father *Ayūb*, named *Al 'Akiki*. However, the citadel for some time refused to surrender to him. But, having brought over *Rihān*, *Al Mālec Al Sāleb's* commandant there, he at last made himself master of the place, as well as of all the riches deposited in it. Having settled his affairs at *Damascus*, and appointed his brother *Saif Al Islām Tagtakīn Ebn Ayūb* to preside over the people of that city; on the first day of the former *Jomāda*, he began his march for *Hems*, and formed the siege of it, the eleventh of the same month. Having possessed himself of the town, he left a body of troops behind him to block up the castle, and advanced to *Hamab*; which, on the first of the latter *Jomāda*, opened its gates to him. *Al Emīr 'Azzo'ddīn Jordīc*, one of *Nūro'ddīn's* *Mamlūks*, or slaves, commanded at this time in the citadel. Him *Salāb'addīn* summoned to surrender; assuring him, that he had no other view in this expedition than to govern that and the neighbouring provinces as *Al Mālec Al Sāleb's* deputy, and that he was desirous of sending him with a letter to *Aleppo*. This so pleased *Jordīc*, that he took the oath of fidelity to *Salāb'addīn*, as *Al Mālec Al Sāleb's* deputy; and, having assigned the command of the castle of *Hamab* to his brother, set out for *Aleppo*, with the *Soltān's* letter. He had not been long there, when *Camosh Takīn* ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison; advice of which being received at *Damascus*, his brother, without hesitation, delivered up the citadel into *Salāb'addīn's* hands. The *Soltān* then marched with his army to *Aleppo*, and besieged that city. But the citizens, being intirely in *Al Mālec Al Sāleb's* interest (N), repulsed

*Salāb'addīn*

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 750. BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 40. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatāfa, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 541. <sup>o</sup> BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 41. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatāfa. WILLELM. TYR. lib. xxi. c. iii. p. 998. FRANCOF. 1611. RENAUD. ubi sup.

(N) We are told by *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Al Mālec Al Sāleb*, now only twelve years old, finding himself pressed by *Salāb'addīn*, who had incamped on mount *Jawshan*, at a small distance from the city, mounted his horse,

convoked the people, and addressed himself to them in the following terms. "You have all had ample experience of my father's love and affection for you, and cannot have forgot the rectitude and lenity of his administration."



- a *Salâb'addîn* in several attacks, and made a very vigorous defence. *Camosb Takîn* likewise hired *Sinân*, or *Senân*, the chief of the *Ismaelians*, or *Bâtanists*, to assassinate *Salâb'addîn*; who, having been excited thereto by a large sum of money, sent a party of the ruffians he usually employed on such occasions for that purpose to the *Soltân's* camp. But they perished in the attempt; having all been cut to pieces, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, upon the spot where they would have perpetrated this execrable fact. Another writer, however, relates, that an *Ismaelian*, or *Bâtanist*, attacked the *Soltân*, and wounded him, the following year; but adds, that he held fast the assassin 'till some of his guards came up, who presently dispatched him. Two others, according to this author, afterwards fell upon him, and met with the same fate. *Salâb'addîn* continued the siege of *Aleppo* till the first of *Rajeb*; but
- b being then informed, that the *Franks* had sat down before *Hems*, he immediately decamped, and reached *Hamab*, the eighth of the same month. From *Hamab* he pursued his march to *Hems*, with a resolution to fight the *Franks*; but they thought fit to raise the siege, and retire, at his approach. Being master of the town and district of *Hems*, the *Soltân* obliged the castle, which he was not able to reduce before, to submit to his arms, the 21st of *Shabân*. This conquest was followed by the surrender of *Baalbec*. The rapid progress of *Salâb'addîn's* arms alarming *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh*, he solicited succours of his kinsmen *Saifo'd-dîn Gâzi*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, and *'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd*, the *Sâheb* of *Senjâr*; but the latter of these, with how good policy we shall not take upon us to determine, refused to assist him. This so incensed *Saifo'ddîn*, that he moved with a body of his troops towards
- c *Senjâr*, in order to lay siege to that place; and sent the rest of his forces, under the command of his brother *'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki* and *'Azzo'ddîn Mahmûd*, one of his best generals, on whom he had conferred the title of *Selfandâz*, to join the army at *Aleppo*, without delay. *Salâb'addîn*, knowing the issues of war to be uncertain, offered to cede *Hems* and *Hamab* to *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh*, and to govern *Damascus* only as his lieutenant, in order to pave the way to an accommodation. But these proposals being rejected, a bloody battle ensued on the eminences near *Hamab*; which terminated in the intire defeat of *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh* and his allies. *Salâb'addîn*, with the victory, gained an immense quantity of spoil, pursued the flying enemy to *Aleppo*, and shut them up there. This produced a peace; by which *Salâb'addîn* remained master of all *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, except only the
- d city and territory of *Aleppo*, which were left to *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh*. After the conclusion of this treaty, the *Soltân* departed from *Aleppo* to *Damascus*; and would neither permit *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh* to be prayed for in the mosques of *Syria*, nor to have money coined with his name imprest upon it. He also wrested the castle of *Bârîn*, in the district of *Hamab*, from *Fakbro'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Al Za'farâni*, one of *Nûro'ddîn's* principal commanders, towards the close of *Shawâl*, the present year <sup>p</sup>.

- ABOUT the same time, a *Persian* prince, or general, as it should seem, took *Tabrîz*, or *A Persian Tauris*, denominated *Tebris* by *Ptolemy*, the capital of *Adherbijân*, according to *Abu'l Faraj*. prince takes Tauris.
- e *Al Bahlawân*, or the brave, the valiant, the hero, both by *Abu'lfeda* and *Abu'l Faraj*. Of this prince, who reigned over *Arrân*, *Al Jêbâl*, or the antient *Parthia*, and *Adherbijân*, we shall hereafter have occasion to speak. The *Behlawân* of the *Arabs* is equivalent to the *Peblawân*, or rather *Pehelawân*, as the word is for the most part at present pronounced in *Persia*, of the antient *Persians*, as we learn both from *M. D'Herbelot* and *Dr. Hyde*. That term in old *Persic* denotes a general, or prime minister, such as those who served the earliest *Persian* kings, in the capacity of generalissimo's of their armies, and directors of the state; who governed the kingdom, in almost an absolute manner, under their authority. *Pehlawân*, or *Pehelawân*, has also other significations, which the limits we have prescribed ourselves here will not permit us at present to touch upon <sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. FEN SHONNAH, ad ann. Hej. 570. BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 41, 42, 43. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 742. RENAUD. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geophic. in vit. Salad. Lugd. Bat. 1732. <sup>q</sup> GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 407. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 582. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Pahlawân*, p. 699, 700. THO. HYD. hist. rel. vet. Pers. p. 318. 420, &c. NASSIR AL FUSI, & ULUGH BEIKH, ubi sup.

" administration. I am an orphan, destitute of friends, and depending intirely upon your protection. This perfidious and ungrateful wretch, on whom my father heaped so many favours, fearing neither God nor man, is now endeavouring to dispossess me of all my territories." After uttering these words, and others to the same effect, he burst out into tears; which

made such an impression upon the people, that they likewise wept, and unanimously resolved to defend him to the last drop of blood. Sallying, therefore, out of the town, they advanced to the top of mount *Jawshan* without opposition; and attacked the *Soltân's* camp with so much bravery, that they forced him to retire (1).

(1) Greg. Abu'l Far. ubi sup. p. 406, 407.



The principal  
events of the  
year 571;

THE 571st year of the *Hejra*, commencing July 22d, 1175, proved likewise favourable a  
to the arms of *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*; who at this time not only meditated the sub-  
jugation of all the lesser *Mohammedan* states, but also the expulsion of the *Franks* out of  
*Syria*. He overthrew, with great slaughter, at *Tel Al Soltân*, the tenth of *Shawâl*, *Saifo'd-*  
*dîn Gâzi Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*, the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel*, the lord of *Hisn Caifâ*, a small  
fortress at the foot of mount *Carmel*, the *Sâheb* of *Mâredîn*, and several other princes, who  
had entered into a confederacy against him. The *Soltân*, however, did not gain this bat-  
tle without considerable loss; his left wing having been broke by *Saifo'ddîn's* right, com-  
manded by *Modbaffero'ddîn Ebn Zino'ddîn*, a very famous general, in the beginning of the  
action. But this repulse served only the more to animate *Salâb'addîn's* men; who, being  
rallied by the *Soltân* fell with such fury upon *Zino'ddîn's* corps, that they dispersed them, b  
and soon after drove all the enemies forces out of the field. *Fakbro'ddîn Abd'almasîb* and  
other persons of distinction, that were taken prisoners, *Salâb'addîn* released; and gave  
'*Azzo'ddîn Fakbrîshâb* the *Sâheb* of *Al Mawfel's* tent. As for *Saifo'ddîn* himself, he fled to  
*Al Mawfel* with so much precipitation, that the *Soltân* could not come up with him. But  
thinking himself by no means safe there, he would have abandoned his capital to the victo-  
rious enemy, had he not been dissuaded from so pusillanimous a step by his *Wazîr*. In  
the mean time, *Salâb'addîn* having made himself master of the enemy's camp, and secured  
all the rich spoil found therein, advanced to *Bezâga*, laid siege to that place, and took it.  
He then marched to *Manbij*, and, towards the close of *Shawâl*, formed the siege of that c  
place. *Kotbo'ddîn Yenâl Ebn Hasan Al Manbijî*, the *Sâheb* of the town and district of *Man-*  
*bij*, the *Hierapolis* of the antients, as has been already observed, was a most bitter enemy  
to *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*; who carried the city by assault, threw *Kotbo'ddîn* himself  
into irons, and thoroughly plundered his palace. However, he was afterwards released,  
went to *Al Mawfel*, and met there with a very favourable reception from *Saifo'ddîn Gâzi*  
*Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki*; who treated him with uncommon marks of distinction, and made  
him a present of the city of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*. From *Manbij* *Salâb'addîn*  
directed his march to 'Azâz, or *Azâza*, a strong fortress situated in the most pleasant and  
delightful part of the territory of *Aleppo*, sat down before it, the 3d of *Dhu'lkaada*, and  
obliged it to capitulate, the 11th of the following month. Whilst the *Soltân* was carrying d  
on the siege of this place, an *Ismaelian*, or *Bâtanist*, rushed upon him unexpectedly, and  
wounded him in the head with a knife. *Salâb'addîn* immediately seized the fellow, notwith-  
standing he endeavoured to repeat his blows, and held him till some of his guards came up  
and killed him. This, however, did not discourage another of those ruffians from making  
a similar attempt upon the *Soltân's* life; but he met with the same fate. A third *Bâtanist*  
nevertheless soon after attacked *Salâb'addîn*, with an intent to assassinate him; who was like-  
wise cut to pieces, without being able to execute his horrid design. These attempts not a  
little terrified the *Soltân*; who thereupon retired to his tent, and ordered his army to be  
purged of all unknown and suspected persons. After the surrender of 'Azâz, *Salâb'addîn*  
advanced at the head of his forces to the gates of *Aleppo*, invested that place, about the mid-  
dle of *Dhu'lhajja*, and kept *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb* for some time shut up therein. Whilst he e  
lay incamped before the town, the daughter of *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, his former  
master and benefactor, *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb's* sister, a little girl, was brought into his tent.  
The *Soltân* took the child up in his arms, kissed her, and, after he had bestowed many  
valuable things upon her, asked her what he should farther give her? To which, having  
been before instructed for this purpose, she replied, "The fortress of 'Azâz?" Whereupon  
he evacuated that place, and departed from *Aleppo*, with his army, the 20th of *Al Mohar-*  
*ram*, the following year. Before the defeat at *Tel Al Soltân*, *Saifo'ddîn* had battered the walls  
of *Senjâr*, which belonged to his brother 'Amâdo'ddîn *Zenki Ebn Mawdûd*, who had sub-  
mitted to *Salâb'addîn*, with his military engines, in order to make a breach in them, that  
he might be thereby enabled to storm the place; but without effect. The victory obtained f  
over the combined army of the allies by *Salâb'addîn* near *Hamab*, the 19th of *Ramadân*, the  
preceding year, had animated the garrison to defend the town with the utmost vigour, and  
forced *Saifo'ddîn*, much against his inclination, to conclude a peace with his brother. After  
which, he passed the *Euphrates*, and marched to *Aleppo*; where he had an interview with  
*Al Mâlec Al Sâleb*, the *Sâheb* of that city. Having incamped for some time at 'Ain *Almo-*  
*bârcca*, and joined the forces of *Aleppo*, he entered the citadel with a chosen detachment of  
horse, and was nobly entertained there, at the expence of *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb*. From *Aleppo*  
he moved to *Tel Al Soltân*, with the auxiliaries of *Diyâr Becr* and other provinces, that had  
reinforced his army; but was not able to cope with the victorious troops of *Salâb'addîn Yusef*  
*Ebn Ayûb*, the conqueror of *Syria* and *Egypt*. We must not forget to observe, that *Sham-*  
*jô'ddîn* *Turân Shâb Ebn Ayûb*, *Salâb'addîn's* brother, returned from *Yaman*, where he had  
resided



a resided some time, to *Damascus*, before the close of *Râjeb*, in the year that we are now upon <sup>r</sup>.

IN the 572d year of the *Hejra*, beginning July 11th, 1176, *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb*, and of the after he had retired from *Aleppo*, made an irruption into the country of the *Ismaelians*; <sup>year 572.</sup> which, in the month of *Al Moharram*, he laid waste with fire and sword. He also besieged the castle of *Masiât*, a strong place seated on mount *Al Sekkîn*, on the coast of *Syria*, not far from *Tripoli*, in the very centre of the *Ismaelian* dominions. This fortress, if *Ebn Shohnab* may be credited, he took sword in hand, slew most of the inhabitants of *Masiât*, and levelled the walls and houses of it with the ground. *Sinân*, the chief or prince of the *Ismaelians*, finding himself not in a condition to make head against *Salâb'addîn*, sent to b *Shahâbo'ddîn Al Hâremi*, the *Sâheb* of *Hamah*, *Salâb'addîn*'s uncle; begging he would intercede with the *Soltân* for him, and procure him a peace. *Shahâbo'ddîn* having asked pardon of *Salâb'addîn*, in *Sinân*'s name, for the villainous attempts of his subjects upon the *Soltân*'s life, without much difficulty, prevailed upon his nephew to conclude a treaty with the *Ismaelian* prince, and even to consider him in the light of an ally. After which, he resumed his march for *Egypt*; and, before the expiration of the present year, began to erect the famous wall that surrounded the cities of *Mesr* and *Al Kâbirah*, together with the castle, or fortress, on mount *Al Mokattem*. This wall, however, which, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, was either 29,000 or 29,300 cubits in circumference, he left unfinished at his death. He likewise founded the school, or college, near the sepulchre of the *Imâm Al Shafêi*, in the c city of *Mesr*, and ordered the hospital at *Al Kâbirah* to be built, this year, after his return to *Egypt*. Some authors relate, that a great number of rebels, consisting for the most part of the black people of *Al Sa'id*, assembled at this time near *Kest*, or *Coptos*, a very antient city of the *Upper Egypt*, under the command of one *Ebn Abd'alkûab*, who pretended to personate *Dawd*, the son of *Al 'Adel*, the last *Fâtemite Kbalîf*. But the rebel general was taken and cut off, the place of their rendezvous almost intirely destroyed, and no less than 3000 of the rebels hanged. Nay, we are told, that out of 100,000 rebels, that appeared in the field, 80,000 perished. *Salâb'addîn* reached *Al Kâbirah*, in the latter *Rabî*; and, before his departure from *Syria*, appointed his brother *Shams'o'ddawla Tûrân Shâb Ebn Ayûb* to preside over the people of *Damascus*. He also suppressed the tribute exacted of the pilgrims d going to *Mecca* by the *Emîr* of *Mecca*, *Jodda*, and *'Aidab*, assigning him in lieu thereof yearly 2000 *dinârs*, besides a large quantity of wheat sent him from *Egypt*, the present year <sup>r</sup>.

AT this time, *Soltân Togrol Ebn Arslân*, reigned over the *Seljûks* in *Irân*, or rather the *Per-* *Togrol Ebn fîan Irâk*. He succeeded his father *Arslân Ebn Togrol*, who died the preceding year; after he had lived forty-three years, and swayed the *Seljûkian* scepter, about fifteen. *Arslân* was a prince not only valiant and generous, but also patient, and of so excellent a disposition, that he would not suffer any one to be spoken ill of in his presence. Nor did he ever treat any of his domestics with severity or contempt, being eminent for modesty and clemency. He never denied any thing to a man of good parts and address. He is said to have been nice in e his diet, and fond of dress. He had very rich vests, of every kind and colour, wrought with gold, such as no king before him ever wore. His conversation was familiar, and perfectly sincere. *Togrol*, this prince's son, governed his dominions happily enough, under the direction of his maternal uncle the valiant *Mohammed*, son of the *Atâbek Ildighîz*, and called *Bablawân*, or *Pehelawân*, *Mohammed Ebn Ildegar* by *Abu'l Faraj*. That historian makes him to have been the *Sâheb* of *Al Jebâl*, or *Kûhestân*, part of the *Persian Irâk*, *Al Ray* with its district, *Esfahân*, *Arrân*, and *Adherbijân*. In the beginning of this prince's reign, *Badanjar* attacked the province of *Adherbijân*; and *Mohammed*, the son of *Togrol Ebn Mohammed*, that of the *Persian Irâk*. But *Mohammed Ebn Ildighîz*, with his brother *Kezel Arslân*, marching against them at the head of a powerful army, soon obliged them to sue f for peace. *Togrol Ebn Arslân* has the appellation of *Soltân Mogayâtho'ddîn Togrol* assigned him by the author of the *Lebtârikb*. It may not be improper to remark, that at this time one *Togrol* presided over the *Kara-its*, a very potent *Turkish* or *Tartarian* tribe, of whom we have spoken above; and that, soon after his accession, the emperor of *China* sent an ambassador to congratulate him upon that event, who gave him the title of *Unk*, *Onk*,

<sup>r</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 571. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 571. BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 43, 44, 45. AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 742. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 132, 249, 260, & alib. pass. ALB. SCHULT. in geographic. in vit. Salad. RENAUD. ubi sup. <sup>s</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 572. BOHAO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 45, 46. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 572. TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredollatâfa, EBN KHALECAN, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 101. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 541, 542. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup.



*Awak*, or *Awnak*, *Khân*. This title, as some writers inform us, is equivalent to that of a emperor, first sovereign, or great *Khân* <sup>c</sup>.

Salâh'addîn  
is defeated by  
the Franks.

THE following year, being the 573d of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 30th, 1177, *Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* marched with a formidable army out of *Egypt* to the maritime parts of *Palestine*, in order to drive from thence the *Franks*. He arrived at *'Askalân* with his numerous forces, if *Abu'lfeda* may be depended upon, the 24th of the former *Jomâda*; *Al Bornas*, or *Arnold*, who had been taken prisoner by *Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, and ransomed afterwards at *Aleppo*, being at this time, according to *Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd*, the principal commander of the *Christian* troops. The *Soltân* having posted himself at *'Askalân*, or, if we chuse to follow the last mentioned author, at *Al Ramla*, sent out several detachments to ravage the adjacent country. The *Franks* taking advantage of the absence b of these detachments, by which the *Moslem* army was considerably weakened, fell upon the *Soltân*, then not expecting them, with such fury, that they gave him an intire defeat. However, they met at first with a pretty vigorous resistance; *Abmed Ebn Takîo'ddîn Ebn Shâhînbâb* charging them with so much bravery, that he slew a great number of them, and forced the rest to retire. But, returning soon to the charge, they broke the body he commanded, killed him upon the spot, and even penetrated almost to the post occupied by *Salâh'addîn* himself; which struck him with such terror, that he abandoned his camp to the *Franks*, and betook himself to a precipitate flight. Nay, with so much precipitation did the terrified *Moslems* fly, that, having no neighbouring garrisons to repair to, they traversed the vast desert between *Palestine* and *Egypt* in the utmost confusion, and scarce stopped c before they reached *Al Kâbirah* itself. The greatest part of the *Egyptian* army perished in the action and the pursuit. No water being to be met with in the above-mentioned desert, most of the beasts of burthen died of thirst, before the fugitives arrived on the confines of *Egypt*. As for the *Soltân's* detachments, sent out to forage and pillage the neighbouring districts, they were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners by the *Franks*. Amongst the prisoners was *Al Fakîh Isa Al Arari*, one of *Salâh'addîn's* most intimate friends; who was two years afterwards ransomed, by the *Soltân*, for 60,000 *dinârs*. *'Azzo'ddîn Ali Ebn Al Atbîr*, in his *Al Câmel*, or universal history, relates, tha the saw a letter written by *Salâh'addîn* with his own hand to his brother *Tûrân Shâb*, the governor of *Damascus*, which contained a full and ample description of the aforesaid battle. Amongst other things the d *Soltân* therein says, "that he was more than once in the most imminent danger; and that "God, as he apprehended, had delivered him from thence, in order to reserve him for the "execution of some grand and most important design".

The Franks  
besiege Ha-  
mah, but  
without effect.

THE *Franks*, elated with the complete victory they had gained, resolved to lay siege to *Hamah*. To this they were likewise farther excited by the absence of *Salâh'addîn*, who entered *Al Kâbirah*, about the middle of the latter *Jomâda*; by the few troops he had left with his brother *Tûrân Shâb*, the governor of *Damascus*, who was moreover of a very voluptuous and effeminate disposition; and by the infirmity of *Shahâbo'ddîn Al Hâremî*, *Salâh'addîn's* uncle and deputy at *Hamah*, who was at this time very ill in that city. Animated, therefore, by this seemingly favourable concurrence of circumstances, they formed e the siege of *Hama*; and made so vigorous an assault, that they were upon the point of carrying the place by storm. But they were at last repulsed, and beaten back to their camp, with incredible bravery, by the besieged. So that, after they had attacked that fortress four days, they thought fit to decamp, and move towards *Hârem*. It is worthy observation, that *Shahâbo'ddîn Al Hâremî* died the very day the *Franks* raised the siege; and that he survived his son, a very amiable and promising youth, no more than three days".

The situation  
of Al Mâlec  
Al Sâleh's  
affairs.

THE affairs of *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh*, who resided at *Aleppo*, were at this time in but an indifferent situation. He had thrown *Camosh Takîn*, his prime minister, into irons, for ruling with an absolute sway, and arrogating the supreme authority to himself. This minister having possessed himself of *Hârem*, a fortress and prefecture in the territory of *Aleppo*, the f garrison he had placed therein refused to deliver it up into *Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's* hands. They persisted in their refusal, when *Camosh Takîn* himself commanded them to evacuate the place. They chose to see him tortured, and even at last to expire under the tortures he suffered,

<sup>c</sup> KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in *Lebtârikh*, p. 45. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. ABU'L GAZI BAHAD. hist. gen. Tat. par. II. c. xi. p. 117. PETIT DE LA CROIX, hist. de Genghizcan, lib. I. c. ii. p. 30. JO. LAURENT. MOSHEM. hist. Tartaror. ecclesiastic. p. 27. Helmstadii, 1741. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 130, 1028. &c. <sup>e</sup> BOHÂO'DDIN EBN SHEDDAD, ubi sup. p. 46. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 573. EBN SHOHNAH, ad ann. Hej. 573. EBN AL ATHIR, in *Al Câmel*, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in *Mawredo'llatâfa*, RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 542. <sup>f</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, EBN AL ATHIR, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, ubi sup.



- a by *Al Sâleb's* order, rather than submit. The *Franks* receiving advice of this, after their repulse at *Hamah*, first invested *Hârem*, and then besieged it in form. Having pushed on the siege for the space of four months, and reduced the garrison to the last extremity; the town must have been obliged to surrender, had not *Al Sâleb*, by paying them a sum of money, prevailed upon the besiegers to conclude a treaty of peace with him, and retire. *Bohâo'ddîn* seems to intimate, that the *Franks* lay before *Hârem* from the latter *Jomâda* to the end of the month of *Ramadân*; and that the troops in garrison surrendered the place to *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb*, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Franks*. But he says nothing of any money received by the latter from the former on this occasion, though in that particular both *Abu'lfeda* and *Ebn Shohnab* agree. Be that as it will, after the departure of the
- b *Franks*, *Al Mâlec Al Sâleb* made *Serkbac*, one of his father's *Mamlûks*, or slaves, commandant there. This year, 'Adado'ddîn, the *Khalîf Al Mostadi's Wazîr*, came to a violent death; and *Dbahîro'ddîn*, a person of an excellent disposition, munificent, irreproachable in his deportment, esteemed and revered by all, was substituted in his room \*.

THE next year, being the 574th year of the *Hejra*, which began June 19th, 1178, *Tûrân Shâh* desired of his brother *Salâb'addîn* the government of *Baalbec*; which had been conferred by the *Soltân* upon *Shams'o'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec*, generally called *Al Mokaddem*, when he appointed *Tûrân Shâh* to preside over the people of *Damascus*. This *Salâb'addîn* could not refuse his brother, and therefore orders were immediately dispatched to *Al Mokaddem* to cede to *Tûrân Shâh* the city and territory of *Baalbec*. But *Al Mokaddem*, being pleased with his situation, would not admit *Tûrân Shâh* into the town. Hereupon a body of troops, by the *Soltân's* command, advanced to *Baalbec*, and besieged *Al Mokaddem* a considerable time in that city. However, an equivalent being at last allowed him for his former post, he delivered up the place to *Tûrân Shâh*; who, without any farther opposition, took possession of his predecessor's palace, and entered upon the province assigned him. This year, a grievous famine raged in *Syria*, and the neighbouring countries; which was followed by a dreadful pestilence, that swept away vast numbers of people. About the same time, *Salâb'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb* ordered his nephew *Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhînsâh* to repair to *Hamah*, and his cousin *Mohammed Shairacûb* to *Hems*, to act in the quality of his lieutenants there. We must not omit observing, that *Sâ'id Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sâ'id*, commonly denominated *Hîsbîs*, a poet of great note, a specimen of whose excellent performances has been preserved by *Ebn Shohnab*, departed this life, if that author may be depended upon, before the close of the present year †.

- THE 575th year of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 8th, 1179, produced some memorable events that merit the attention of an historian. *Soltân Salâb'addîn* took by storm a fortress erected by the *Franks*, at the fords of *Al Ajrân*, near *Bânyâs*, or *Bânîds*, the *Paneas* of the antients. *Kilij Arslân Ebn Mas'ûd*, the *Seljukian Soltân* of *Al Rûm*, assembled a body of 20,000 horse, in order to besiege the castle of *Ra'bân*, then possessed by *Shams'o'ddîn Ebn Al Mokaddem*; which *Kilij Arslân*, for reasons that have not transpired, was extremely desirous of making himself master of. *Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhînsâh*, having received advice of this intended irruption, advanced against him with only 1000 horse, came up with him, and put him to flight. The *Seljuks* of *Al Rûm* being thus routed by a handful of men, *Takîo'ddîn* could not forbear boasting, "that with one thousand men he had defeated twenty thousand;" whence it seems to appear, that he valued himself not a little upon this exploit. Having obtained permission of the *Soltân*, to change the government of *Baalbec* for that of *Alexandria*, he resigned the former of those posts to 'Azzo'ddîn *Fakhr Shâh Ebn Shâhînsâh Ebn Ayûb*, on whom it had been conferred by *Salâb'addîn*, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, this year. After which he went to *Alexandria*, and ruled the people there to the day of his death. The second of *Dhu'lkaada*, according to the most approved *Moslem* writers, died *Al Mostadi Beamri'llab Abu Mohammed Al Hasan Ebn Al Mostanjed Bi'llab*, the *Khalîf* of *Baghdâd* ‡.

- f THIS *Khalîf*, whose mother was an *Armenian* concubine, has been represented as an excellent prince both by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians. If they may be credited, he was

\* BOHÂO'DDÎN EBN SHEDDAD, ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAB, EBN AL ATHIR. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 407. ISM. ABU'LFED. in tab. Syr. ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. † ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 575. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 574. ‡ ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 575. EBN SHOHNAB, ad ann. Hej. 575. EBN AL ATHIR, in Al Câmél, GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 407. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, in op. part. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 575. MIRKHOND, apud Teixeira. p. 306. KHONDEMIR, AL EMIR YAYHA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, in Lebtarikh, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAFAAR AL KAZWINI, in Nighîarist. TAKIO'DDÎN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, in Mawredo'llatâfa, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 630, 631. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 542.



generous, merciful, tho' at the same time a lover of justice, pious, an encourager of learned a men, and in fine of a most amiable disposition. It has been remarked of him, that he was the only *Khalif*, after *Ali*'s eldest son, who bore the same name, called *Al Hasan*; and that this second *Al Hasan* perfectly imitated the virtues of the first, and particularly his liberality, distributing the immense treasures his father had amassed in a short time amongst his subjects. Towards the close of his reign, according to some of the eastern writers, *Kotbo'ddin Kimar*, his general, took so much upon him, that he disposed of many things without the participation of the *Khalif*. But *Zebir Ebn Al Attâr*, the *Wazîr*, whose councils *Al Mostadi* generally followed, not bearing to see his master treated in this manner, opposed to the utmost of his power all the enterprizes of *Kimar*. This so exasperated the general, who plainly saw that the *Wazîr* was the author of all the vigorous resolutions taken against him, b that he caused *Ebn Al Attâr*'s house to be invested by the troops under his command. The *Wazîr*, however, having been apprized of *Kimar*'s design, abandoned his house to the pillage of the soldiery, and took refuge in the *Khalif*'s palace. The general, having missed his blow, ordered his men to advance towards the imperial palace; thinking by this means to get the *Wazîr* into his hands. But, as soon as *Al Mostadi* heard the noise of the troops attending *Kimar*, he shewed himself on one of the balconies of his palace, and addressed himself to the people, who had been excited to assemble tumultuously on this occasion, in the following terms. "You cannot but see, my children, the insolence of *Kimar*, and in c " what manner, going beyond the limits of the power I have given him, he incroaches " daily on my authority. For this reason, in order to punish him for this new outrage, I " give up to you intirely all his wealth and substance, reserving only to myself the chastise- " ment of his person." The people no sooner heard the words of the *Khalif*, than they d quitted the palace, and ran with one accord to *Kimar*'s house. This obliged the troops to follow them, to prevent its being plundered. But, the mob increasing every hour, nothing could resist them. The general's house was therefore forced and pillaged; and he himself obliged to make a hole in the wall, to facilitate thereby his escape to *Al Mawfel*, where he soon after died. The *Khalif Al Mostadi*, notwithstanding his natural clemency, is said to have rendered justice to all his subjects; and to have so effectually patronized men of letters and genius, that the liberal arts and sciences flourished in his dominions through the whole course of his reign. Amongst other persons of erudition, who made no mean figure d when he sat upon upon the *Mostem* throne, may be ranked *Al Samûel Ebn Al Yebûda Al Mogrebi*, or *Magrebi*, *Al Andalusi*, a Jew, and *Al Rahabi*, an inhabitant of *Damascus*, two physicians of very considerable note. *Samûel* came out of *Spain*, with his father, young into the East. His father had only a smattering in philosophy, but he was well acquainted with several branches of it. He likewise acquired great knowledge in the mathematics; and wrote several books, held in good repute, upon philosophical, mathematical, and physical subjects. Travelling into the province of *Adherbijân*, he settled at *Marâga*; and served, in the capacity of physician, several of the princes denominated *Pebelawân*. He instructed his sons in the principles of physic, and they followed his method of practice with success. Afterwards embracing *Islamism*, he composed a book to detect the forgeries of the Jews, e and to point out the particular passages they had falsified and corrupted in the copies of their own law. He died at *Marâga*, about the year of the *Hejra* 570. *Al Rahabi*, a native of *Rahaba* upon the *Euphrates*, was a very skilful physician, and met with surprising success in his practice. He was of a chearful temper, applied himself to merchandise, and grew very rich. His sons followed his way of life, and bore an exceeding good character. He observed strictly the rules he had himself laid down for the preservation of health, and attained to extreme old age. A person once asked him, what benefit would accrue to any one from an observance of those rules? "It will, said he, bring him to the natural period f " of human life." "Why then, replied the other, do you now take so much care of your- " self, when you are almost arrived at that period?" "That I may enjoy the small remain- " der of my life, returned he, as much as possible, and not drop into my grave, for want " of adhering to a good regimen, before nature conducts me thither." He shewed the same regard for the preservation of his health 'till he was overtaken by death, in the beginning of the year 632. He left three sons behind him, two of whom proved physicians of transcendent merit. Being called in, with other physicians, to *Nûro'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Zenki*, when he was at the point of death, he reprimanded that prince for not sending for his physicians sooner, and for confining himself in so small and dark a room. He then told him, it would be proper for him to be carried into a more spacious and lighter apartment, and to lose a little blood. To which *Nûro'ddin* made answer: "Phlebotomy is an opera- g " tion that ought not to be performed on a man who has compleated the sixtieth year of " his age." Refusing, therefore, to be blooded, the physicians were obliged to have recourse



a recourse to other methods of cure; but without effect, as he not many days after expired. *Al Mostadi* was born, in the year of the *Hejra* 536; and succeeded his father *Al Mostanjed Billah*, in the 566th year of the *Moslem* æra. Though the lawful authority of the *Mohammedan* pontiffs was re-united in his person alone, by the abolition of the *Khalifa* erected by the *Fâtemites* in *Egypt*, yet he seems not to have been immediately concerned either in that or any other very memorable event. For which reason, probably, we find it intimated by *Mirkhond*, that nothing remarkable happened, during the whole course of his reign <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> ISM. ABU'LFED. EBN SHOHNAH, AL MAKIN, EBN AL ATHIR, EBN KHALECAN, TAKIO'DDIN AHMED AL MAKRIZI, AL EMIR ABU'L MAHASSEN YUSEF EBN TANGRI WIRDI, MIRKHOND, AL EMIR YAHYA EBN ABD'OLLATIF AL KAZWINI, KHONDEMIR, & AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FAR. ubi sup. p. 407, 408, 409. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. RENAUD. ubi sup. p. 542.

*The E N D of the F I R S T V O L U M E.*

E R R A T A.

VOL. I. P. 9. l. 20. for *April*, read *March*.

VOL. II P. 50 l. 16. for *Atabek Ilighiz*, r. *Atâbek Ilîghîz*. Ibid. Note (L). l. 6, 7. from the Bottom, for *judical*, r. *judicial*.—P. 51 Side Note, for *Magebrian*, r. *Mogrebian*. Ibid. Note (1), for *alique*, r. *aliique*.—P. 53. l. 23. for 690, r. 590.

VOL. III. From the Beginning, to p. 102. Book IX. in the Running-title, is, by Mistake, inserted instead of Book XIII.